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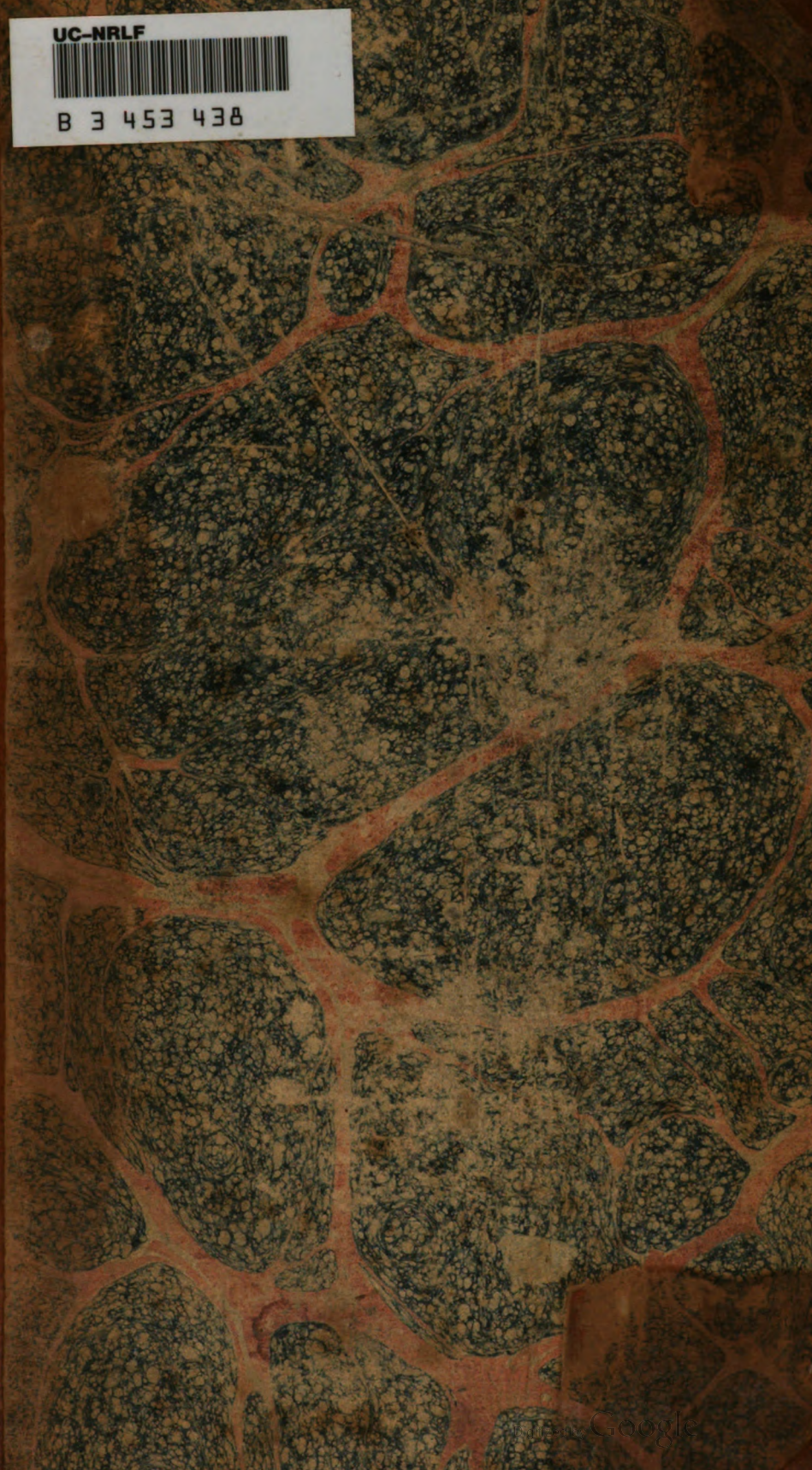

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COBBETT'S

POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII.

FROM JULY TO DECEMBER,

1807.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

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1807.

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LIST OF HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS AS IT STOOD IN APRIL, 1807.

Cabinet Ministers.

Earl Camden	President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Duke of Portland	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister).
Lord Mulgrave	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl of Chatham	Master-general of the Ordnance.
Earl Bathurst	President of the Board of Trade.
Lord Hawkesbury	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Right Hon. George Canning	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Castlereagh	Sec. of State for the Department of War and Colonies.
Right Hon. Spencer Perceval	Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer and also Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Not of the Cabinet.

Right Hon. Robert Saunders Dundas	President Board of Controul for the Affairs of India.
Right Hon. George Rose	Vice President Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy.
Sir James Pulteney, Bart.	Secretary at War.
Lord Charles Somerset	Joint Paymaster-general.
Right Hon. Charles Long	Joint Paymaster-general.
Earl of Chichester	Postmaster-general.
Earl of Sandwich	Postmaster-general.
William Huskisson, Esq.	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Hon. Henry Wellesley	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir William Grant	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Vicary Gibbs	Attorney General.
Sir Thomas Plomer	Solicitor General.

PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
Sir Arthur Wellesley	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. John Foster	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 1.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 4, 1807. [PRICE 10D.

Let all my Sons all Party fling aside,
Despise their nonsense and together join.
On Virtue can alone my Kingdom stand;
On Public Virtue, every Virtue join'd:
For lost this social cement of mankind,
The greatest empires, by scarce-felt degrees,
Will moulder soft away; till tottering loose,
They prone at last to total ruin rush.
Unblest by Virtue, Government a League
Becomes, a circling Junto of the Great,
To rob by law; Religion mild a yoke
To tame the stooping soul, a trick of state
To mask their rapine, and to share their prey.
What are without IT Senates, save a face
Of consultation deep, and reason free.
While the determined voice and heart are sold?
What boasted Freedom, save a sounding name?
And what Elections, but a market vile
Of slaves self-bartered?

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.——On Monday last, the 29th of June, the chairing of Sir Francis Burdett, as one of the members for this the first city in the kingdom, took place. As I look upon this event as the memorable sign of an æra in politics, I am not a little pleased that the history of it will thus stand at the head of a new volume of this work, the history of the election itself having been given in the preceding volume.——The procession took place according to the order, which had been published some days before, and which was as follows.

Marrowbones and Cleavers, four and four.
Four Trumpets on Horseback.
Two large Flags used during the Election.
Three small ditto.
Ditto, ditto, ditto.
High Constables on Horseback.
Nine Assistants, three and three.
One large dark Blue Flag—Motto,
"BURDETT AND OUR COUNTRY."
Band of Music, three and three.
Three Bugle Boys on Horseback with small Blue Flags,
the Majority painted thereon.
Large White Flag carried on Horseback—Motto,
"PURITY OF ELECTION."

1. Flag of St. Anne's Parish.
Electors, four and four.
2. Flag of St. Paul, Covent Garden, and St. Martin Le Grand.
Electors, four and four.
3. Flag of St. Clement Danes and St. Mary Le Strand.
Electors, four and four.
4. Flag of St. Martin in the Fields.
Electors, four and four.
5. Flag of St. James.
Electors, four and four.
6. Flag of St. George, Hahover Square.
Electors, four and four.
7. Flag of St. Margaret and St. John.
Electors, four and four.

Large dark Blue Flag—Motto,
"BURDETT THE CHOICE OF THE PEOPLE."
Band of Music, three and three.
Large dark Blue Flag—Motto,
"COMMITTEE" on one side, "PURITY OF ELECTION" on the other.
COMMITTEE, three and three;
Chairman to bring up the Rear.
Large Sky Blue Banner—Motto,
"THE CONSTITUTION."
Mr. JENNINGS supported by Messrs. GLOSSOP and ADAMS.
Large dark Blue Banner—Motto,
"THE TRIUMPH OF WESTMINSTER."

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT
In a Grand Car, drawn by four Grey horses;
Small dark Blue Banner—Motto,
"THE SENSE OF THE PEOPLE."
Horsemen, four and four.
Carriages to close.

The concourse of people was, of course, immense in all the streets and squares, through which the procession passed before it came to Sir Francis Burdett's house, where the whole of Piccadilly was found already filled in such a manner as to render it extremely difficult to make a way through. Sir Francis, who is still scarcely able to move about, even with the aid of crutches, was carried to the car by two gentlemen. Until now there had been very little huzzaing; but, the moment the Baronet's head became visible above the crowd, the air rang with a shout, in which, had the king been in town, he would have heard "the *sense* "*of his people*," of that people whom it had been attempted to blind and to mislead by a hypocritical cry of "no popery." In this shout he might have heard the sound of that voice which he will, ere long, hear from all his subjects, the voice of love and admiration of those who are the real friends of the country, and of indignation at those who are its real enemies, and who, while it is threatened with such terrible dangers from without, are, for the gratification of their own selfish views, tearing it to pieces! ——All the streets, through which the procession had to pass, were crowded so as to leave not a foot of vacant ground. The hackney and other coaches, the carts and all sorts of wheel-carriages were placed on each side of the streets, filled and covered with spectators. Every window was full.

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Some were taken out for the purpose, and where they were large, as in the case of shop windows, in the wide streets, there were benches erected for people to sit behind one another as in a theatre. Where the balconies were broad, benches were erected in a similar manner. All the parapets and the flats, upon the houses, were covered as completely as the streets below; and, upon the gutters and the ridges of the houses, and even upon the chimneys, numerous spectators were seen. When we arrived at Covent Garden we found all the low buildings in the middle of the square so loaded with people that the chimney tops were hidden from our view; hundreds were sitting or standing upon the roofs and ridges of the houses round the square, and, upon a moderate computation, there could not be less than a hundred thousand persons, who here saw the procession at one and the same time.——It was half past two o'clock when Sir Francis ascended the car, and exactly five when he alighted at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand. At seeing; during the whole of this procession, his colours streaming from the houses; at hearing the air resound with blessings upon his head, while that sex whose voices could not be heard testified their union of sentiment by the waving of their handkerchiefs and by the scattering of flowers and laurels as he passed; during these hours, what must have been his reflections, if reflection was not banished by feeling? He must have reflected, that it was a triumph over every public vice that had so long been warring against him and against his country; and must have formed a resolution, never to be shaken, to devote his life to the happiness of a people, who placed such implicit confidence in him, and who, for his bare endeavours to recover their rights and their honour, repaid him with marks of gratitude unparalleled.——The Dinner, tickets of admission to which were twelve shillings each, as high a price as that given by the anti faction at Lord Milton's dinner, was attended by about 2,000 persons, which number would have been greatly increased, if there had remained room in any part of the house. In the great room, the space between the several tables were filled with persons, who were content to take their dinner standing. After the cloth was removed the following toasts were given by Mr. Jennings from the chair,—

1. The King, the Constitution, the whole Constitution, and nothing but the Constitution.
2. The People.
3. Purity of Election; and may the electors of the whole kingdom take a lesson from Westminster school.

Previous to the drinking of Sir Francis Burdett's health, the Chairman rose and observed, "that there were many who had "before attended at this place on great public questions, but he was confident that "there was not one who had ever come to "any assembly on any occasion so important as the present, on one which if improved by the virtue, the courage and perseverance of the people, would lead to "such beneficial results, to the best interest "of the country If the great example set "by the Electors of Westminster be followed throughout the kingdom, the House "of Commons would soon be restored to its "old office in the government. The right "of election was not a mere matter of form. "He always conceived it to be the most "valuable appendage, the best franchise of "an Englishman. It was given to him for the "purpose of maintaining his proper consequence in the state, and controling the "conduct of weak or wicked ministers, "particularly when ever they form a conspiracy against popular rights. It is a privilege infinitely dear to us, and ought not "to be sacrificed for any mean and sordid "consideration. The value, however, and "the security, of the right of election, "must depend upon the virtue and courage "of the people; without which it could "be of no avail. The great men, said Mr. "J. who reared the immortal fabric of the "British constitution, who obtained for "you this invaluable right, hoped that you "would have good sense and spirit enough "to support and defend it. That hope, so "far as regards you, has not been disappointed. For the Electors of Westminster have had integrity and fortitude sufficient to repel all the arts of corruption, "and all the menaces of power, and the "result is, that you on this day meet to celebrate the most signal triumph achieved "by liberty and the people for more than a "century past. The Electors of Westminster have obtained such a victory as "must serve to give additional eminence to "the principles upon which the great object "of that victory rests. By such victories, which I hope will be often repeated, the people of England can alone "succeed in obtaining such a House of "Commons as they ought to have—such a "one as is necessary to perform the functions which the constitution assigns "to that Assembly—such a one as would "be able and willing to control a weak "or wicked administration. Let these "victories be repeated, and the constitution

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"will be brought back to the good old "principles on which it was founded. The "people will recover back their importance "in the state given by the laws, and those "mischievous and profligate knots and ca- "bals, who conspire together to sell at the "highest price their associated iniquities will "be broken up and disbanded. Among the "evils resulting from the present system is "this, that any man who exhorts the people "to think for themselves, to consult their "own interest—that attempts to speak the "truth, is sure to have the most atrocious "and virulent abuse directed against him.— "Indeed, while such a man continues to "vindicate the interests of the people, "those who prey upon them will continue "to slander him—until he ceases to be "active, they will not cease to be hostile; "but their hostility is contemptible. This "proud day must serve to shew the calum- "niators, that their envenomed scurrility is "of no avail. These calumniators and "their employers wish to prevent the peo- "ple from knowing the truth. They con- "sider and treat them as tyrants do their "miserable captives confined in dungeons "and in darkness, they fear and justly "fear that if the light should break in up- "on them, their first motion would be to "look at their fetters, and the next to exa- "mine where they might be broken. The "man whom you have just elected to repre- "sent you, has been long the object of "calumny, among these conspirators and "their instruments, because he has deserv- "ed the praise of honest men. He has re- "ceived the abuse of all the parties, who, "under the pretence of public good, have "sought their own selfish views, whose "best recommendation to power has been "the readiness they have exhibited to base- "ly merchandize and traffick with their "duties. I hope that the distinction which "you have conferred and the judgment "you have manifested in this instance, "will serve to shew the principle upon "which the people act; that as you have "selected a man as the object of your "choice, upon the recommendation of his "character, other men may learn from "the example, that they may promise "themselves the same popular support, by "practising the same virtues. It would "be, of the highest importance, if no "other benefit resulted from the triumph "we are met to celebrate, than the lesson "it teaches to public men, that if they "wish for the confidence of the people, "they must deserve it. The people will "never be faithfully and firmly served un- "til members of parliament, taught by this "great lesson, no longer insensible to their "pride and their duty, will cultivate those "qualities which can alone secure to them "the affection, the good opinion, and "support of their fellow citizens." Mr. Jennings concluded with proposing,

4. The health of that honest and incorrup- tible representative of the people, Sir Fran- cis Burdett.

Upon his health being drunk, Sir Francis addressed the company in nearly the follow- ing words.

"Gentlemen, it is quite impossible for "me to express in adequate terms the "sense I feel of the affectionate manner in "which you have been so good as to com- "pliment me.——Your confidence in my "public principles, and in the sincerity of "my professions, has called me, when I "least expected it, from the retirement I had "chosen. I have but small hope, that any "weak endeavours of mine will be able to "benefit my country; because the choice of "a new House of Commons is not what it "ought to be, and what it is hypocritically "pretended to be—an *appeal to the sense of "the people*.—In November last, the then "ministry, by an unusual dissolution of "parliament, affected to appeal to the "*sense of the people*. And this sense of "the people, immediately consented to "drive themselves from the first floor to "the garret, and to beggar their posterity, "by confirming to the ministry, a yearly "tenth of all the income and profits of the "property and industry of the whole nation, "together with an additional ten per cent. "upon the already enormous assessed taxes. "—Only six months afterwards, another "set of men, the present ministry, follow "the example of the last set, and affect "in their turn, by another dissolution of "parliament, to appeal likewise again "to the *sense of the people*. What this "last taken sense of the people will pro- "duce it is easy to foresee, and we shall "soon experience.—Gentlemen, they both "of them laugh at the people—they des- "pise the people—and those who have "robbed us most, have justly the most "contempt for us. It is the common cant "of both parties to deny that there is any "such thing as *the people*—and they in- "sultingly ask us, where such a thing as "the people is to be found in England?—I "can now answer their question—in West- "minster—in the metropolis of England. "And, if the corrupt and mercenary fac- "tions shall see the other inhabitants of "England act firmly and perseveringly like "a people, they will quickly acknowledge "them to be such—and those who now

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" tread oppressively upon their necks will " be found humble at their feet.—I cannot, " Gentlemen, go back to my place at the " table, without returning my sincere thanks " to the electors of Westminster, for the " honour they have conferred upon me; " assuring them that my whole life shall " be devoted to their service." Sir Francis concluded by giving

5. The Electors of Westminster.

The chairman then gave

6. The 5134 Electors who so nobly stood forward to assert their own Rights, and to excite the People of England to assert theirs.

7. Those electors of Bristol, who on the 2d of June, with Mr. H. HUNT, at their head, assembled to celebrate the return of Sir Francis Burdett.

8. May the ineffective of THE REGIMENT be speedily disbanded, and the RED BOOK reduced to its proper dimensions.

After a song, in which allusions were made to the practices of Greece, MR. FREND rose and made a short speech as nearly as can be recollected in the following words: " Gentlemen, I should not have " presumed to address you, nor should I " have thought it right to call upon your at- " tention, if the object of my rising could " with propriety have been proposed from " the chair. But, as I have now so far en- " gaged your attention, I shall trespass upon " it; and I hope meet with some indul- " gence, notwithstanding the allusions in " the excellent song, which we have just " heard. If I do allude to the Grecians, " modern times have afforded frequent in- " stances of the same example; and the " game of ancient days admits of varia- " tions. I mean to speak to you of an old " Greek game, played to the amusement of " many of the courts of Italy. There it " was not unusual for a splendid court to be " seated in grand form, to witness what " was to them a very pleasing and agreeable " kind of combat. Two parties, dressed " out in different colours, took their station " at the opposite ends of a bridge: such a " one is at Pisa, the last place, I believe, " where the game has been played with " any great effect. The business of the " parties is to endeavour to get at the top of " the bridge, to drive their adversaries be- " fore them, and to keep possession in spite " of repeated attacks. Each party is armed " with poles, stuffed at the end that they " may not hurt one another, but sufficiently " strong to drive an opponent forwards, and " not unfrequently into the river. Then " the Ethiopian sets up a great laugh; the ladies " [illegible] courtiers are delighted. On " [illegible] the dukes, marquisses, " counts, and cavaliers, tumbling into the " stream; exhibiting strange grimaces " when they come to the top of the water; " calling out to the by standers on the banks " for assistance; whilst the party on the " top of the bridge are rending the air " with shouts of triumph, parading in their " places with all the pride of victory, and " receiving various rewards from the sove- " reign, who is looking on from an adjoin- " ing balcony.——You cannot conceive, " Gentlemen, the delight which a game of " this kind gave to a court in Italy, and to " those of the populace, who could get a " sight of it as they stood on the banks of " the river. But what you would most ad- " mire is the small expence, at which this " game is played. For five thousand se- " quins the expences of both parties are de- " frayed; their dresses; their poles; their " ribbands; and all their honours and re- " wards. Much depends in this game on " the goodness of the leader; on his know- " ing his men, and their attachment to him: " To be at the top of the bridge secures to " the leader of one party unbounded ap- " plause, whilst the leader of the other band " skulks about at a distance, complaining " most bitterly, sometimes at court, and " sometimes among the populace, just as it " may happen, of unfair play.——This " beautiful, this delightful game, Gentle- " men, is played on the bridge of Pisa, at " no greater expence than five thousand " sequins. In another country that sum " would not procure a deputy leader of the " band; and in our own country this beau- " tiful, this delightful game is played at the " expence of as many millions. Yes! " Gentlemen, you are all witnesses to a si- " milar game, though it may not afford you " so much amusement, as the bridge of Pisa " does to the noble and royal spectators of " Italy. The Ins and the Outs, Gentle- " men, for by this name they are called, are " our combatants: but this day has given a " fearful apprehension to both parties, that " another is likely to start, that may choose " to have some share in the game.——In- " deed, if it was so delightful at Pisa to see " first one party, then the other, tumbling " into the stream, do you not think, that " they would have been in raptures to see, " during the height of the conflict, a third " party unexpectedly rising, and driving " both the others into the river? Which " would have laughed most on this occasion, " the court or the populace? That the game " had been greatly improved, all, I am per- " suaded, would acknowledge. The game " in its old form was played last Friday, " and was kept up from five in the after-

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" noon to past six in the morning: it is to " be renewed again, I understand, next " Monday; and notice is given for ano- " ther trial of strength in about a fort- " night after. The combatants will push " at each other; and throw each other " down; and triumph over each other; and " complain some of them most bitterly; " and what will after all be the result of the " wordy conflict? The defeated combatants " will retire to their country seats, to refresh " themselves after their fatigues, and to pre- " pare for another attack; when they will " not fail to put forth all their strength to " drive off their adversaries from the places " they held on the top of the bridge.—— " But this day, Gentlemen, has put a new " face on the game. The nobodys—the " nothings—the men, who according to the " apprehension of the rival combatants, " have no stake in the country—the men, " who are fit for nothing but to find the " poles for the game, or to make their bo- " dies steps for a combatant to get to the " bridge without soiling his shoes—these " men are found at last to be something. " Yes, Gentlemen, when we consider the " order and regularity of this day's proces- " sion; the myriads that hailed its progress; " the blaze of beauty, which from every " window beamed propitiously on the be- " loved object of this day's solemnity; we " may be assured, that it has read a lesson, " which the rival parties will make the sub- " ject of the deepest meditation. A third " party is now, they will be persuaded, " formed: and this third party is the Pub- " lic. The public cannot be satisfied with " childrens play; the bandying merely of " words; the idle contest of which is to be " at the top of the bridge.——It is time, " Gentlemen, to get rid of words and " terms, which have too long been bandied " about in our history. Whigs and Tories " have had their day: they are gone by: " may they both be forgotten forever! " For, though I acknowledge, that the prin- " ciples of the Whigs are deeply fixed in " my breast; yet the persons professing " them, have been so mixed with those of " the other party, and have so frittered " down those principles, that the name only " remains; the substance is lost. But, if " the name of Whig is to be retained, and " we are to be classed under that denomina- " tion, a distinction should be made, and " the high and the low Whigs should be se- " parated from each other. Let the high " class, the aristocratical Whig, aim at a " post on the top of the bridge: we, the " low Whigs, will be contented with our " stations at the foot: but, we demand, " and shall not rest till our demands are " complied with, that the public may be at- " tended to, and that to the public its just " and legal rights be restored.——Gentle- " men, the Aristocratical Whig may, if he " pleases, stigmatize us with the name of " Democrats: he may upbraid us in any " manner he pleases, because we are for " measures not for men. The man of our " choice is he, who will pursue those mea- " sures only, which are founded on the con- " stitution of our country: who will not " make them the stalking horse to get into " power, but will steadily pursue the strait " path, which is pointed out by the good of " the country, and the constitutional land- " marks fixed by our ancestors. The pub- " lic demands, and has a right to demand, " that such men only should deliver their " sentiments in parliament, and for this " reason the claim is just, and reasonable, " and must be approved of by all honest " men, that the House of Commons be " purged of its placemen and pensioners; " that its members be the representatives of " the public, not the choice of a few private " individuals; that parliaments be frequent, " so that the members may not lose sight of " their duty to their constituents; and thus, " that all parties may co-operate in a zea- " lous attachment to the true interest of " their king and their country.—— Gentle- " men, I will detain you no longer. This " day will be long remembered; and, " when you reflect on the nature of the " election, which has been crowned with so " noble a triumph, you will, I am convin- " ced, always bear in mind the exertions of " the committee, by which it was so well " conducted, and applaud the choice they " made of my worthy friend in the chair, to " speak their sentiments on the Hustings. " The manner in which he performed that " task, will ever be glorious to him. It " commanded the admiration of his ene- " mies, and secured to him that approba- " tion from the public, which he had long " enjoyed among those to whom he was " more intimately known. I am sure that " the toast I am to give will be received " with universal applause, and for that pur- " pose I need only name to you the health " of Mr. Jennings, our worthy chairman."

This speech of Mr. Frend was received with applause proportioned to its excellence. The company, as he proceeded, applied every part of his description, and *the battles of the bridge* will now serve as an apt figure, whereby to point out battles, in which we are much more nearly concerned.——Mr. Frend gave

9. Mr. Jennings, our worthy chairman.

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Mr. Jennings, whose modesty appears to be equal to his merit, expressed his satisfaction at being thought worthy of a mark of respect from the electors of Westminster, but added, that that satisfaction would be greatly diminished, were he not convinced that the success, this day celebrated, was the effect of no talents or exertions on his part, but purely that of the public spirit of the people. He then gave, as the last toast,

10. The election committee.

Which being drunk, Mr. Stirch, one of the committee, rose, and in a very sensible and even elegant speech, returned thanks in the name of the committee, and made some observations relating to the business of the day, which produced not the less effect because they came from an honest, plain tradesman. Indeed, the conduct of the whole of this committee, from the beginning to the end, has been such as to merit the praise of every good man in the city. They have, in all their proceedings, been at once resolute and mild. There has no where, amongst them, appeared any thing like selfishness or vanity; and, what is particularly commendable, they have acted towards Sir Francis Burdett personally with as much respect and deference as if they had had no hand whatever in causing him to be elected. They have, in no case, attempted to dictate to him, or to intrude their advice upon him; but, like the people at large, for whom, in this instance, they have acted, they have taken his character as ample security for his conduct.

This day, so glorious to Westminster, and so auspicious an omen for the people of England in general, was, however, a day of cruel disappointment to our enemies, who were anticipating hitherto unheard-of follies and acts of violence. Here and there, during our procession, one of their half-hidden faces was seen scowling upon us, with a grin like that which Milton gives to the devil, when, from behind a thicket, he beheld the yet unbittered happiness of our first parents. They seemed to wet their fangs against the hour of vengeance, and to exult in the idea of seeing the streets stream with our blood. But, as if Satan himself had deserted them, there was not to be found one single man, woman, or child so to act as to afford gratification to their diabolical malice, or to give countenance to the slanderous assertion, that Sir Francis Burdett had been chosen by a rabble. Yes, to the great disappointment and mortification, to the utter confusion of these base and malignant slaves, who hate us only because they have robbed and are robbing us, not a single act of violence was committed; not a single attempt to excite an uproar was made, there was no mob at any time or anywhere assembled, and not even a single accident occurred. The vile hireling Morning Post, though it had done all in its power to provoke popular fury; though it had so basely and outrageously calumniated Sir Francis Burdett and the people of Westminster; though it had sought to inflame the people by hiring men at three shillings a day to write "*down with the Morning Post*" against the walls; notwithstanding all these endeavours to become an object of popular vengeance, it was not able to obtain the breaking of one of its windows; nor was there, in the whole city, a single pane of glass broken. Those who chose to illuminate their houses, did so, those who did not choose to do it, remained undisturbed in the gloom of their discontent. There was no gin-treated rabble, headed by official ruffians, conscious of impunity, to demolish people's houses unless they put on the face of joy. It was the triumph of the real people of Westminster, resolved to be free themselves, and scorning the thought of violating the freedom of others.——This being the case, there was, of course, no great necessity for *troops* and *artillery*. Yet did the unparalleled foresight and precaution of our royal Commander in Chief make ample provision of both. The different guards about the palace and also about the offices at Whitehall were doubled, and supplied well with ball-cartridges. The several regiments were drawn out in the morning and kept under arms. A great body of the horse artillery corps was kept ready harnessed in St James's park, to draw the cannons, if, unhappily, it should be found requisite. The volunteer corps were summoned to muster, and for what purpose may be gathered from the following orders of two of the corps, of which I have obtained a copy.

"*St. James's Westminster, Loyal Volunteers. Regimental Orders, 27th June,* 1807.——You are requested to attend parade at Dufour's Place, in uniform, *on Monday evening next, at six o'clock*—and to hold yourself in readiness to attend, if summoned for that purpose, from four o'clock.—AMHERST, *Colonel.*"——The other is an order in terms rather more explicit. It shews us, also, that those vigilant persons, the police magistrates, were not idle, though they, doubtless to their great satisfaction, were not, upon this occasion, called forth to make any extraordinary exertions for the most ample salaries that the people pay them.——"A. G. V." (These are, I suppose, the initials of the name of the corps.) "Having received a

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"requisition, from the magistrates at the "Public Office, Hatton-Garden, for the "regiment under my command to hold it- "self in readiness *to assist the civil power* "*in preserving the peace, on Monday next,* "*the 29th instant*, and to continue upon duty "until such time in the evening as they "may *with safety* be dismissed by the ma- "gistrates, the regiment will therefore as- "semble, on parade, at four o'clock in the "afternoon of that day precisely, with "FIXED FLINTS And it is expected, "for *the honour* of the regiment, that, "upon an occasion when *its services* may "be of REAL utility, no member will on "any account absent himself.——W. READER, *L. C. C.—Orderly Room, June 26,* "1807."——So, *this* is the REAL *utility* of the volunteer corps, is it? It is well enough to be apprized of this. It must have been a source of great gratification to William Reader, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, to find that his "FIXED "FLINTS" were not necessary, and that, upon this occasion, there was no need of putting *the honour* of the corps to the test. And, how happy, how beyond measure happy, must volunteer colonel Lord Amherst have been on Monday night to find, that his precaution was super-abundant, and that the people, *from the fruit of whose labour he annually receives a very large pension*, could chair their representative, legally and virtuously chosen, and return to their houses, without requiring to be shot at!——But, how great, how exquisite, must then have been the happiness of the Duke of York, whose tender, whose almost more than motherly care of the lives of all the king's subjects, has, upon every occasion of danger, been so conspicuous! The ground, in which my habitation stands, consists of about three acres, the greater part of which is in grass. In this grass, and at about forty yards from my door, a skylark chose as the place to build her nest. Never having before seen one of these naturally shy birds fix its breeding place so near to a house, and having been so much delighted with the singing of the old bird, we delayed the mowing of the grass a little longer than we otherwise should have done, in order to give the young birds time to get fledged. When we saw them out of the nest, the mower was set to work; but, not without some fear as to the fate of the brood, I requested him to begin at the part most distant from the nest; but, (and the fact is a very curious one) my fears were soon completely removed; for he had not cut the third swarth, when the old larks, skimming up in the air, taking a turn over his head, and perceiving whereunto his operations tended, flew back in great haste, carefully collected their young ones all together upon a little mound, and, having so done, they gave me a farewell chirrup, and away they flew into my neighbour's field.—"There!" said I to myself, "is an instance of tenderness and of foresight of danger, equalled only by our consummate Commander in Chief!"—— How happy, then, must that royal person have felt on Monday night, upon finding that there was no need for those precautions, which he had so laudably taken, and that the several corps of troops had nothing to do but to go back quietly to their barracks, and return their ammunition into the magazines, there to be kept until wanted to kill those bloody-minded villains, the French, who, were they to become masters of our country, would, doubtless, establish an accursed military despotism, in order to be able to plunder us with impunity!——No. There was no need of troops. When the king used to go to the House of Lords, there were an abundance of troops, of constables, and of thief-takers. The same were seen at the proclaiming of the peace of Amiens. Troops are, it seems, sometimes called in at the Opera-House. Troops, we are told, were stationed, the other evening, at the Marquis of Abercorn's ball, in order to preserve tranquillity. Muskets and bayonets are become of great vogue; but, they were not wanted on Monday. Two thousand people could dine with Sir Francis Burdett without muskets and bayonets to preserve tranquillity, and I saw, on Monday last, what it must have grated the hearts of our enemies to have seen, *half a million* of English people assembled, and I saw not so much as a constable's staff! And yet our miscreant enemies call us Jacobins and Levellers, leading a deluded mob!——It is useless to say more upon this subject at present than merely this, that these our enemies, and the enemies of our country will be convinced, in due time, that all their calumnies, their curses, and their infamous endeavours of another sort, will avail them nothing.

SIR HENRY MILDMAY.——To begin recording the *Proceedings in Parliament* I shall not be able in the present sheet. Observations, therefore, upon the king's speech, and upon the two famous quarrelling debates about places, pensions, and jobs, as also upon the motion of Col. Cochrane Johnstone, relative to the situation of the soldiers in the West Indies, and the notified motion of Lord Cochrane, respecting places, sinecures, and pensions, held by members of the House of Commons, must be postponed till my next. But, I cannot put

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off what I think it proper to say about the *Moulsham* contract. On Monday last, on the very day, and at the very hour, when the people were chairing the man whom they so much look up to as the enemy of a wasteful expenditure of the public money, Sir Henry Mildmay and Mr. Sturges were endeavouring to defend themselves in the House of Commons. Sir Henry moved for the producing before the House of a *memorial*, which, it seems, he, *since the exposure of the affair*, has presented to the Military Commissioners, upon whose report, it will be recollected, the newspaper exposures were founded. What was his real reason for so long a delay in making this memorial I shall leave the reader to judge, and, I will take the Baronet's defence, just as I find it reported most at length in the newspapers. ——"Sir H. Mildmay rose, to give an explanation of some circumstances, which had caused much unmerited obloquy to be cast upon him. He did not wish to conceal the state of anxiety in which he was. But that anxiety arose from a fear, lest his abilities should not be sufficiently adequate to the task; and lest the feelings of one, little accustomed to calumny, should render him incapable of giving a full explanation. That transaction was the only one he had ever had with government, or ever would have if he could help it.—— This fourth report (he had his hand on it) had been *perverted* for the purpose of casting aspersions on him; and it had been said, that he had received undue favours from government, and had taken an undue advantage of the public. That charge was *most false and unfounded*; but he did not think himself called upon to answer *anonymous aspersions*, and had therefore waited with patience till the meeting of parliament gave him an opportunity of *justifying* himself. He felt that this explanation was due to the house, to himself, and to the *constitution*, but particularly to the administration of Mr. Addington (Lord Sidmouth), during which the transaction had commenced; and more particularly still to one of the lords of the Treasury (Mr. S. Bourne), who at one period of the affair had been secretary of the Treasury, which had exposed him, as well as himself, to a great deal of unjust calumny.——In 1795, he had come into the possession of a large estate in Essex, on which he was obliged to reside three months in the year. The works began to be erected in 1803. During the time he resided there about 1500 people were engaged in them, which certainly did not render the residence the most desirable. All his tangible property on the outside of the house was in danger, and his family not very comfortable; but he still resided there till nine nights out of ten, footpad robberies were committed in the fields near his house. He then thought that he had some claim to relief by law from the residence, and applied to Mr. Addington's administration for that purpose. He then was directed to apply to Mr. Vansittart, and obtained what he wanted. But the bill went only to relieve him for four years, and he was actually obliged to return to the place with all its inconveniences on the 24th of June next. If this was a job, it was singular that *the administration should have jobbed against themselves, for he never gave them a vote in his life.* He made the proposal of the house as a residence for the General of the district, to Mr. Gordon, who told him that he could do nothing without a report from the barrack board. Their report was favourable, and he had a meeting with Mr. Dundas, the Secretary at War, who said that it would be necessary to send a surveyor to examine the premises. Mr. Johnstone, the surveyor to the board, was then sent. He was totally unconnected with Mr. Johnstone, whom he had never seen in his life, and who had his own way in the whole affair. He made a report that 400l. was a fair rent for the house and 20 acres about it. The house was furnished, as he had not removed one article. The house had cost 70,000l. He had received 200l. for repairs and 400l. a year for rent. On the 24th of June, 1804, the bargain was made, but the lease was not signed as General Delancey left the board. The rent was, however, due from that period. As to the letters from one department to another, he had nothing to do with them, and never saw them till they appeared in the report. By the General residing in it, the government would save money. For their repairs he was not obliged to them, as he wished to have the house pulled down. But he had received no atom of compensation for being turned out of doors. On the 18th of August a jury was impannelled—one would think from the report that it was in 1803; but it was in 1804, which made a very material difference. On that occasion he employed the agent that generally acted for the gentlemen in that part of the country. The agent employed counsel; but he had given him no instructions to do so, and knew nothing of it. The jury was one of the most respectable that ever sat, and did not give a rash or hasty

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"verdict—for they were locked up three "hours before they agreed upon it. They "gave a verdict of 1800l. for thirty acres "one rood, &c. on which the military "works stood. But he would ask, if "there was a single word in the verdict "that prevented him from living in the "house or pulling it down, if he thought "proper: and a surveyor had valued "the house at 10,000 pounds, which would "produce 400l. a-year. Was there any "thing that prevented him from letting "the house to the Speaker of the House of "Commons, to Government, or to any one "else? The thirty acres for the military "works, had nothing whatever to do with "the Barrack Office agreement as to the "house and twenty acres. The furniture "for such a house was worth a good round "sum. This estate was worth above "£11,000, and had a suitable house. "For this £400 a-year was no adequate "compensation. He had been told that "the Grand Junction Canal had to go "through Lord Essex's Park, and he would "be contented with one-fourth of the com-"pensation from Government that Lord "Essex received from private individuals. "The noble lord over the way (Howick) "had said, that he was unfit to sit on the "Committee of Finance, on account of "the facts that were stated in the Report. "This was certainly premature decision. "The Military Committee themselves had "said that no imputation rested on him. "They only said that the Barrack Board "had made a negligent bargain for the "public; at all events he would not be a "moment longer in possession of this lease, "and he intreated of his Majesty's Minis-"ters to have a fresh Jury impannelled. "He wished to justify himself, and would "answer any questions that should be put "to him, either at the Bar of the House, "in his place, or in a Court of Justice. "As he had spoken from memory, some "subordinate points might not be accurately "stated, but the substance was correct. "He concluded by moving for the produc-"tion of a Memorial which he had given "in, to the Commissioners of Military Inqui-"ry."——It is very easy to cry *calumny*, when a man is accused; but, amongst the *anonymous* assailants Sir Henry Mildmay cannot, at any rate, include *me*, who have never in my whole life written and published any thing, except my first pamphlets in America, to which I have not put my name.——I should have been glad to find (and I say this with perfect sincerity) in the speech of Sir Henry Mildmay a complete justification; because his conduct in Hampshire at the first election, and particularly his bringing forward the petition against the interference of the late ministry, was such as to merit great praise. There is also one circumstance brought out in his speech, which weighs in his favour, namely, that the bill, freeing him from the obligation of residence, did not, in its effect, extend further than the term for which the lands were let to the public. But, I must confess, that this is the only favourable new circumstance that I can perceive.——As to the *report* of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry, from what I have seen of other reports, I am disposed always to form my judgement upon the documents on which they are founded; and, that Sir Henry Mildmay may be convinced, that I wish the public to receive, or, at least, to retain, no unjust impression against him, I shall insert the documents here, relative to the Moulsham contract.—The first document has *no date*. It is a something of Sir J. Craig, calling upon two Justices of the peace to apply to the Sheriff to impannel a jury to decide on the compensation which Sir Henry Mildmay was to receive. Now we come to dates. Several months *before* this jury was called, namely on the 15th of May, 1804, (having, without waiting for the steps required by the law *voluntarily* given up the land to the commanding officer), Sir H. Mildmay writes to the Quarter Master General, Brownrigg, offering him to let his house, his place of residence, which stood near the ground, occupied by the works, for £400 a year, an act of parliament having previously passed to free him from the obligation of residence. Upon this, Mr. Brownrigg writes to the Secretary at War, by order (no; by *command*; that is the word) of the Duke of York, to take the House upon lease. On the 24th of May a surveyor reports, that £400 a year is a fair price for the House, but that it will require £250 to put it in repair, though in the evidence of Sir Henry Mildmay, he states that he looked upon it as being in perfect repair. On the 11th of June the Secretary at war writes to the then Barrack-Master, General Delancy, stating that Sir Henry Mildmay agrees to give up £200 towards repairs. Thus, then, the *bargain* was concluded in the month of June, 1804, and then Sir Henry knew, that he was to receive £400 a year for the rent of his house and pleasure grounds surrounding it. It was *after* this, on the 6th of August, 1804, that the *Jury* met, with *two counsel* on the part of Sir Henry Mildmay and *no counsel or advocate* on the part of the public; and they awarded him 1,300 a year for the first year

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and £600 for each succeeding year, for the use of 31 acres of ground, occupied by the military works, taking into consideration that the works had *destroyed his place of residence*, This award seems enormous; for the land must be very good indeed if it was annually worth £2 an acre, that is to say, £62 a year. Sir Henry Mildmay says, upon his oath, that the Jury allowed £200 a year for the *use of the land*, and £400 a year *to provide him with another place of residence*, which was, I think, a pretty hard bargain for the public, and a pretty good one for Sir Henry Mildmay, especially when he had obtained an act of parliament, *at the public expence*, to release him from the obligation of residence in a house standing in need of £250 laid out in repairs; but, what will be said, then, what can be said, for Sir Henry Mildmay, who *received this award*, who accepted of the £400 a year from the public, as a compensation for the loss of his place of residence, after he had, *unknown to the jury*, already bargained with the government to receive £400 *for that same place of residence from that same public?*——Nothing but proof that the documents are forgeries can possibly alter the state of this case; though there is a further document, which adds strength to it.——General Hewett, after he became Barrack Master General, made, as the reader will see, an objection to concluding the lease for the house, stating that it was "incurring a "heavy expence to the public without any "apparent benefit." But, Mr. Brownrigg, by *command* of the Duke of York, tells him, that "it was *thought necessary* "*to hire the house to* REMUNERATE "Sir Henry Mildmay whose *place of* "*residence had been destroyed by the field* "*works*." Here, then, we have the trouble compensation in express terms. Mr. Brownrigg says *the House is taken* at £400 a year to remunerate Sir Henry Mildmay for the loss of his place of residence; and Sir Henry Mildmay, upon his oath before the Commissioners, states that *the jury awarded him*, and that he has received £400 to provide him with another place of residence.—Sir Henry Mildmay may complain of *calumnies* as long as he pleases; but, until he can prove these documents to be forgeries, every man, who reads this Register must be convinced, that Sir Henry Mildmay, a member of parliament, a guardian of the public money, has, out of that money, received, knowingly and willingly, payment twice for the same thing.——There was one circumstance, stated in Sir Henry Mildmay's speech, which, at the first glance, I thought somewhat favourable; but, upon looking at the *dates* this impression was at once removed. He says *the transaction* took place *under the administration of Mr. Addington, to whom he never gave a vote in his life; so that if it was a job, it was singular that the ministry should have jobbed against themselves.* Now, if this statement had been correct, it would have had great weight with me, as far as related to the motives of the ministers, though no weight at all as far as related to Sir Henry Mildmay's conduct towards the public. But, this statement is not correct; it is not true; but the reverse of truth; for, though land was occupied, and the bill to excuse residence was passed, under the administration of Mr. Addington, the bargain for the House was not made, no, nor did Sir Henry Mildmay make any offer to let the House to the public, nor was he summoned, until that Pitt, *for whom he always voted*, came into power, and then, *in just one week after that*, he made the offer. ——These *dates* are pestering things. If all the documents had been like that of Sir James Craig, a tolerably plausible story might have been made out, as far as related to the conduct of the ministers.——Now for Mr. Sturges (he has another name, but one is quite enough for me).—This Gentleman was a Secretary of the Treasury, under the second golden reign of Pitt; and, it will be seen by the documents, inserted below, that General Hewett called for £250 to put Sir Henry Mildmay's House in repair, in answer to which call Mr. Sturges signs an order for issuing, from the public money, 643 pounds. In his defence he said, that "he was an- "swerable for any mistake in the letter, "but when he had to sign so many *it was* "*not surprising* that a mistake should have "occurred in one, which it was not thought "required any very minute attention. The "letter ought not to have alluded to repairs "at all, and the gentlemen must have "known that the letter admitted of a dif- "ferent construction from what they had "put upon it. Having stated this, he left "it to the house to judge of the fairness of "their proceedings. He would ask the no- "ble lord (H. Petty), whether he had found "that he had ever been apt to make use of "his official situation to serve his friends "particularly? The charge against him was "*false, foul*, and *scandalous*, and he had on- "ly to say that he had much rather be the "object of it than the author."——But, how does this prove the charge to be *false, foul*, and *scandalous*? It might be a mistake; but it *might not*. People will have their different opinions upon that point. All that we can *know*, upon this subject, is, that,

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than £250 at most, *ought* to have been issued for the repairs of Sir Henry Mildmay's house, £643 were *ordered* to be issued, and we have nothing to make us believe, that that sum *was not* issued, a point upon which no member of parliament recollected to touch, but one which is well worth inquiring into.——So, "it is *not surprising*," that mistakes of this sort are made! Then we are in a comfortable way indeed! When we complain, that such enormous sums of the public money are expended upon salaries with scarcely any duty attached to them, "oh," say our enemies, "but the *responsibility*!" Would you allow nothing for that? And when we discover that the money is wasted in the way now exposed, we are answered by merely saying it was a *mistake*, and that we *ought not to be at all surprised at it*. Surprized at it I am not; but, to be told, that I ought not to be surprized at it, is being a little too bold with my endurance.——Mr. Sturges has complained of the Morning Chronicle for not inserting the speech of Lord Henry Petty, who acquitted him of any blame; but, of what consequence is *this sort* of acquittal? At most it amounts merely to evidence to character; and, of that evidence every man will, of course, form his own opinion.——I do not wish to labour this point against Mr. Sturges. Here are the documents, and I wish to leave the reader to form his own opinion.——N. B. Sir James Craig's paper to the two Justices and the award of Jury are omitted, because the former is of no consequence at all in the consideration, and because the substance of the latter consists wholly in the *date* of it, and in the sum awarded, the rest being a mere mass of verbosity and tautology.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Henry Mildmay, Baronet, to the Quarter Master General; dated Somerset-street, May 15, 1804.

The substance of my proposition is, that the house and stables should be appropriated to the residence of the staff which may reside in that district, and the rent which I annex to the occupation is four hundred pounds a year.——I propose to leave in the house the whole of the furniture (with the exception perhaps of a few trifling articles) which I found there, which was always considered as fully sufficient for the use of the family who previously resided there.——The term which I mean to let it is four years, or five, at the option of either party. I expect to be exempted from all taxes; and as the house is now in perfect repair, I think it reasonable, that, in case any dilapidations should arise, that government should undertake to replace them,

Letter from Major General Brownrigg to Francis Moore, Esq. Dated Horse Guards, 10th May, 1804.

Sir,——I have it in command from his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, to request that you will call the attention of the Secretary at War to the following circumstances: A considerable extent of the entrenched camp at Chelmsford passes through Moulsham Park, a residence of Sir Henry Mildmay. This gentleman, by the will of a relation, was bound to residence; but being willing to accommodate the public, he admitted of the works being constructed, and a general authority was given to the Commander in Chief by my Lord Hobart, to hire the house for the accommodation of the general in command, and his staff.——It was found this transaction could not be completed without an act of parliament, to exonerate Sir Henry Mildmay from the penalties attaching to non-residence, according to the will of his relation. A bill has in consequence been carried through both houses, and I am commanded by his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief to request the authority of the Secretary at War to conclude this transaction, by hiring the house and furniture for a period of four years, at the annual rent of four hundred a year, the terms which are specified in the inclosed extract of a letter from Sir Henry Mildmay.——I have it further in command to observe, that, should the lieutenant general commanding in the district judge it expedient to fix his head quarters at Chelmsford, the amount of his lodging-money, and that of his staff (which will be saved by his occupying this residence) will be equivalent to the rent paid to Sir Henry Mildmay. But, should it be occupied by a major general, some unavoidable expence must annually accrue to the public.——I have, &c.—(Signed) Ros. Brownrigg, Q. M. Gl.

Letter from James Johnson, Esq. to Lieut. General De Lancey. Dated Barrack Office, 24th May, 1804.

Sir,——In obedience to your orders I proceeded to Moulsham, near Chelmsford, in Essex, the seat of Sir Henry Saint John Mildmay, Baronet; inclosed I transmit you the plans and particulars of the said premises.——The mansion is strong and well built; the roof is covered principally with patent slates, that continually let in the wet, of course it is a business that should be kept in repair by Sir Henry, as it is owing to the construction, and cannot be remedied; great part of the wood-work inside and out the house require painting; paving in the area

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centre of the house requires re-laying, and making good; stone steps should be re-set, and made good with new; great part of the wood-work in basement story, such as floors, joists, skirting, &c. require immediate repairs, being rotted by damps; brick-work outside of house, garden walls, doors, door-cases, require repairs.——Stable building: roof very bad, brick-work to external walls require making good, and settlements secured; floors in hay loft, and servants sleeping rooms very bad; it rains in in several places.——The mansion is in general furnished, which may be more fully explained by inventory from Sir Henry Mildmay.——To put the house and offices into tenantable repair will cost the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds; the annual amount after will not exceed fifty pounds to keep them in repair. The taxes are supposed to amount to one hundred and forty-three pounds. If the said premises are put in proper repair, and to include the twenty acres of pleasure ground, &c. round the house, as described on the general plan, I am of opinion, four hundred pounds per annum is a fair rent to give for the same, after Sir Henry has put the premises in repair.——I have, &c.——Jas. Johnson, Arch^t.

Letter from the Right Hon. Wm. Dundas to Lieut. General De Lancey. Dated War Office, 11th June, 1804.

Sir,——Having communicated to Sir Henry Mildmay the report of Mr. Johnston, transmitted in Lieutenant Colonel Gordon's letter of the 29th ultimo, and Sir Henry Mildmay having offered to relinquish half a year's rent (£200) on condition that the repairs pointed out by Mr. Johnson should be executed at the expence of the public, I have thought it right to accede to this proposal, and am to desire that you will accordingly enter into an agreement with Sir Henry Mildmay, for the hire of the premises of Moulsham Hall for four years, charging the rent, taxes, and repairs thereof, in your accompts, and availing yourself, for the use of the public, of the advantage (if any) that may arise from the possession of the land attached to the said premises.——I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant, W. Dundas.

Letter from Lieut. General Hewett to Major General Brownrigg. Dated Barrack Office, 27th Nov. 1804.

Sir,——The expences which will attend the taking of Sir H. Mildmay's house amounting to a sum beyond the latitude given by the Treasury to the present Barrack Master General, I am induced, previous to my transmitting it for approval, to observe, for his Royal Highness's consideration, that the situation and extensive scale on which it is constructed, as well as the length of time which has elapsed since it was inhabited, render it, as a matter of choice, very unfit for any officer to inhabit, in preference to hired accommodations in the town of Chelmsford; and as the annual expence will amount to six hundred and forty-three pounds, as per inclosed estimate, exclusive of two hundred and fifty pounds for immediate repair, and as the house cannot be applied to other purposes, *I should not consider myself justified in proposing the incurring so great an expence, without any apparent benefit to the public.*——You will observe the authority for taking this house was dated last June, and might have been completed under the authority of the late Barrack Master General; that the delay has not arisen from me, but, perhaps, from a change of opinion on the part of his Royal Highness, on the grounds I have stated.——I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,——

(Signed) G. H.

Estimate of Sir H. Mildmay's House.

Rent	£400 0 0	per ann.
Taxes	143 0 0	
Officer of the Barrack Department in charge of the House	50 0 0	
Annual Repairs	50 0 0	
	£643 0 0	
Immediate repairs required to make the Premises habitable, and to be executed by the Barrack Department	250 0 0	

Letter from Major General Brownrigg to the Barrack Master General. Dated, Horse Guards, 23d Jan. 1805.

Sir,——I have it in command from his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, to desire that the premises hired from Sir Henry Mildmay, near Chelmsford, *may be put in a state of repair*, to be occupied by the general and staff officers attached to the troops at that station.——These repairs, as stated in your communication on this subject, will amount to two hundred and fifty pounds.—I am further commanded to observe, as you remark upon the expence of these premises being disproportioned to the public utility which may be derived from them; that the agreement entered into by the late Barrack Master General was sanctioned on account of its being *necessary to hire these premises*, and in doing so *to remunerate Sir Henry Mildmay*, whose resi-

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dence had been destroyed by the field works which had been constructed in the immediate vicinity of the house.——You will be pleased to direct a report to be made to Lieut. General Sir James Craig, when the building is in readiness to receive the officers he may direct to inhabit it.——I have the honour to be, &c. &c.——ROBERT BROWNRIGG, Qr. Master Gen.

Letter from the Barrack Master General to William Huskisson, Esq. Dated, Barrack Office, 13th Feb. 1805.

SIR,——Inclosed is the copy of a letter from the Quarter Master General, notifying to me the commands of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, to put in a state of repair the premises hired from Sir Henry Mildmay near Chelmsford, to be occupied by the general and staff officers attached to the troops at that station; but as the lease of the said premises was not signed by the late Barrack Master General, although possession was taken by placing a person in charge thereof, and the repairs, mentioned in Major Gen. Brownrigg's letter, executed, amounting to *two hundred and fifty pounds*, I have the honour, in conformity to the Treasury minute of the 6th Nov. (which precludes me from incurring any expence exceeding five hundred pounds, without the previous sanction of the lords commissioners) to request their lordships approval to complete the lease in question.——For their lordships further information, an estimate of the expence is herewith transmitted.

Letter from William Sturges Bourne, Esq. to the Barrack Master General, Dated, Treasury Chambers, Feb. 26, 1805.

SIR,——Having laid before the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury your letter, transmitting a copy of one from the Quarter Master General, notifying to him the commands of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, to put in a state of repair the premises hired from Sir Henry Mildmay, near Chelmsford, to be occupied by the general and staff officers attached to the troops at that station, and inclosing an estimate of the expences thereof, amounting to *six hundred and forty-three pounds*, and also requesting the approval of this board to complete the lease in question; I have received their lordships commands to authorise you to pay the said sum, and to complete the lease accordingly.—I am, &c.—W. STURGES BOURNE.

Examination of Sir Henry Paulet St. John Mildmay, Bart.; taken upon Oath, the 28th April, 1806.

We have learned that a military work has been carried through your park at Moulsham, near Chelmsford; state under what authority was this done, what quantity of land the work occupies, and when it began?——A. The land was taken under the authority of the Defence Act; the quantity now occupied is, I think, about thirty-two acres; it was originally only twenty-nine; the work began about the year 1803.——Q. 2. What compensation have you received, or are you to receive, on account of this work being carried through your park?—A. A jury was impannelled, who made an award to me of one thousand three hundred pounds for the first year, and six hundred a year so long as the land should continue in the occupation of government; and that government, when they ceased to occupy the land, should restore it to its original state. I have understood, that the jury gave two hundred pounds per annum for the occupation of the land, and four hundred pounds per annum *to provide me with another place of residence.* The two hundred pounds a year is actually paid by me to my tenants.——Q. 3. Have you still the right to the feed of the land so occupied?—A. It is a complete occupation on the part of government.——Q. 4. Was the offer originally made by you to any public authority, to take your house at Moulsham, or was an application made to you for it?—A. I made the offer, I think, to the then Deputy Barrack Master General.——Q. 5. What was the reason of your making the offer?—A. From my having resided a good deal in Essex, I had seen the difficulty the different generals on the staff had of procuring residences, and, in consequence of repeated applications to me for the house from different general officers quartered at Chelmsford, I made the offer of it. Upon my making the offer to the then Deputy Barrack Master General, I was informed, that nothing could be done without a survey and report to him: some time afterwards I heard that a report had been made to him, and, in consequence of it, I was referred to General Brownrigg, and the Secretary at War, who treated with me for the house and premises.——Q. 6. Was this your usual residence whilst in the country?—A. I was bound to reside there, by will, three months in the year, till relieved by an act of parliament, procured at the expence of government, in consequence of the works erected near it, as already stated.——Q. 7. Is the land let with the house, stated to amount to near twenty acres, mere pleasure ground, or can it be applied to any useful purpose, consistent with the terms of the lease granted by you?—A. It is partly pleasure ground; but there is a large garden, partly inclosed, of about two acres, which I have no doubt would let for about eighteen pounds a year,

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including the gardener's house; besides which, there are about fourteen acres of very good pasture land, on which I have fatted sheep. The shrubbery consists of about two acres.——Q. 8. What will be the annual expence of keeping this shrubbery in proper order?—A. For perhaps half of what the garden might let for.——Q. 9. From whom do you receive the rent for the land occupied by the military work; and from whom for the house and premises?—A. For the land, from the Receiver General of the County of Essex; and for the house, from the Barrack Office.——Q. 10. Were any considerable repairs wanting to make the house habitable?—A. The house wanted painting; but I cannot conceive that it wanted any considerable repairs, as three or four years before I had entirely new covered it.——Sir Henry Mildmay having attended the same day to sign his examination, desired to add to his answer, No. 5, that the house was let furnished. H. P. S. MILDMAY.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

TURKEY AND RUSSIA.—*Manifesto of the Porte against Russia.*

(Concluded from Vol. XI. p. 1140.)

When the Porte, with great propriety, requested of the Russian Minister at Constantinople, that these proceedings should be desisted from, an evasive answer was always returned, and no disposition whatever was shewn to make a becoming reparation.—The Conduct of the Court of Russia seems always to have been actuated by a spirit totally contrary to the terms on which she had allied herself to the Porte. Both empires had agreed that Russia had no superior control over the Republic of the Seven Islands, which had acknowledged the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte. Each power had given that Republic a guarantee. When circumstances required troops to be marched into these territories, both the allied powers were to furnish them jointly, and the constitution of the Republic was fully established, acknowledged and approved of by both powers. Notwithstanding this convention, the Russian Court sent as many troops as they pleased to these Islands; a constitution was framed at St. Petersburgh, and transmitted to this republic, the offices in which were filled up by Russia, as if it were a country which lawfully belonged to her. Besides all this, these Islands were made a receptacle for the Turkish subjects from Romelia, who were either secretly or publicly seduced from their allegiance; and protection has been thus held out to traitors of every description. Not satisfied with this, there was no intrigue which was not resorted to against the ministers of the Sublime Porte in these islands and particularly against his Excellency Ali Pacha of Janina.—The Sublime Porte has resolved to observe the most conscientious neutrality towards the powers of Europe now at war; and the Russian court, which observed none of the rules of neutrality, and also sought to destroy that of the Porte, abused the privilege allowed her of sending her ships through the Black Sea for the use of the Seven Islands alone. The Russians, by means of their emissaries, secretly collected troops in Albania, and transmitted them, by means of the above privilege of navigation, to Italy, without the knowledge of the Porte.——Russia seemed determined to disturb the peace of mankind, when she excited, by means of her emissaries, an insurrection at Montenegro, when she marched troops into the very heart of the Turkish capital, and committed a variety of other acts tending to provoke hostilities.—With the same views, Russia published patents in the Provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, and appropriated to herself inhabitants without number, under various pretended titles. She treated both these provinces as if they were her own possessions: her consuls took a share in their administration: she pestered with constant complaints and hostile demonstrations the Hospodars who had been named by the Porte, and who did not fulfil her wishes, and openly protected all such as testified an adherence to Russia; so that the nomination by the Porte of the Hospodars of these two provinces became an object of derision.—Although every item of this conduct of Russia might be a justifiable ground for a declaration of war, yet the Sublime Porte always evinced the utmost patience, not because she thought herself weak or incapable, but because she wished to conduct herself in the most friendly manner in respect to the subjects of both empires, and was anxious to avoid the shedding of human blood. We shall here give an example of this.——The Sublime Porte lately dismissed the two Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, in consequence of existing circumstances. The Russian government took offence that they were not consulted, and presumed to oppose this arrangement. Any longer indulgence to the traitorous Hospodar of Wallachia, whose perfidy had been sufficiently evinced on many occasions, would have been highly detrimental to the Porte, and if Russia had been apprized of his intended dismissal, the intelligence would have reached that Hospodar, which would have occasioned a great deal of confusion; on which account Russia was not informed until he was actually dismissed Some

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time afterwards, the Russian minister at Constantinople made a requisition to the Porte on behalf of his government, that these Hospodars should be restored, and he was commanded, in the event of a refusal, to leave Constantinople with all his suite, as he asserted in all his communications. He afterwards declared that his government did not seize this as a pretext to display the hostile designs imputed to it; but added, that the restoration of the Hospodars was the sole and true object of his government; and that if the Porte consented to it, all misunderstandings between the two courts would cease; and that as he was commanded to communicate the result of this negotiation to the frontiers, he would immediately write on the subject. The Sublime Porte saw from this official declaration, that the Russian court sought a pretext for declaring war, and it was obvious from her unjustifiable and narrow-minded arrogance, that her object was to blame the Porte with the display of those hostile intentions which she herself cherished. The Porte consented, though contrary to its interest, to restore the two Hospodars, in order that the Russian government might have no cause for complaint to the other powers of Europe.—It was for a while believed that Russia, ashamed of her conduct, had desisted from all intention of making war upon the Porte. Two months and a half thus elapsed without suspicions, when, at the very moment that every thing bespoke peace and friendship, Russian troops appeared on the Turkish frontier; while the inhabitants, as well as the Governors of Choczim and Bender, considered themselves in full security in consequence of the alliance subsisting between the two empires. The commanders of the Russian troops abused the confidence thus reposed in them as friends, and after practising every species of artifice, possessed themselves of these two fortresses, contrary to the law of nations, as respected by every civilized power.——The Sublime Porte, which had not been apprized of this invasion, required a declaration on the subject from the Russian minister at Constantinople; the latter repeatedly declared that he had written to his court of the restoration of the Hospodars, as well as that of the Russian consuls on the Dniester, by virtue of the dispatches he had received on these subjects; and that the recent advance of those troops was no consequence of the above proceedings; so far as he was concerned himself, he knew of no ground or any rupture, and his court had made no communication to him on the subject. As the Sublime Porte received the intelligence quite unexpectedly of the hostilities of the Russians, by their occupation of the above fortresses, and the usurpation of the Turkish cities, they might have removed the Russian minister immediately from the capital; and although it would have been but fair to resort to usurpation against usurpation, yet the Sublime Porte, which had always evinced so much lenity, was unwilling that individuals should suffer from the inconvenience of war, and therefore allowed the Russian minister a certain time in order to obtain from his court a declaration on the subject of these proceedings. The Ottoman Porte acted in this manner with the view of giving the court of Russia an opportunity of acting with seeming consistency in the eyes of other powers, and thinking she would, for shame sake, at last respect the laws of nations.—— But after waiting 30 days from the commencement of hostilities, no answer was obtained from the Russian minister, except assurances that he had received no declaration from his court on the subject; and as the patience of the Porte was nearly exhausted, it would have been dangerous and detrimental to have granted any farther delay. On the other hand, General Michelson had sent inflammatory proclamations to the judges and governors of Romelia, in order to seduce the Mussulmen, and to sow discord in the cities of the empire.—To conclude, the disgraceful conduct of Russia to the Ottoman court is without example, and will never be imitated perhaps by any other power. As the hostilities of the Russians have now openly commenced, every Mussulman is bound, by his religion and the law of nations, to take vengeance on these perfidious enemies, against whom it has become necessary solemnly to declare war. The Sublime Porte places its whole confidence on the Almighty and avenging God; and in order to check the career of the enemy, it has become necessary to make exertions both by sea and land, to organize all our forces, and to act with energy and vigour. The Sublime Porte has therefore declared war, because its extraordinary lenity has only tended to increase the arrogance and usurpations of Russia.——As the Sublime Porte has done every thing to conciliate, the Russian court will be answerable for the blood which must be shed, and the miseries which must befal mankind; and until the latter court is taught to respect her treaties and alliances, the impossibility of placing any confidence in her must be allowed by all nations who are guided by lenity and candour.—Although the above motives for going to war are the result of transactions openly acknowledged by

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the whole world; and it may not be thought necessary to make any declaration on the subject; yet, in order to conform to diplomatic etiquette, the present Manifesto is hereby communicated to all the Foreign Ministers at Constantinople, in order that they may transmit it to their respective courts. Given at Constantinople, the 25th of the month Chevoal, in the year of Hegira 1221 (5th January, 1807.)

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

KING'S SPEECH.——*On Monday the 22d of June, 1807, the two Houses of Parliament having met, the Session was opened by Commission, and on Friday the 26th the following Speech was read by the Lord Chancellor.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,——We have it in command from his Majesty to state to you, that having deemed it expedient to recur to the sense of his people, his Majesty, in conformity to his declared intention, has lost no time in causing the present parliament to be assembled.—His Majesty has great satisfaction in acquainting you, that since the events which led to the dissolution of the last parliament, his Majesty has received, in numerous addresses from his subjects, the warmest assurances of their affectionate attachment to his person and government, and of their firm resolution to support him, in maintaining the just rights of his crown, and the true principles of the constitution; and he commands us to express his entire confidence that he shall experience in all your deliberations a determination to afford him an equally loyal, zealous, and affectionate support, under all the arduous circumstances of the present time.——We are commanded by his Majesty to inform you, that his Majesty's endeavours have been most anxiously employed for the purpose of drawing closer the ties by which his Majesty is connected with the powers of the continent; of assisting the efforts of those powers against the ambition and oppression of France; of forming such engagements as may ensure their continued co-operation; and of establishing that mutual confidence and concert so essential under any course of events to the restoration of a solid and permanent peace in Europe.——It would have afforded his Majesty the greatest pleasure to have been enabled to inform you, that the mediation undertaken by his Majesty for the purpose of preserving peace between his Majesty's ally, the Emperor of Russia, and the Sublime Porte, had proved effectual for that important object; his Majesty deeply regrets the failure of that mediation, accompanied as it was by the disappointment of the efforts of his Majesty's squadron in the Sea of Marmora, and followed as it has since been by the losses which have been sustained by his gallant troops in Egypt.——His Majesty could not but lament the extension of hostilities in any quarter, which should create a diversion in the war so favourable to the views of France; but lamenting it, especially in the instance of a power with which his Majesty has been so closely connected, and which has been so recently indebted for its protection against the encroachments of France, to the signal and successful interposition of his Majesty's arms.——His Majesty has directed us to acquaint you, that he has thought it right to adopt such measures as might best enable him, in concert with the Emperor of Russia, to take advantage of any favourable opportunity for bringing the hostilities in which they are engaged against the Sublime Porte to a conclusion, consistent with his Majesty's honour and the interests of his ally.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—His Majesty has ordered the estimates of the current year to be laid before you, and he relies on the tried loyalty and zeal of his faithful Commons to make such provision for the public service, as well as for the further application of the sums which were granted in the last parliament, as may appear to be necessary.—And his Majesty bearing constantly in mind the necessity of a careful and economical administration of the pecuniary resources of the country, has directed us to express his hopes that you will proceed without delay in the pursuit of those enquiries, connected with the public economy, which engaged the attention of the last parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,——His Majesty commands us to state to you, that he is deeply impressed with the peculiar importance, at the present moment, of cherishing a spirit of union and harmony amongst his people: such a spirit will most effectually promote the prosperity of the country at home, give vigour and efficacy to its councils, and its arms abroad; and can alone enable his Majesty, under the blessing of Providence, to carry on successfully the great contest in which he is engaged, or finally to conduct it to that termination which his Majesty's moderation and justice have ever led him to seek—a peace, in which the honour and interests of his kingdom can be secure, and in which Europe and the world may hope for independence and repose.

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VOL. XII. No. 2.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 11, 1807. [PRICE 10D.

"The consequence has been war. War actually begun. A fourth coalition against France in good earnest "entered upon; and, in all appearance, with as much probability of success as the last. Some of the "newspapers assure their readers that the Prussians have retreated merely for the purpose of leading the "French into a snare! But, surely, when those readers recollect, as they certainly must, that this same "reason, by these same writers, was given for every retreat of the Austrians and Russians from the banks "of the Schwartz, they will not again be the dupes of these deluding or deluded men! "Into a snare!" "Good God! Was it a snare that Napoleon fell into at Vienna? Was it a snare that he found in the "conquered capital and kingdoms of his antagonist? And, is there another snare awaiting him at "Berlin? Is the Duke of Brunswick, not less renowned than his Royal Nephew, really preparing a snare "for Napoleon? No: let us not rest our hopes upon such a baseless foundation. Let us look for success "in advances, and not in retreats."——POLITICAL REGISTER, Vol. 10, p. 644.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE WRANGLING FACTIONS.——In the last number of the foregoing Volume, I had occasion to notice the *alarm*, which the writers of the no-popery faction are endeavouring to excite with respect to what they call "the Senate at Willis's," against which, they say, the *people* ought to unite with "His Majesty's confidential servants;" an union, however, which I am much disposed to think they will not see take place.—— These attacks upon the *aristocracy* are curious enough. They present us something new in the tricks of faction. The cry of "Jacobin and Leveller," was the order of the day only a month ago; and, what the poor hirelings could do with "the Senate at Willis's" and the Dinner of Sir Francis Burdett, at one and the same time, I was quite at a loss to guess. If the *aristocracy* were assembled in senate at Willis's, it will surely be allowed, that the *people* were assembled round Sir Francis Burdett, and yet the no-popery hirelings assail them both at once; they represent both as enemies to *the country*, so that, by the country, we are to understand these writers to mean, the ministry and their dependents, and, a little more widely, all those who, in any way, live upon the taxes of the country. This is what they mean by the *country*. —— We will now hear the language of the Courier, of the 23d and 24th of last month, upon the subject of the Aristocratical Senate; and, I must particularly request the reader to mark the anxiousness which is discovered to enlist the people upon the side of the no-popery faction. ——"The debate in the Senate at "Willis's will regularly precede the debate "in the Senate at Westminster, just *as the* "*Jacobin Club at Paris discussed and de-* "*cided upon measures before they were* "*brought before the National Convention.* "——We have said that the Stewards, with "some eight or nine exceptions, are all ei- "ther peers, or connected with the peerage. "They are the authors and directors of the "meeting. Peers then are to discuss, and "as far as lies in their power, to influence "the opinions of those of the meeting who "are members of the house of commons; "and thus this most *unconstitutional sight* "will be presented to the British nation, of "*a portion of* THEIR REPRESENTA- "TIVES *receiving an impression and im-* "*pulse from an aristocratic self-constituted* "*senate*, before they appear in the senate "chosen according to the principles of the "constitution.——We have heard of a "strong wish expressed to revive the Rock- "ingham Club, and it has been said that a "speech was made at Lord Milton's dinner, "in which the honour of being a member "of parliament was declared to be a minor "honour to that of being a member of the "Rockingham Club. Should such a senti- "ment become popular, Clubs would of "course be more regarded than the consti- "tutional Assembly of the Nation, and "would thus eventually have in this coun- "try the same influence over that Assembly "*as the Clubs in France had over the dif-* "*ferent National Conventions that were* "*elected during the Revolution.*——At pre- "sent this political meeting at Willis's, "counselled, contrived, and to be held un- "der the sanction principally of peers, must "appear to the country to be an attempt on "the part of the Aristocracy to acquire such "a permanent interest and influence, as to "enable it to influence both King and THE "PEOPLE. The influence of great fami- "lies is to be greater than the influence of "the Crown and of the Commons. The "Aristocracy is to have more weight and "consideration than the Monarchy and the "DEMOCRACY. The Union of the Ba- "rons in the reign of King John, might be

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" necessary to procure for us the great Charter, but it is *perfectly unnecessary under the mild and constitutional reign of the House of Brunswick.* Let the King look to this: let the heir apparent, whose sanction of this aristocratic assembly has been attempted to be obtained: let THE PEOPLE look to this."——The people *do* look at this; and no-popery deceives herself most egregiously, if she supposes, that the people are to be thus cajoled. But, let us, before we make any further remarks, proceed to the other extract from the Courier.——"We beg our readers to mark well these expressions (expressions" in the Morning Chronicle).—" Here is an open avowal of the intention of the Aristocracy to combine—For what objects? *To secure our liberties?* WHO THREATENS THEM? Does the King? The Aristocracy refer to the conduct of the Whig Aristocracy in critical moments. It combined, we know, to secure the Protestant Establishment, which was threatened by James II. But do they mean to insinuate that that establishment is in any danger under George III.? Or that this is one of those critical moments that requires this menacing union of the Aristocracy of the realm? Do these great families mean, by this display of their power or their wealth, to awe the Crown, the Ministers, and THE PEOPLE? If so, let THE CROWN and THE PEOPLE *combine* and defeat the Aristocracy as they defeated and drove from power the late incapable ministry. The language of the Aristocracy is, " Who are the present ministers? What great families do they belong to? What great families support them? What property can they command?" But *what is that to* THE PEOPLE? Till *wisdom and patriotism be necessarily inherent in great families*, THE PEOPLE will not enquire *what families ministers belong to*, but what measures they adopt for the benefit of the country; what is their conduct, *not what is their origin.* But it does not suit this aristocratic combination to try ministers by their measures; these guardians of our liberties are unwilling to extend to them the benefit of a fair trial, but are anxious to have them condemned, merely because they are accused. *This too was one of the features of those clubs that overawed and controuled the French Convention.* Of this combination of great families, a combination resorted to at such a moment, and in such a manner, *we do entertain considerable apprehensions.* THE PEOPLE will do well to watch it; for *if our liberties be in any danger*, they are more in danger from the Aristocracy than from the Monarchy and the DEMOCRACY."——What do you say to this, John Bowles? What do you say to this, coming, as it does, from one of your fellow-labourers? But, to proceed in due order, it is impossible not to be struck with the attempt, made by these writers, upon all occasions, to inculcate an opinion, that those who discover discontent at the manner in which the affairs of the nation are managed, act upon the same principles as the most violent and sanguinary of the French revolutionists acted. It was only a short month ago, that they cried out against Sir Francis Burdett and his friends, including a large majority of the people of Westminster (a fair sample of all the independent people in England), as imitating the clubbing revolutionists of France. " It was thus," said they, " that the French revolution began, " that revolution which ended in the destruction of an *ancient and venerable aristocracy*, and in the murder of a virtuous and amiable royal family."——" What!" exclaimed the Courier, in commenting upon Sir Francis Burdett's address, " What! he " would tear out the accursed leaves of the " Red-Book! Of course, he would tear out " the *ancient and beloved aristocracy of this realm*, and, before that, the still more " beloved monarch, who is at once the head " and ornament of that illustrious body." But now, behold, when some party apprehensions are entertained as to the power and designs of that body, the people, that is to say, " the Jacobins and Levellers," are called upon to watch its motions with suspicion; nay, to combine against it, lest it should produce a bloody revolution! I do hope, that, after this impudent trick, this at once dirty and daring attempt to cajole the people, that no man of common sense will be found weak enough still to listen to alarms referring to the French revolution. For these fourteen years last past such alarms have, from time to time, been played off upon the nation, and that, too, with woeful and disgraceful success. To these alarms, artfully excited and kept up, this country owes almost the whole of her present difficulties; for, had it not been for the fear that men entertained of an overthrow of all order and law and religion, Pitt never could so long have held that power, by the exercise of which he entailed such a train of curses upon us. " Let THE PEOPLE look " to this." Let them take care not to be again alarmed into an approbation of a seven years' suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, or

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personal security act. Let them take special care not to be persuaded, that the only way to have their liberties secured is to have them taken away from them. Let them well reflect upon the conduct of the hirelings, and they will clearly perceive, that every attempt to excite an alarm by comparisons drawn from the French revolution, is an attempt to deceive the well-meaning and shallow-thinking part of the people, and to provide, thereby, impunity for public robbery.——From the apprehensions, which are expressed by this writer at the intention, which he ascribes to the aristocratical senate, of *influencing members of the House of Commons*, one would think that he had been alive some hundred years ago, and that he had just now awaked from a dreadfully long trance; for, otherwise, how could it enter into his mind, that, as the House of Commons is now returned, the aristocracy could possibly, by the means of a senate at Willis's, by the means of empty toasts and still more empty speeches, obtain any new influence over the members of the House of Commons? Supposing him to have lived in our day; supposing him to have read the advertisements, in his own paper, for the sale and purchase of seats; and supposing him not to have totally forgotten the "Hog-or-a-"Horse" article written by himself, and inserted in the preceding volume, at page 987; supposing all this, what a stock of assurance must he have now to feign an alarm at the possible influence that peers may acquire over the members of the other House?—— This writer's contempt for *birth*, his sarcasms upon *hereditary wisdom and virtue*, suit his purpose very well, upon this occasion; but, is he, or his faction, willing to pursue the idea to its natural and inevitable result? Is he willing to retract all his "Jack-Cade" charges against *me*, all his imputations of treasonable designs to be effected by the degradation of birth and dignity, because I republished from his own columns, and commented upon, the account of a festival said to have been given to Nell Jobson and her last litter? Is he, and is nopopery, willing to go this length? Are they willing to rank *all* men according to their *wisdom and virtues?* If not, why expect us to overlook the origin of the several members of the new ministry? Why are we to make, in this respect, an exception in their favour? "*Who* are the present ministers? What "great families do they belong to? What "great families support them? What pro-"perty can they command? But, what is "all this to THE PEOPLE? Till *wisdom* "*and virtue* be necessarily inherent in great "families, THE PEOPLE will not inquire "what families ministers belong to, but "what measures they adopt for the *benefit* "*of the country*: what is their conduct, and "not what is their *origin*." Very true. These will be the inquiries of the people; but, no popery is much deceived, if she hopes, by this flattery of intrinsic merit, to cajole the people into a belief, that she is the patroness of that merit, and that, therefore, they ought to range themselves upon her side. It is true, that the people will inquire, what is the conduct of the ministers, and not what is their origin; but, if they should find, that that conduct is bad, if they should find them repealing or suspending the personal security act, or attempting other measures of that complexion, their origin will have some weight; for, until the mind of man be organized entirely anew, until he looks with equal respect upon all his fellow creatures even down to the very oyster, his impatience under oppressive power will bear some proportion to the origin of those by whom it is exercised; and, abstract as long as you will, still, of the high-born or the upstart oppressor, the latter will be the most hated. Nor is this propensity of the human mind without its solid reasons; for, in the first place, there is a degree of fellow-feeling, arising from a remembrance of the past, to be expected from the low-born ruler, which is not to be expected from one who has always been accustomed to rule; and, when a man, raised from low-life, becomes an oppressor, or discovers his imbecillity as to great concerns, there always arises a presumption, *that he has risen by base and fraudulent means*, which presumption does not so naturally arise in the case of a tyrant or an incapable person, born to wealth or title. Nor, again, does this way of thinking operate unjustly; for, if the low-born man be exposed to greater hatred in the case of misconduct, he is, in the opposite case, sure to receive praise in the same degree. Indeed, to carry the idea a little further, it is *impossible*, that the man born to wealth or title, can be rewarded so largely as the man born in low life. To the latter the whole height, whether of riches or of honours, is open; whereas, to the former, there remains only the top. So that, when a man, born in low life, and raised to great riches or power, abuses his trust, he is exposed, and justly, to be reminded of his origin and to be treated as an upstart ——To return, for a moment, to the Courier, I would ask him, what description of persons he has now left unaccused of disaffection to "his Majesty's Go-"vernment?" The people, the public, all

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that part of the community which do not belong to the nobility, and which are not dependent upon the government, he has accused long ago; and now he has accused the aristocracy of the same offence. He has, indeed, slackened his battery a little against the people, with the hope, apparently, of engaging them on his side until he has overcome the others. The truth is, that he and his faction wish to make use of the people first to destroy their titled opponents, and then they wish to destroy the people. I mean politically; for, it would by no means suit their purpose to put any of the people out of existence, because the people's labour is the source of all their emoluments.—— These efforts are, however, vain. The people may, by both factions, be called upon for an union; but they will unite with neither. They know well, that neither is their friend; and as to the pretence, that the *king* stands in need of the aid of the people against the nobility, it is a trick scarcely surpassed by that of "no-popery."

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.——This parliament, in order to distinguish it from the last, or *short parliament*, which sat in the same year, and even in the same half year, will require some particular denomination, and, I think, it may be properly enough called the *Dog-Day Parliament*, whether in reference to the time of its assembling to proceed to business, or in reference to the warmth and other qualities, which have been manifested in the debates.——The subjects which I find, in the newspaper reports of the speeches, worthy of particular attention, as far as I shall be able to proceed in my comments this week, are, I. *The Address in answer to the opening Speech;* II. *The appointment of the Finance Committee.* III. *Sir Henry Mildmay.* IV. *India Affairs.* V. *Sierra Leone.* VI. *Jobs in general and in particular.*——I. The Speech having been inserted in the preceding sheet (page 31), it will be easily referred to without a repetition of it. *An Amendment* was, of course, proposed by the OUTS, which amendment was as follows, and it was, of course, opposed by the INS.—— "That by "a long experience of his Majesty's virtues "we well know it to be his Majesty's invariable wish that all his prerogatives should "be exercised solely for the advantage of "his people. That our dutiful attachment "to his Majesty's person and government "obliges us therefore most humbly to lay "before him the manifest misconduct of "the [illegible] having advised the dissolution of the present parliament in the midst [illegible] and within a few "months after his Majesty had been pleased "to assemble it for the dispatch of the urgent business of the nation.——That this "measure advised by his Majesty's ministers at a time when there existed no difference between any of the branches of "the legislature, and no sufficient cause for "a fresh appeal to his Majesty's people, was "justified by no public necessity or advantage. That by the interruption of all "private business then depending in parliament, it has been productive of great and "needless inconvenience and expence, "thereby wantonly adding to the heavy "burdens which the necessities of the times "require. That it has retarded many useful laws for the internal improvement of "the kingdom, and for the encouragement "and extension of its agriculture, manufactures and commerce. And that it has "either suspended or wholly defeated many "most important public measures, and has "protracted much of the most weighty business of parliament to a season of the "year when its prosecution must be attended with the greatest public and private "inconvenience. And that we feel ourselves bound still farther to submit to his "Majesty, that all these mischiefs, are "greatly aggravated by the groundless and "injurious pretences on which his Majesty's ministers have publicly rested this "their evil advice; pretences affording no "justification for the measure, but calculated only to excite the most dangerous "animosities among his Majesty's subjects, "at a period when their united efforts were "more than ever necessary for the security "of the empire; and when to promote the "utmost harmony and co-operation amongst "them would have been the first object of "wise and prudent ministers."--That all those who spoke for the amendment took occasion to attack the *ins* need hardly be observed, and that those who spoke on the other side attacked the *outs* is full as well known. The main subject was, the measure of *dissolving the short parliament*, which subject had, in all its parts and bearings, been long before discussed in the newspapers, and with much greater ability than is discovered in the printed report of this debate, where I find nothing either eloquent, ingenious, or novel. The *outs* do, indeed, appear to have laboured hard to show, that the dissolution had done great mischief by the delay in passing private bills, by the leaving of revenue laws to expire, and especially by causing to be introduced an *unconstitutional* mode of applying the public money, that is to say, of laying it out without the consent of parliament,

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which consent, previously obtained, is the vital part of our happy constitution, because the *people* thus give their consent by the mouths of their *representatives!* Gravity upon a subject like this is not only necessary in point of decorum, but is strictly enjoined by the constitution. But, as to the subject itself, it must have afforded great and peculiar satisfaction to my Lord Howick, who seemed to be the most alarmed at the mischiefs arising from the dissolution, to find, that Mr. Perceval and his colleagues were able to get over all the difficulties which he conceived to exist, and that, too, with only one *bill of indemnity*, only one law to say that that which had been done unlawfully should not be punished! This is, I take it, what is meant by *ministerial responsibility*; that, when the ministers have done any thing in violation of the law, they shall come to the parliament, and there ask to have a law passed to free them from all the penalties attached to such violation; and, when *they* ask, what danger there is of being refused I leave the reader to judge. Thus, in the case of Pitt. He lent, without interest, forty thousand pounds of the public money to Boyd and Benfield, two members of the then parliament. He took this sum from the money issued from the Exchequer for naval purposes. He had no consent of parliament. He had never communicated the matter even to his colleagues in office. Made no record or minute of the transaction. Boyd and Benfield wanted the money to make good an instalment upon a *loan*, which they had made *to the public*, and upon which they received an interest and a bonus. So that, they lent the public its own forty thousand pounds, and the public paid them interest for so doing. Well, all this, several years afterwards, is found out; and I, for my part, was fool enough to expect to see the minister punished. I was looking for responsibility such as we, in private life, are subject to, especially as I had so often heard it said, that *our security* depended upon the responsibility of ministers. But, what was the result? The House of Commons, "the guardians of the public purse," had all the proofs before them. Yet, instead of punishing, or impeaching, the minister, they brought in, and passed, a law to *indemnify* him for what he had done. Nay, this minister died soon afterwards, and that same House of Commons, with those proofs still before them, voted, by a large majority, that a monument, *at the public expence*, should be erected in honour of him. Nor was this all; for, it appearing that he died in debt (to his political friends principally), that same House of Commons, those same "guardians of the public purse," by an unanimous vote, made us pay forty thousand pounds for the purpose of discharging that debt.——So much for *ministerial responsibility*; and here I should dismiss the debate upon the Speech were there not a passage or two in the speeches of the debators; which I think calculated to afford matter for a little reflection, unconnected with the views either of the *ins* or the *outs*.—— The address, in answer to the Speech, which was, as usual, an echo to the Speech, was moved by two men, of whom I, living in this obscurity, never before heard, and, of whom I shall, in all human probability, never hear again. The first of them is reported, in the newspapers, to have spoken, in one part of his speech, in these words:——

"It is unnecessary for me, sir, to enter at "length into the circumstances which led "to the dissolution of the last parliament, "as those circumstances have repeatedly "been discussed in this house, and are now "become the subject of public notoriety. I "am the more disposed to avoid any such "discussion, as it must necessarily involve "points on which I am aware there is a "great difference of opinion. His Majesty "has, *in his wisdom*, thought it expedient "to avail himself of the only constitutional "mode of collecting *the sense of his people*, "by dissolving the late parliament, and by "calling that which is now convened. By "this measure, this house *is now become* "*the organ of expressing* THE PUBLIC "OPINION; and I trust we shall, if not "by our unanimous vote this night, at least "by a considerable majority, prove, not "only our affectionate attachment to his "majesty's person and government, but al-"so to those sound constitutional principles, "expressed, as they have been, in the ma-"ny *loyal and dutiful* ADDRESSES pre-"sented at the foot of the Throne. The "*country*, sir, has, beyond all question, "shewn its determination to support his "majesty in the exercise of the rightful pre-"rogatives of the crown, and in his efforts "to withstand every unconstitutional inno-"vation."——Now, we will not waste our time in battering again over the old subject, the prerogatives of the crown; nor will I repeat what I have before said, and *proved*, about the House of Commons being the "*organ of public opinion*." Upon the subject of the "many *loyal* and *dutiful* ADDRESSES," too, I shall not indulge myself in any comments; but, shall think it quite sufficient to quote one of those dutiful and loyal addresses from the London Gazette

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(the writer of which is paid out of the public money), and, after it, the proof that the said address *never was sent or drawn up by the persons, to whom it is ascribed!!*

"London Gazette, June 6, 1807, page "762. The following Address having been "transmitted to the Right Hon. Lord "Hawkesbury, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, has been by his Lordship presented to the King; which Address his Majesty was pleased to receive very graciously:——To the King's Most Excellent "Majesty, The humble Address of the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of the Holy "and Undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin.——May it please "your Majesty, We, your Majesty's most "dutiful and loyal subjects, the provost, "fellows, and scholars of the College of the "Holy and Undivided Trinity of Queen "Elizabeth, near Dublin, feel ourselves "called on at the present juncture, humbly "to approach your Majesty, in order to testify our unalterable attachment to your "Majesty's person and government, and "the heartfelt gratitude which we must "ever entertain for that unceasing kindness and truly parental solicitude with "which your Majesty has uniformly honoured our University.—— Instituted, "preserved, and endowed as that University has been, for the purpose of defending the truth, and extending the influence "of the Protestant religion, we cannot have "observed without the most unfeigned admiration, the unremitting vigilance and "unshaken firmness with which your Majesty has perpetually maintained the same "sacred cause, and the strict conscientiousness with which your Majesty has fulfilled the solemn obligation by which you "were bound, "to maintain and preserve "inviolably the settlement of the church of "England, and the doctrine, worship, and "discipline thereof, as by law established;" "while with that spirit of toleration which "genuine christianity so strongly inculcates, "your Majesty (aided by the other branches of the legislature) has gradually removed "all oppressive restraints which could impede the freedom of religious opinions, and "has secured to such of our fellow-subjects "as dissent from the established church, the "full enjoyment of liberty and property, "with the unrestrained exercise of their peculiar religious worship, and full power to "educate their children in their own religious opinion. Impressed with those "sentiments, we humbly beg leave to express our deep regret that any circumstances, arising from the difference of religious persuasions amongst our fellow "subjects, should have contributed (particularly at the present crisis of public affairs) to embarrass, in any degree, your "Majesty's government; but we look with "full confidence to your Majesty's long "tried wisdom, firmness, and moderation, "guided by the Divine Providence, for a "happy final result; and we are convinced "that your Majesty's measures, dictated by "such principles, must ultimately unite all "descriptions of your Majesty's subjects, in "support of your crown, attachment to your "person, and in a vigorous and successful "defence of these invaluable blessings "which, under your Majesty's parental government, they all so pre-eminently enjoy." [Transmitted by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.]——Now for the contradiction. "London Gazette, June 23. Er"ratum in the Gazette of the 6th of June, "page 762. An Address entitled "The "humble Address of the Provost, Fellows, "and Scholars of the Holy and Undivided "Trinity near Dublin," was inserted by "mistake; *no Address having been presented "to his Majesty from that Body!!!*"—— It is hardly worth our while to enquire *how* this *error* could possibly happen; how it is possible, that the Address should have been, not *inserted*, for an error there is easy enough to be accounted for when it was once in the printer's hands, but how it could have been *written*, unless there be some persons *in London*, who are in the habit of writing addresses for their friends in the country. Oh, the rich exposure! The excellent discovery! Not that it is any discovery to some persons; but, it is one of those things, which serve to shut the mouths of those fools and knaves, who are still the advocates of delusion and corruption; and with this I leave no-popery to congratulate herself upon the "many dutiful and loyal "Addresses." The person who seconded the address to the king, and whose name appears to have been *Hall*, is reported to have spoken thus:——"His majesty has "since had recourse to the abilities of those, "who had been intimately connected with "*that great Statesman*, whom he could not "but consider as the *only pilot to other "ministers*; that man who amidst all the "dangers by which he was surrounded, "rose in firmness in proportion to the exigencies of the times, and left that constitution which he loved and protected *unimpaired by the attacks of either foreign "or domestic foes*. To those who long "*fought under his banners*, the country "must now look for direction. They had "advised his majesty to refer to the general

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" sense of the people, in order that they " might present themselves to the enemy as " possessing the confidence of a brave na- " tion and to the Allies of Great Britain, as " ready to afford them the necessary sup- " port. *By the promptitude* of their mea- " sures they had already shewn themselves " adequate to the duty in which they had " been engaged. By such measures alone " could effect be given to any negotiation " which might lead to a successful termina- " tion of the present contest. Yet notwith- " standing all that he asserted, the dissolu- " tion of the last parliament had been attri- " buted to the earnest desire of his majesty's " ministers, to smother the labours of the " Committee of Finance; but his Majesty's " Speech *proved* that they were as much " interested in the continuance of that com- " mittee, as the gentlemen opposite. So " far from wishing to smother it, they ad- " vised his majesty to applaud the institu- " tion of it by the last parliament, *and to* " *recommend that it should be renewed by* " *the present.* Under all these circum- " stances, he was not bigotted enough to " expect that this Address would be unani- " mously acceded to; but he called on the " gentlemen opposite who had quitted the " helm of state, *to feel for the situation of* " *the country.* The *people* were duly sensi- " ble of the justice of the cause in which " the country were engaged, and he had " no doubt that they would *cheerfully* " *submit to the sacrifices* that would be " necessary for the prosecution. He trust- " ed their efforts might be effectually di- " rected to secure *the advantages which we* " *already possessed, and to enable us suc-* " *cessfully to oppose that system of aggres-* " *sion which threatened the downfal of* " *every independent state in Europe.* In " this object all parties were equally in- " terested. Our country was at stake; and " he trusted that but one opinion could " exist with regard to the *exertions neces-* " *sary* for its defence."——But one opin- ion, certainly, as to the necessity of *exertions;* but, more than one, and even two opinions, as to what those exertions are, which are necessary. The people have but little notion of the *cause,* as Mr. Hall calls it, " in which we are en- " gaged;" but they have a quite clear no- tion of the effects, which, according to the present system, it has upon them. Mr. Hall has no doubt that they will chearfully submit to *sacrifices* for carrying on the war; and, indeed, when we consider what those atrocious villains the French would do to us; that they would raise contributions upon us till we had hardly a shirt left to our backs; that they would leave us no earthly thing that we could call our own; that, if we murmured and dared to speak the truth of them, they would imprison us, or, very likely, clip off our ears or split our noses; that they would waste our earnings upon their profligate chiefs of one sort or another; that they would, at the very same time, tell us to think ourselves the most happy and free nation upon earth; and, if, unable to bear, in silence, this accumulation of injury and of insult, we were to act or even look as though we were discontented, they would bring their armed ruffians (from any coun- try, no matter where) to keep us in awe, to disgust us with their beastly manners, to corrupt the rising generation and to bastard- ize the next. Very true, Mr. Hall, if there be an Englishman, who would not make sacrifices, including that of life, if necessary, to avoid disgrace like this, his name ought to be held in infamy by his children and his children's children. But, alas! Mr. Hall, when you were express- ing so much approbation of the *promptitude,* with which the present ministers had pro- ceeded in the great work of delivering Eu- rope from the effects of that " system of " aggression, which threatened the down- " fall of every independent state of Eu- " rope;" when you were, apparently, ex- hausting yourself in extacies at the delight- ful prospect of seeing " our brave allies " rescued from all danger and led triumphant- ly to Paris under the direction of Mr. Can- ning and Lord Hawkesbury, little did you dream that these allies were, at that mo- ment, making an armistice with the agres- sor in chief! Many persons had, indeed, foreseen and foretold this, amongst whom I was so " gloomy " as to be one; but, that was nothing to you. Your opinion, your view of things was quite of another comple x- ion; and, though your judgment and informa- tion may differ from mine, I almost envy you your happy state of mind.—— The praise of Pitt, especially as connected with that of the present ministers as undertakers of expeditions, was strikingly appropriate. They do, indeed, seem to regard him as their " pilot" in every thing; whether in appointing committees of inquiry, or in sending armies forth to war; and I dare say, Mr. Hall must be happy in anticipat- ing, that their endeavours will be attended with the same glorious result, which usual- ly attended his.——" Feel," aye, Sir, to be sure, " the gentlemen opposite feel for " the situation of their country." They have felt the country to be a most excelle-

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thing; and to suppose that they would not feel for it would be to suspect them of being of a disposition unnatural indeed. I dare say the gentlemen on *both sides* have a perfect fellow-feeling upon this score; and, though they may differ as to certain little points touching the manner of acting, and, sometimes, touching the persons who are to act; yet, upon the great fundamental principles of action, be assured, Mr. Hall, that they are perfectly agreed; and, what is of great advantage, the people now want nothing to convince them of the fact. The people, Sir, who now clearly perceive the *real* situation of the country, have an equal regard for "the gentlemen opposite" and the gentlemen upon the Treasury bench; and, whenever an occasion offers for them to express that regard in words and in a manner suitable to their feeling as well as to the respective merits of the objects regarded, you may rest satisfied that they will be as unanimous as your heart can wish.——Leaving Mr. Hall to the enjoyment of those sweet reflections which conduct like his must produce, and which the state of things is so well calculated to prolong in his mind, I shall now briefly record the issue of the debate. The Honourable House divided, as it is called, at *six o'clock* in the morning (for they care not for sleep, *a nights*, when the good of their country is in question), when there appeared for the amendment 155; against it, 350; leaving a majority, in favour of the *ins* of 195. What a striking proof is here of the utility of "appealing to the *sense of the people!*" Only two months before this appeal was made, the *ins* could muster, upon a day of the greatest trial, but 55 votes. They have now 350, there being to be noticed, with regard to personal considerations, merely the trifling circumstance that the *ins* were then *outs!*——In the House of Lords, where the hereditary wisdom and honour of the nation are seated, the debate was nearly the same as in the House of Commons, and nearly the same was the result; for, upon a division, which took place at four o'clock in the morning, the votes for the amendment (precisely the same as that in the House of Commons) were 67; against it 100; leaving, on the side of the ministry, a majority of 93.——In "congratulating my country," as the Morning Post does, upon this "glorious triumph," I wish, with all my heart, I could with the editor of that paper, perceive how it will tend to "appal the tyrant of Europe." This, for my life, I cannot perceive, though it may be very evident to a person living in London. On the contrary, it appears to me, that our *divisions*, of all sorts, are likely to please the Emperor of France. The Morning Post does, indeed, give his reasons. He says, that the Emperor will, from these votes, "see, that the present efficient ministry are cordially supported by the whole of the PEOPLE of this vast empire." But, my fear is, that he will see no such thing; that, owing to some fool or other that he will have about him, he will retain his old opinion of us, and will pay no more attention to these profound reasonings of the Morning Post, than the people of Westminster, on the 29th of June, paid to the words, "*down with the Morning Post!*" which poor shoe-less wretches had, by the friends of that paper, been hired, at three shillings a day, to chalk against the walls and watch-boxes.——II. FINANCE COMMITTEE.——On the 1st of this month a motion was made in the House of Commons, to revive this Committee, of which so much has, at different times, been said. The *outs* wished to have all the members, who were upon the former committee, upon this committee also; but the *ins* knew better! Faith, did they; and, as a majority of the House was with the *ins*, the *ins* took very good care to have a committee very different from the last. According to the report in the newspapers, the Committee, as it now stands, is composed as follows:

Mr. Bankes,	Mr H. Thornton,
Mr. Biddulph,	Mr. W. Cavendish,
Mr. Leycester,	Mr. Alderman Combe,
Mr. Alderman Shaw,	Mr. N. Calvert,
Lord H. Petty,	Mr. T. Baring,
Mr. H Browne,	Mr Brogden,
Mr Grattan,	Mr. Holme Sumner,
Mr. Joddrel,	Mr P. Carew,
Mr H Addington,	Mr Rutherford
Mr Leslie Foster,	Mr. Ryder,
Lord A Hamilton,	Mr. Ellison.

By a reference to vol. 11., p. 1125, the reader will perceive what alterations have been made; he will perceive the extent of the new-modelling. Reader, do you not see, that Mr. *Leycester*, the Welsh Judge, is upon this committee? Do you know him? Do you recollect any thing about him? If you do, I am sure it is quite needless for me to tell you to be satisfied; for satisfied, upon this subject, you certainly will be.——The observations, which constitute the greater part of this debate, will be noticed under the head of *Jobs*, to which they properly belong; but, I must just insert Mr. Perceval's closing speech, first reminding the reader of what our friend, Mr. Hall, said upon the Speech, as connected with this matter; namely, "that the *gentlemen* opposite had "asserted, that the object of the dissolution "was to smother the labours of the Finance

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" Committee; but His Majesty's Speech " *proved*, that the present ministers were as " anxious for the *continuance* of the com- " mittee as the gentlemen opposite." I thought our friend, Mr. Hall, was a little hasty in talking of *proof*. To have *continued* the Committee, the very same persons, as nearly as possible, should have been put upon it. —But, let us hear Mr. Perceval. He said, " that the accusations of " *partiality* in the nomination of the propo- " sed committee he retorted upon the gen- " tlemen on the other side by stating, that, " in the names he proposed, there were a " *considerable proportion of* THEIR " FRIENDS, while it was to be recollect- " ed that in a former committee there were " only two gentlemen who were understood " to have *any attachment to the party with* " *which he had the honour to act.*"——Why really, from this, one would almost imagine, that " the gentlemen on this side" and the " gentlemen opposite" were, some- how or other, parties deeply concerned in the inquiries of this Committee, instead of being all members of the House of Com- mons, *guardians of the public purse*, equal- ly anxious to bring abuses to light. It would almost seem, that the *ins* and the *outs* were litigating persons, choosing arbitrators. I say, it would almost seem so from this re- port of the debate; but, to suppose it to be so would be absurd; because we know how anxious both parties are to see substan- tial justice done to the country. We know their hatred of peculators and jobbers; and, though they did very widely differ upon this appointment, we must suppose, that, on each side, they were anxious to have the ho- nour of dragging scoundrels of public rob- bers into day. " You had *your friends* be- " fore, we will have *our friends* now." As if he had said, your friends had all the ho- nour before, ours ought now to have their turn. They, too, patriotic and zealous men, ought to have their share in the glory of put- ting down these public thieves. This is the sense in which we must understand the thing and then all goes right.——During the debate, Mr. Biddulph proposed, that the name of Sir Francis Burdett should be put upon the list, upon which Lord Howick (late *Mr. Grey* of parliamentary-reform me- mory) is reported to have said " that, al- " though he could assure the house there " was no *gentleman on the other side* more " adverse to the general conduct of *that* " *person* than he was—although no man " was more the subject of *that person's* at- " tack and that of the party, *if such they* " *could be called*, who had acted with him, " still he would advise the adoption of the " hon. gentleman's suggestion. It would " be recollected by any person acquainted " with the history of the times—that not- " withstanding the attempts always made, " said the noble lord, to *connect us* with " *this person's* party, there was no party in " the country more obnoxious to them than " that with which I have the honour to act. " This gentleman, it will be observed, " stands forward as the enemy of public " abuses, and I would recommend minis- " ters to keep a vacancy open for him in " this Committee. There he will have an " opportunity of inquiring into the abuses " of which he complains, and proposing " the remedy in a much *more proper way* " *than he has heretofore done*, or attempted " to do. I should therefore wish to have " him afforded the opportunity, although " I happen to be so obnoxious to his at- " tacks, probably not so much from the " impulse of his own mind, as in con- " sequence of the incitement of others." ——My lord, my good lord Howick, dis- miss your fears; for, there is not one sane man in the nation, who connects you with Sir Francis Burdett. When I saw one half of your lordship's face, at a window in Curzon Street, looking at Sir Francis Bur- dett's car, on the 29th of June, if any one had told me, that *the Member for Appleby's* name, as to political views, was connected with that of Sir Francis, I should have been almost tempted to imitate the members of the American Congress, and spit in his face. Connect Sir Francis Burdett with you and yours! Why, the very thought moves one's feet into the attitude of trampling upon the wretch who should have the audacity to do it. No, my lord; hush your apprehen- sions; for, be assured, that your name, except by way of contrast, will never be mentioned with that of Sir Francis Burdett. ——With respect to the rejection of Sir Francis by the House, the thing was quite natural. It was what the people would, in such a case, expect. Had he not been re- jected, I should have been exceedingly mor- tified; because it would have led me to fear, that all was not right.——Nor does Sir Francis want any opportunity of inquiring into the abuses, of which he complains. There is no need of it at all. What *he* complains of he has proof in divers docu- ments, to which he can easily refer. Be- sides, my lord, what need is there of being upon a committee to come at the knowledge of what you and " the gentlemen on the " other side" have been telling him for this fortnight past? You have obligingly informed

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the people of all they wanted to know. The slaves of the press seem dreadfully alarmed, lest the people should know too much; but their alarm and precaution, as well as those of others, come a little too late; and their grave admonitions put one in mind of the old simile of shutting the stable door after the steed has strayed. Poor fellows! They are afraid, that, in good earnest, they shall be cut off from their resources. Never mind then, my lord, out with it; out with the whole budget. Never stop at a brace of pensioned sisters. Let us have it all. We have, however, quite enough to satisfy us. We have seen the sample, and we reasonably conclude, that the whole sack is of the same quality.——III. Sir Henry Mildmay moved, on the 29th of June, for the laying of his memorial before the House. His speech entire is given in the preceding sheet, and I now insert the memorial entire, wishing to afford him every opportunity of justifying his conduct. But the memorial produces no one alleviating circumstance. The facts, the undeniable facts, remain unshaken.—Why, too, was this memorial delayed until *the 29th of June?* His contempt for the news-papers was not, surely, extended to the board of Commissioners? He says, in a postscript, that the *expenses of the inquest* amounted to £250. For what? For *what*, I ask? Twelve men eat and drink, in one day, £250 worth! This is dear justice indeed. Oh, but his *two counsellors!* Aye, but the public are not to pay for that, I hope, especially as the government sent no one to plead against them? In short, it will not do. The more he struggles, the deeper he gets.——But, why move for the production of the memorial, without moving for some inquiry or discussion upon it? Why leave the matter there? Yet, there might have been incidental discussion, if Sir Henry's name had been put upon the list of the Finance Committee; but, this was prevented by his having modestly requested *that his name might not be put upon it;* though, as my readers will remember, he promised his Portsmouth dinner-men, that he and Mr. Chute would be upon the Committee, and would take care to put an end to *peculation* and *jobbing* to the utmost of their power!——The thing must not die, however, especially in Hampshire, where, if we should be so happy as to have another election, the subject will be fully discussed.——IV. India Affairs. I wish, at present, merely to communicate to my readers my suspicion, that a bill, about to be brought in by the new President of the Board of Controul (Lord Melville's son), is intended to make the people of this country answerable for a part, at least, of the East-India Company's enormous debt. I shall return to this subject in my next. In the meanwhile, I hope the public will be upon the watch. ——V. Sierra Leone. Here is another Company, who, having failed in their undertaking, are modest enough to wish to surrender their sovereignty, their territory, into the hands of the king, and to place their debts upon the shoulders of the public. These are the Negro-loving gentlemen, who, in 1802, said, that with a little help, they should civilize the whole continent of Africa. Sixteen thousand pounds was granted them by "the guardians of the public "purse of that day." The same sum has been annually granted since; and, now, behold, a bill is actually before the House for saddling this burthened nation with the whole concern. It will be useful to find out *who* are at the head of this concern. I foretold, in the teeth of the report, what this would come to, in 1802.——VI. The chapter of *jobs* is too long to enter upon here; and, it will, perhaps, come better in company with the remarks upon the reception of Lord Cochrane's motion, for which, at present, I have not room.

MEMORIAL OF SIR HENRY ST. JOHN MILDMAY TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF MILITARY ENQUIRY; LAID BEFORE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, UPON HIS MOTION, MADE ON THE 29TH OF JUNE, 1807.

Gentlemen,——Having seen that several passages in your Fourth Report, which relate to transactions in which I am personally implicated, have been industriously employed for the purpose of casting upon me the imputation of having either received undue favour from the government, or taken undue advantage of the public, I feel myself under the necessity of troubling you with a more detailed explanation, of every particular of those transactions, than my examinations before you (from whom I received no intimation of any such suspicion) were calculated to produce.—About the year 1803, it was thought necessary to raise very extensive fortifications in the neighbourhood of Chelmsford, and it was decided, that they should be carried through the park and farm adjoining, and at about 400 yards from a mansion house, in which I was compelled to reside three months in every year. Sir James Craig, who commanded in the district, made an application to me for permission to begin the works without delay; to which I acceded, under an express stipula-

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tion, that, when they were complete, I should be entitled to receive compensation for any injury I had sustained. During the period of my residence at Moulsham, these works were constructing; and from the multitude of persons employed in raising them, and the great concourse of military, which the expectation of invasion on the Eastern Coast had assembled in the neighbourhood of Chelmsford, my living there with my family had become extremely inconvenient and insecure. I continued however to reside in the house till the inconveniencies arising from the above circumstanstances became intolerable, and till my property had become exposed to every sort of depredation; footpad robberies were also committed in the very field next adjoining my garden, nine nights out of ten. In addition to these serious inconveniencies, permanent Barracks were erected on each side of my house, at the distance of about half a mile, which rendered it wholly unfit for my family to remain there; I therefore considered I had a claim on the government to relieve me, by law, from a residence, which their own measures, for the public safety, had rendered untenable.—To the application I made to Mr. Addington's government, I received the following letter.——"White-"hall, Nov. 30th, 1803.——Sir,—I have "had the honour of receiving your letter of "the 26th instant, and have made it my "business to see Mr. Addington this day on "the subject; and am directed by him to "acquaint you, that applauding as he does "the liberal manner in which you appear "to be disposed to act towards the public, "if you will have the goodness to direct "your agent to communicate with Mr. Van-"sittart, he shall be extremely ready to do "on his part what may be proper to give "effect to your wishes, respecting your fa-"mily seat near Chelmsford, as soon as he "clearly understands what is desired by "you, and in what manner it ought to be "accomplished.——I have the honour to "be, Sir, your faithful, humble servant,—"R. Pole Carew.—To Sir Henry St. John "Mildmay, Bart."——This led to a bill, brought in under the sanction of government, and passed, to relieve me from compulsory residence for four years, and to enable me to let the premises at Moulsham for the same period ——A treaty with government followed, for my house completely furnished, stables, garden, gardener's house, pleasure grounds, and about 16 acres of meadow lands.—This fair overture was, I think, made to Colonel Gordon; by whom I was told that my offer should be communicated to the Barrack Department, who would make a report on the subject. After which I was informed, that a report had been received from the Barrack Department, that government were ready to treat with me; and I was referred to the Secretary at War; on whom I waited immediately, and explained to him my terms, (which I had previously done in writing to Colonel Gordon) for the lease; which Mr. Dundas said must be referred to the Barrack Surveyor, who would be directed to inspect the state of the premises, and to report on my terms, before the agreement could be concluded. Mr. Johnson, a person wholly unknown to me, was sent down to Moulsham for that purpose, without any intimation to me, of the time at which he was to make his survey. This gentleman was unaccompanied and of course uncontrolled by any surveyor, architect, or other person on my behalf. The result of this inspection, (after stating the solidity of the building, and enumerating some trifling repairs which would be wanting) was in these words: "to put the house "into tenantable repair, will cost the sum "of £250; the annual amount will not "exceed £50 to keep them in repair. The "taxes are supposed to amount to £143. "If the said premises are put in proper re-"pair, and to include the 20 acres of plea-"sure ground, &c. round the house, as de-"scribed on the general plan, I am of opi-"nion £400 per annum is a fair rent to "give for the same, after Sir Henry has put "the premises in repair."——J. Johnson, Archt. May 24th, 1804.——On this report being communicated to me by the Secretary at War, I stated, that I was not aware the house required any repair, as a very large sum of money had been recently expended upon it; which was proved in the Committee of the House of Lords; but that I was willing to give up the first half year's rent (amounting to £200) if government would take the repairs on themselves, and make them in whatever manner they thought proper.—On these terms the Secretary at War agreed with me at the rate of £400 a year for 4 years. Possession of the premises was given to government on the 24th of June, 1804, and they began the repairs immediately. I have in no way whatever interfered since that period, either with the occupation of the house, or with the repairs.—It must be obvious to every one, that when the government were once put in possession of the premises, whether they chuse to use them for the residence of a lieutenant general and his staff, or only for a major general, or whether they thought it adviseable to make

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any use of them, was a matter with which I had nothing to do, and for which I cannot be responsible. With respect also to the repairs, I must remark, that having paid £200 according to agreement, I had nothing more to do with the transaction, and whether the money laid out on the premises has either amounted to, or exceeded that sum, I am at this moment wholly ignorant. During the whole of this transaction, I was not aware that any part of the arrangement was a matter of consideration for the Treasury; and I had at no time during its progress any communication on the subject directly or indirectly, to the best of my knowledge and belief, with any person connected with that department. I have already stated, that government took possession of the premises at Moulsham Hall, and the land let with it, on the 24th June, 1804. On the 6th of August following (the military works in my park being nearly completed) a precept was signed by Sir James Craig: in consequence of which, a special jury, composed of the most respectable gentlemen and magistrates in the county of Essex, (General Strutt being foreman) was impanelled in the Mansion House on the 18th of the same month. Government had then been about eight weeks in full possession of it, with the other premises, and they had made considerable progress in the repairs, and it was notorious to all the country, that an agreement had been entered into between government and myself, which had placed the house in the hands of the Barrack Office.—The jury examined the evidence, took a very minute and accurate survey and view of the military works, and the damages; and after being shut up for more than two hours, made the following award, as stated in the report page 164:——

"One thousand three hundred pounds to "be paid for the use and possession of the "lands (stated to contain 30 acres, 1 rood, "39 poles, in the occupation of Thomas "Chandler and Wm. Meyhill, as tenants to "Sir Henry Mildmay, but then occupied "by the military works) from Michaelmas "1803 to Michaelmas 1804, and from that "time £600 a year so long as the same "should be in the possession of his Majes-"ty."——There is nothing in this verdict which by any possible construction can have reference to the contract, which I had entered into with government, for the lease of my house, furniture, stables, garden, gardener's house, &c. I can neither conceive that this verdict precluded me from residence in the house, if I had thought proper; from pulling it down; from letting it to any individual, or to the government; or interferes with any disposition of it, which I may judge it prudent to make.—It is not possible that it could be considered, that the letting of my house for four years only, at £400 per annum, ready furnished, could be a compensation for the use of the land covered by the military works, and for the injury my house and estate must sustain, so long as those works should be continued; for it must be observed, that the contract for the house terminates in June, 1808, but there is no limit within my choice as to the occupation of the ground for the military works. Government may keep it as long as they please. The verdict confines itself strictly to 30 acres of land, which is particularly described to be in the occupation of Thomas Chandler and Wm. Meyhill, and which is stated to be covered by the field works. If the jury had intended to include the rent of the house, furniture, &c. in their verdict, they would have expressed such intention distinctly; on the contrary, they have stated their precise meaning to be otherwise, by defining the lands, as those alone occupied by the military works, containing 30 A. 1 R. 39 P. in the occupation of Chandler and Meyhill. The premises let with the house, amount to about 20 acres, and the lands occupied by the military works, 30 acres. Had the jury intended to include both in their verdict, they would have stated 50 acres, and not 30. The lands let with the house were never in the occupation of Thomas Chandler and William Meyhill, nor were any part of them used for the military works. It is therefore most obvious, that the jury did not mean to include them in their verdict, or to meddle in any way (as indeed I understood afterwards) with any disposition, or any purpose, to which I might convert the use of the house and furniture and premises. This construction of the verdict of 12 of most respectable gentlemen, cannot be a wrong one.—I will only further remark, that by a referenee to various transactions of a similar nature, as well between individuals, as where the public has been a party, it will be found, the compensation which I have received, under all circumstances, has not been beyond that which has been customarily given.—On the amount of the rent which I receive for the house, &c. from the public, I must beg leave to say, that having expended £200 on repairs, which I did not deem necessary, my receipt is reduced to £350. The land occupied with the house, garden, gardener's house, &c. cannot be valued at less than £60 a year. The furniture of a house containing 14 rooms on a floor, one of them 50 feet long, can be estimated at no inconsider-

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able sum, and a fair rent put upon it, added to the above-mentioned value of the land, must very considerably reduce my annual clear profit from the lease of the house.—One point more which it is my wish to impress upon the minds of the commissioners is, that the property which has devolved to me in Essex, I possess only during the life of my wife; and that the next person in succession (my own property and residence being otherwise entailed) will have no other place of residence, where the bulk of his property is situated, and be reduced to reside in a rented house, in consequence of the military works at Chelmsford.—Having by this plain statement vindicated myself, I hope, from the imputations, of which I have so much reason to complain; having, I trust, made it manifest that I have acted with perfect fairness to the public, the original occupation of the land having taken place under an administration to which I was politically opposed, and the offer of my house made to the same administration; it remains for me only to observe further, that having made the whole of this statement (after the lapse of four years) chiefly from recollection, and with few documents to refer to, it may be possible that in some trifling instances I may have been inaccurate; particularly, as, much of these transactions passed through the hands of agents. Where any such inaccuracy may appear, I am persuaded that I shall meet with a favourable construction.——I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient, very humble servant,——(Signed) H. P. S. MILDMAY. *June 29th*, 1807.——I beg leave to observe farther, that the expences attending the inquest, amounting to £250 were paid by me, and are included in the £1,300 awarded by the jury for the first year.——(Signed) H. P. S. MILDMAY.——*A true copy*, J. DRINKWATER, GILES TEMPLEMAN, HENRY PETERS, CHARLES BOSANQUET, B. C. STEPHENSON.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NEW CONSTITUTION OF HAYTI.—The undersigned mandatories, charged with the powers of the people of Hayti, being legally convoked by his excellency the general-in-chief of the army, penetrated by the necessity of making their constituents enjoy the sacred, imprescriptible, and unalienable rights of man, proclaim, in the presence and under the auspices of the All Powerful, the Articles contained in the present Constitutional Pact:

Title I. Of the condition of citizens.—1. Every body residing on the territory of Hayti is free, in the fullest sense.—2. Slavery is for ever abolished in Hayti.—3. N° one has a right to violate the asylum of a citizen, nor to enter forcibly into his dwelling, without an order, emanating from a superior and competent authority.—4. All property is under the protection of the government. Every attack upon the property of a citizen is a crime, which the law punishes.—5. The law punishes assassination with death.

Title II. Of the government.——6. The government of Hayti is composed; First, of a Chief Magistrate, who takes the title and quality of President and Generalissimo of the Forces of Hayti, both by land and sea: every other denomination is for ever proscribed in Hayti. Secondly, of a Council of State.—The Government of Hayti takes the title, and will be known by the denomination of "The State of Hayti."—7. The Constitution names the General in Chief, Henry Christophe, President and Generalissimo of the Forces, both by land and sea, of the State of Hayti.—8. The trust of President and Generalissimo of the Forces is for life.——9. The President has the right to choose his successor, but only from among the Generals, and in the manner hereafter prescribed. This choice must be secret and contained in a sealed packet, which shall be opened only by the Council of State, solemnly assembled for that purpose. The President shall take all necessary precautions for informing the Council of State where this packet shall be deposited.—10. The armed force shall be under the direction of the President, as also the administration of the finances.—11. The President has the power to make treaties with foreign nations, as well for the purpose of establishing commercial relations as to secure the independence of the state.—12. He is to conclude peace, and to declare war, to maintain the rights of the people of Hayti. —13. He has also the right to consider of the means of favouring, and increasing the population of the country.—14. He is to propose the laws to the Council of State, who after having adopted them, and drawn them up, send them back to him, for his sanction, without which they cannot be executed —15. The appointments of the President are fixed at 40,000 dollars a year.

Title III. Of the Council of State.——16. The Council of State is composed of nine members, nominated by the President, of which, at least, two thirds are to be generals.—17. The functions of the Council of State, are to receive the propositions of laws from the President, and to draw them up in the manner they may judge adviseable; to

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fix the amount of taxes, and the mode of collecting them; to sanction the treaties concluded by the President, and to fix upon the mode for recruiting the army. An account shall be presented to them annually, of the receipts and expenses, and of the resources of the country.—[The fourth, fifth, and sixth heads respect the appointment of a Superintendant General of the Finances, the Marine, and the Interior, and also the appointment of a Secretary of State, and the Tribunals.]

Title VII. The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, is the only one acknowledged by the government.——The exercise of other religions is tolerated, but not publicly.

Title VIII. Public Education.—There shall be established a central school in each division, and particular schools in each subdivision.

Title IX. Of the Guarantee of the neighbouring Colonies.——The government of Hayti declares to those powers who have colonies in its neighbourhood, its fixed determination to give no disturbance to the government of these colonies.—The people of Hayti make no conquests out of their own island, and confine themselves to the preservation of their own territory.—[After those nine heads, there follow some general regulations, the principal of which are: that every Haytian, from 16 to 50, can be called into the army, whenever the safety of the state requires it: that the government solemnly guarantees the foreign merchants the security of their persons and properties: divorce is strictly forbidden in Hayti; and agriculture, which is declared the most ancient, the most noble, and the most useful of all the arts, is to be encouraged and protected.]

Proclamation.—Henry Christophe, President and Generalissimo of the Military and Naval Forces of the State of Hayti, to the Army and People.

The light has broken in upon us, and a beneficent constitution has put an end to the plots and machinations, of which you were on the point of becoming victims. A wise code, adapted to our manners, our climate, and our customs, has sprung, as it may be said, out of chaos, and fixed once more the destinies of Hayti.——Long had I in vain sought to present you with this precious gift: in vain did I assemble the districts, and urge them to send deputies to Port-au-Prince, to give you a constitution. My anxiety, instead of being followed with the desired success, only operated as an additional incitement to the factious, to pervert the public opinion, and to establish a constitution favourable to their interests, and those of their adherents; but as hostile to the liberty of the people, as it was to the principles of sound reason.——Fellow-Citizens, you have all been witnesses to the purity of my views, and the sincerity of my intentions. You know how this sincerity has been abused, by the miscreants who fomented revolt, and kindled civil war. Their efforts never intimidated me for a single moment, or diverted me from my design of serving my country. By night or by day I have never ceased to occupy myself in providing for the public safety. What have I not done to effect it? What have I not suffered in counteracting the secret wiles and plots of the factious?—I have always been in the midst of you, and you can say whether my conduct has ever been influenced, or my honour tarnished, by ambition. Invested with the supreme power, this day, by the wish of my fellow-citizens and my companions in arms, I have yielded to their desires: and I have consented to bear this weighty but honourable burden, because it was their wish that it should be entrusted to my hands, and because I am willing again to serve my country. Happy shall I be if my efforts are crowned with success, and if they tend to the happiness of my fellow-citizens!—But, to attain this, my efforts alone will not be sufficient! The laws and constitution which have just been presented to you must be observed. It provides for the religious preservation of your rights; it secures to every citizen his personal liberty, his right of property, and that of his family.——The fatal consequences of the wars in which we have been engaged, and still more the immoral example held out to us by the French, had almost destroyed every principle of religion. The moral system was publicly laughed at, and a corrupted youth abandoned itself, without remorse, to all the licentiousness of its age; public education was degraded, and confided to mercenary instructors. It was necessary to restore to religion its dignity—to cause it to be respected and cherished. It was necessary to revive morality, to give it due distinction; to inculcate into the minds of youth its sacred principles, and those of honour also; in short, to convince the people, that without religion and morality, human society could not exist.—Your interests will be secured to you by proper tribunals: the judgments pronounced by their ministers will be dictated by equity and justice. It remains for the people of Hayti to make themselves distinguished by their probity and good faith. Essentially a trading country, as well from its situation as the nature

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of the commodities it produced, it is necessary that it should attract the merchants of every country on the globe, both by its equity and its produce.—Trade being the source of all our wealth, it is important that the foreign merchants who frequent our ports, should be equally protected with our fellow-citizens: and that they should receive all the hospitality due to this useful class of society.—To feed this trade—to give it a new spring—agriculture must be prosecuted with perseverance and vigour. Placed under the finest climate of the world, favoured by nature with her most precious gifts, even to profusion, the husbandman has not at Hayti to contend with the rigour of a frozen clime, or to fortify himself against the inclemencies of the seasons. A little labour is sufficient to enrich him, and to place him on a level with the manufacturers of other countries. Exert yourselves, then, industrious cultivators, to fill your warehouses with the produce of our fertile soil. Display to the eyes of the merchants of Europe all that can tempt their desires, and you will soon see your trade flourish much above your most sanguine expectations.—After having re-established religion, defeated morality, restored manners, and encouraged agriculture and trade, we shall have still great labours to encounter. We must not neglect the use of arms. The enemy watches our movements, and observes our proceedings. We have as yet no guarantee of the affection of our friends. We must bind the latter to us by treaties; we must be ready to meet the former in the field. Abandoned to ourselves, our resources are in ourselves. They are in you, soldiers, who are ready generously to spill your blood sooner than yield to a haughty enemy your liberty, which is the reward of your courage! They are in you, inhabitants and industrious cultivators, from whom the state derives its wealth! It is your union, your submission to the laws, which are to be the cement and bond of our independence.—The line of politics which foreign powers will pursue with respect to us is not yet manifest: whatever it may be, let us place ourselves in such a situation, that without holding out any defiance to them, we may, at the same time, have nothing to dread from those who may entertain hostile intentions.—Let those who wish a political connection with us, or who would wish to enjoy the advantage of our commerce, find an equitable reciprocity. To the rest, let us only offer death and battle.—At the same time that we are occupied with these thoughts, let us never forget, that the safety of a free people is best maintained by arms. Its cultivation employs a part of our fellow-citizens; let us remember that we are all soldiers, and that it is warlike nations alone who have been able to preserve their liberty. Let us call to mind that a handful of Greeks, devoted to their country, confounded the rage of a million of barbarians, who endeavoured to wrest from them their liberty. Let us swear to imitate their example: let us swear to observe our sacred constitution, to cause it to be observed, and to perish sooner than allow it to be violated in the smallest degree. Published at the head-quarters at the Cape, February 17, 1807. Henry Christophe, President. Rouanez, Secretary of State.

Continental War.——*Sixty-second Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

Liebstadt, Feb. 21.——The right of the grand army has been victorious, like the centre and the left. Gen. Essen, at the head of 25,000 men, advanced to Ostrolenka on the 15th, along the two banks of the Narew; when arrived at the village of Flacis Lawowa, he met the advanced guard of Gen. Savary, who commanded the 5th corps.—On the 16th, at break of day, Gen. Gazan, with a part of his division, made an oblique movement upon the advanced guard. At nine in the morning he met the enemy, on the road to Novogorod, attacked, defeated, and put him to the rout. But at the same moment the enemy attacked Ostrolenka, by the left bank. Gen. Campana, with a brigade of the division of Gen Gazan, and Gen. Ruffin, with a brigade of the division of Gen. Oudinot, defended that small town. Gen. Savary sent thither the Gen. of Division Redle, chief of the staff of the army. The Russian infantry, in several columns, endeavoured to carry the town. The enemy was suffered to advance half the length of the streets, when he was marched against and charged. He was three times cut down, and left the streets covered with the dead. The loss of the enemy was so great, that he abandoned the town, and took a position behind the sand-hills which cover it.—The divisions of Generals Suchet and Oudinot advanced: at noon the heads of their columns arrived at Ostrolenka. Gen. Savary drew up his little army in the following manner: Gen. Oudinot commanded the left in two lines; Gen. Suchette the centre; and Gen. Reille, commanding a brigade of the division of Gazan, formed the right. He covered himself with all his artillery, and marched against the enemy. The intrepid Gen. Oudinot put himself at the head of the cavalry, made a successful charge, and cut in pieces

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the Cossacks of the rear guard of the enemy. The fire was very brisk; the enemy gave way on all sides, and was followed fighting during three leagues.— The next day the enemy was pursued several leagues but without being perceived. His cavalry had retreated the whole night. General Suwarrow and several other officers of the enemy are among the slain. The enemy has abandoned a great number of wounded, 1200 have been taken off the field, and more are bringing in every instant. Seven pieces of cannon and two standards are the trophies of this victory. The enemy has left 1300 dead on the field of battle. On our side we have had 60 men killed, and from 4 to 500 wounded. But a loss most sensibly felt is that of the General of Brigade, Campana, who was an officer of great merit and promise: he was born in the department of Marengo. The Emperor has been much grieved at his loss. The 103d regiment distinguished itself particularly in this affair. Among the wounded are Col. Du Hamel, of the 21st regiment of light infantry; and the Colonel of artillery, Nourrist.——The Emperor has ordered the 5th corps to go into winter quarters. The thaw is dreadful, The season will not permit any thing great to be atchieved; it is that of repose. The enemy first broke up from his quarters; he has repented it.

63d Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Osterode, Feb. 28, 1807.——Captain Auzoni, of the Imperial Horse Guards, mortally wounded in the battle of Eylau, was lying upon the field of battle. His comrades came to take him up, and carry him to the hospital. He recovered his senses only to say to them: 'Let me alone, my friends; I die contented, since we have gained the day, and that I can die upon the bed of honour, surrounded by the cannons taken from the enemy, and the wrecks of their defeat. Tell the Emperor that I have but one regret: which is, that in a few moments I shall be no longer able to do any thing for his service, and the glory of our fine France—to her my last breath—.' The effort he made to utter these words, exhausted the little strength he had remaining.—— All the reports we receive, agree in stating that the enemy lost at the battle of Eylau, 20 generals, and 900 officers killed and wounded, and upwards of 30,000 men disabled.— At the engagement of Ostrolenska, of the 16th, two Russian generals were killed and three wounded.——His Majesty has sent to Paris the sixteen stands of colours taken at the battle of Eylau. All the cannon are already sent off to Thorn. His Majesty has ordered that these cannon shall be melted down, and made into a brazen statue of Gen. Hautpoult, commander of the 2d division of cuirassiers, in his uniform of cuirassier.—— The army is concentrated in its cantonments behind the Passarge, with its left supported by Marienwerder, the island of Nogat, and Elbing, countries which afford resources.— Being informed that a Russian division had marched towards Braunsberg, at the head of our cantonments, the Emperor ordered it to be attacked. The Prince of Ponte Corvo assigned this expedition to Gen. Dupont, an officer of great merit. On the 26th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, General Dupont presented himself before Braunsberg, attacked the enemy's division, 10,000 strong, overthrew it with fixed bayonets, drove it from the town, and made it recross the Passarge, took from it 16 pieces of cannon, two stands of colours, and made 2000 prisoners. We had very few men killed.—On the side of Gustadt, General Leger-Belair repaired to the village of Peterswade, at day break on the 25th, upon receiving advice that a Russian column had arrived, during the night, at that village, overthrew it, took the General Baron de Korff, who commanded it, his staff, several Lieutenant-Colonels and Officers, and 400 men. This brigade was composed of ten battalion, which had suffered so much, that they formed only 1600 men under arms.—The Emperor, in testimony of his satisfaction to Gen. Savary for the engagement of Ostrolenka, has granted him the grand insignia of the Legion of Honour, and called him about his person. His Majesty has given the command of the 5th corps to Marshal Massena, Marshal Lannes continuing to be sick.—At the battle of Eylau, Marshal Augereau, overrun with rheumatic pains, was sick and hardly in his senses; but the cannon awakes the brave: he flew in full gallop to the head of his corps, after getting himself tied upon his horse. He was constantly exposed to the greatest fire, and was even slightly wounded. The Emperor has just ordered him to return to France, for the purpose of taking care of his health. The garrisons of Colberg and Dantzick, availing themselves of the little attention paid them, had encouraged themselves by different excursions, An advanced post of the Italian division was attacked on the 16th, at Stargard, by a party of 800 men of the garrison of Colberg.

To be continued.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 3.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 18, 1807. [PRICE 10D.

"TEN THOUSAND POUNDS REWARD.——A Gentleman of *the most respectable connections*, is desirous "of obtaining a Permanent Post of HIGH HONOUR *in some department of the Government*. Unpractised himself in the arts of soliciting preferment, he takes this which he conceives the readiest way of "obtaining his object, by interesting *the feelings* of those who may have the power of forwarding his "views. If, therefore, any gentleman possessing the means will use them to procure for this Advertiser "such a post, Ten Thousand Pounds shall be deposited in the hands of any Banker, on the commencement of any treaty to be set on foot in consequence of this advertisement, to be paid to him or his order, "or any agent, upon terms hereafter to be agreed upon; or any elderly Gentleman in the *Commission of* "*Excise, Customs*, &c. desirous of *resigning* his Office, upon a favourable opportunity of making provision for his Family, at the same time possessing sufficient interest to obtain this object by recommendation "or otherwise, will, if he pleases, attend to this application. A sum to any amount, proportioned to the "emolument, will be given. It is of course unnecessary to state that the views of this Advertiser are "*considerable*; as also it is to abstain from the nonsensical declaration of secresy, usually found in advertisements of this kind, convinced that no treaty of this or any other nature can be brought to effect, "without a mutual understanding of good faith in the outset. Letters addressed H. Y. Z. to the Bar of the "British, Cockspur-street, before the 15th of July, will meet with every proper attention."——MORNING POST *news-paper, 7th July*, 1807.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT. (Continued from page 32.)——I. *Jobs in General and in Particular*.——II. *Closed Doors*.——I. Upon the subject of JOBS we must revert to the report of the debate of the 26th of June upon the Speech from the throne. Lord Howick, who, in due course and form, opposed the address, took occasion to speak of what he called the *jobs* of his opponents. It was, doubtless, a harsh term to make use of; but, as he made use of it so may we. He was insisting, that the object in dissolving the parliament was to get a parliament more completely devoted to the ministry; much about, I suppose, my lord, the same object which the dissolution of 1806 had in view. But, that is no matter. In order to support his argument, his lordship mentioned several facts which had come to his knowledge, relating to the influence employed by the ministers, during, or upon the eve of the election. He said that, "with respect to the influence of the "crown, it had been exercised during the "last election, in a most unexampled manner. In this country to a great degree, "but in the *sister* kingdom most unblushingly, both in temptation and threats. "In one borough in Ireland, a candidate "had *dared ANY elector to vote against* "*him*; and he had been told, that in another *popular* contest, the crown solicitor "had gone down, and informed Mr. Grogan, *that the forfeiture of his estates* "*would be enforced, unless he and all his* "*tenantry voted for the partisans of govern-*"*ment*. But there was another mode of "influence of public notoriety which he "would mention: it was the letter, dated "the 25th of April, from lord Hawkes-"bury to the lords lieutenants of counties "respecting the Volunteers. Lord Haw-"kesbury stated, that it was intended to "propose to parliament, to restore their "pay to such volunteers as came in after a "certain period, and also *to re-appoint the* "*Inspecting Field Officers*, which last he "(lord Howick) understood, had since "been done. Now let the house consider "the *date* of this letter: on the 25th of "April, the Secretary of State declares, "that it was intended to propose a certain "measure to parliament. In two days af-"terwards, parliament is prorogued, pre-"vious to its immediate dissolution; so "that the noble Secretary must have known "that he deprived himself of the power of "proposing the measure, by advising the "dissolution. The restoration of the In-"specting Field Officers was a most ob-"jectionable step. He had never met with "a single Volunteer-officer who did not "hold these Inspecting-officers in utter "contempt: they had no command: they "were not even empowered to order the "Volunteers to come to be inspected. From "the large staff which was attached to the "British army, consisting of Adjutants, "Quarter-masters, Brigade-majors, &c. "surely some better inspectors might be se-"lected; aye, *but then this was an object* "*of great patronage!* Just at the time of

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" the general election, *a hundred new offices were to be distributed*, and these inspectors of elections, for so they were in fact, were each to have pay and allowances, *making the whole expence to the nation between 37 and 40,000 l. a year for no advantage whatever!* This was the little beginning of these mighty enemies to patronage: more *pure and unadulterated jobs* never existed than these appointments."—— Thank you, my lord Howick! Thank you for this valuable declaration. It will do us great good, if we have but patience. To threaten the whole of the electors of a borough was a bold thing to be sure; and, I dare say, no such threats were necessary *at Appleby*, that fine free borough, which you have the honour to represent — Lord Howick was answered by Mr. Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Clerk of the Irons, and reversioner of patent places, held by his brother, worth about £12,000 a year. This gentleman is reported to have said, that, " another charge " brought against ministers by the noble " lord was, that the influence of government " had been exercised *beyond all former example*, at the late election. He was convinced, however, that no case could be " produced *parallel to what had been brought under the consideration of the last parliament, with respect to the Hampshire Election.* The noble lord had instanced one case respecting Mr. Grogan, " but this was the first he had heard of it; " the noble lord had then stated, that it was " notorious that 100 Inspecting Field Officers had been appointed to the volunteer " force previous to the election, with a view " to influence the electors. There might " or might not be merit in the appointment " of these officers, but his majesty's present ministers, when out of power, had recommended the measure, and now they " were in office, they had adopted it. But " the same officers that had been employed " before were appointed, and they had not " been appointed until after the election, " and this was the measure which the noble " lord had represented as an exercise of " corrupt influence at elections beyond all " former example. The noble lord appeared to him rather rash in his charge, and " not to be acquainted with *some of the acts of his colleagues:* what would the house " think of *the nomination of* 300, *not inspecting, but surveying officers of taxes, who could not be appointed either in law, or in fact, till an act of parliament should be passed to authorise the appointment?* " What would they think of the designation " of so many officers, *previous to the election of that parliament which was to pass the act, which was to authorise the appointment of these officers?* The appointment had not taken place, because the act " had not passed, and there remained for " the gentlemen opposite only to send *lamentable letters* of apology, where they " had no longer the power to realise their " engagements."——From a mild compassionate gentleman, such as Mr. Perceval is, one might have expected something more humane than ridicule of 300 hungry wretches, gaping for plunder, as unfledged buzzards gape for their prey, and, just as it was reaching their mouths, seeing it snatched away for ever. According to his account, too, the prey had been paid for, or earned. The hard and dirty work was all performed. Had he no bowels, that he could ridicule wretches so treated? Did he, I wonder, reflect upon the number of " genteel families" that this non-fulfilment of articles would plunge into distress; upon the number of new shawls and dresses that it would leave unpaid for; upon the number of forte-pianos that it would reduce to silence; upon the number of routes that it would prevent; upon the number of lazy rascals that it would send to pauperize in some other way? Did he reflect on none of this?——There seems, on the two sides, to have been a pretty equal balance of jobs. Mr. *Grogan's* is, I think, rather the strongest instance; but, then, the three hundred tax-gatherers surpass, without doubt, the one hundred inspecting field-officers. Both, I dare say, ought to be considered as equally useful to the country; but, all that *the people* have to remember is this, that, *if the assertions of both parties are not false*, one of the parties, at least, has made the *appointments in question for the purpose, not of doing good to the country, but of getting votes on their side in the House of Commons.* This is what the people have to bear in mind.——In the next grand debate upon the subject of Jobs, Mr. Perceval was the assailant. The subject of discussion was the re-appointment of the Finance Committee; and, Mr. Perceval, in order to show, that it was necessary to have a good number of his friends upon that committee, said, that the conduct of the late ministry would require to be examined into. This let him easily into the subject of jobs, whereon he proceeded thus:—" The late ministers had expressed " themselves on the first appointment of " the committee, very much averse to the

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" grant of places in reversion; there was, " however, one instance to which attention " had been called, of their having, a short " time before they went out of office, ap- " pointed to offices in reversion of a most " extraordinary nature: he alluded to the " appointment of *a Collector and Surveyor* " *of Customs in the port of Buenos Ayres,* " *a place not then in the possession of his* " *Majesty.* These were reversionary grants " to take place upon an uncertain contin- " gency, and made by those gentlemen who " appeared to be so nice on this subject. " He had on a former occasion stated, " without giving any opinion upon the pro- " priety of appointing such officers, the no- " mination *of 300 Surveyors of Taxes.* The " nomination was founded on a representa- " tion from the Commissioners of Taxes, " made in March, 1806, but the appoint- " ment could not take place till the business " was submitted to parliament. When the " dissolution took place in October, without " any sanction of parliament having been " obtained for these appointments, the per- " sons were designated to the offices, in the " way the noble lord had said on a former " night: *Members of Parliament* waited on " the minister, *they were received civilly,* " *and the promises made* But the parlia- " ment met in December, and sat some " months; the measure for sanctioning the " appointment was not brought forward, " and the hon. gentlemen opposite, when " they lost the power of performance, were " compelled to revert to the condoling let- " ters which he had before alluded to. This " circumstance would induce the house not " to place implicit or peculiar confidence in " those gentlemen who viewed every thing " in the same light with the late adminis- " tration. Another appointment made by " the late administration, was that of Ga- " zette Writer created by patent for Scot- " land, *with a salary of £300 per annum.* " This office had been before divided be- " tween the Editors of three Newspapers. " He wished the hon. gentlemen to hear " his statement, and to bear in mind that " the business of the office was performed " by these three persons, *without any ex-* " *pence to the public, though they made a* " *profit of £200 a year by the publications* " *in their newspapers.* These persons had " been turned out of their employment, " and an appointment by patent given to " the present possessor; and he should ask " whether any gentleman believed that this " had been done with any other view *than* " *to give the place to that person?* He " should not dwell in detail upon all the " acts of the late ministers, but he confess- " ed himself at a loss to understand what " they could mean by the appointment *of a* " *Professor of Medical Jurisprudence.* He " acknowledged that he was ignorant of the " duty of that professor, and could not " comprehend what was meant by the " science he professed. There had also " been *three new Sheriffs* appointed in Scot- " land, with salaries *of between £250 and* " *£300* a year, on a division of counties, " *where the duties were before executed as* " *in one Shrievalty.* These were some of " the many acts of the late administration, " which would be likely to come under the " consideration of the committee. Another " appointment, which was equally censura- " ble, was the grant of a pension, *during* " *pleasure,* of *£400* a year, *to a civil and* " *criminal Judge in Scotland.*—This grant " had, no doubt, not been carried into ef- " fect, but it was owing to the doubts en- " tertained by the person who was to carry " it into effect in Scotland, as to its legal- " ity. He should not go through the other " exceptionable appointments made by these " gentlemen, as he had stated enough to " shew, that those who thought exactly " with them, were not to be exclusively con- " fided in."——Confided in! no, indeed; but, they would have done very well to fer- ret out the jobs of their opponents, as an old poacher is said to make the best of game- keepers; and, as to the finding out of *their* jobs, another committee might have been appointed for that purpose.——The answer to this cruel attack came from Lord Henry Petty, who confessed that he was quite un- prepared for defence, not having had any warning of his antagonists' intention; and, indeed, this was rather unfair on the part of Mr. Perceval, it being the very laudable practice of the Honourable House to give each of its members *due notice* of any thing that is about to be said against them, whe- ther by petition or otherwise; for, unless he has such notice, how is a man to answer? His lordship, after having uttered his com- plaint proceeded to say, that, " the conduct " of the right hon. gentleman was the more " extraordinary, as he had *sheltered* an hon. " baronet (Sir H. Mildmay) on the preced- " ing night, from the effects of a charge " against him, before a single document " should be produced in his justification; " and yet, without any documents to bear " him out, that right hon. gent. called upon " the house to receive his various charges " against his majesty's late ministers. Un- " prepared as he must be, from his igno- " rance of the intention or attack of the

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" right hon. gent. he should, so far as his " memory served him, endeavour to follow " the right hon. gent. through his state- " ment. One of the charges made by the " right hon. gent. was, the appointment of " a Collector for the Port of Buenos Ayres. " Would not every gentleman imagine, from " the manner in which this charge had " been urged, that a considerable expence " was incurred, a heavy burthen accrued in " consequence to the public? Was it not " common candour, or rather was it not a " gross want of candour in the right hon. " gent., not to have stated, that no expence " was to be incurred on the part of the pub- " lic, till the duties of the office were to be " performed *on the re-capture* of Buenos " Ayres? considerable inconvenience had " been felt from the want of an establish- " ment for the collection of the Duties in " the first instance, and the appointment " had been made *to guard against a similar* " *inconvenience in the re-capture of the Set-* " *tlement.* He did not exactly remember " the precise time at which that appoint- " ment took place. The right hon. gent. " had renewed his statement with respect " to the appointment of the Surveyors of " Taxes, a measure which had *originated* " *with the Commissioners of Taxes.* As to " the nomination of the officers, some might " have been so nominated, but since the " matter had been mentioned, several per- " sons had stated to him, that they had re- " commended individuals to these offices, " but it had been uniformly answered, that " no appointment could take place without " the sanction of parliament. Another " charge was the creation of an office, to " which some might object, but which had " been given to an individual, who had de- " voted *a long life of disinterested service to* " *the public*, and who had in the University " but an income of £135 per annum. It " had been thought a better mode to pro- " vide for this distinguished and meritorious " gentleman, Mr. Dugald Stuart, by giving " him that place, which had before been " enjoyed by three Newspaper Writers, " than by a pension. Were editors of " Newspapers the *only* literary men the " gentlemen opposite would protect? Was " theirs the only science, they encouraged? " As to the pension to a civil and criminal " Judge, he had heard nothing of any such " grant. He should not be bold enough to " say, that any administration might not " fall into abuses, and he had always since " he had a seat in that house, *supported* " *motions for inquiries*, whether in the " shape of Naval or Military Commissions " He was glad to see the right hon. gent. " following the example which he had him- " self, for the first time, given of excluding " persons in office from such a Committee. " As to the gentlemen whom the right hon. " gent. left out from the number of the for- " mer Committee, he should only say, that " he saw no good ground for such exclusion. " He thought the object of the right hon. " gent. would be gained by introducing " eight new members in the place of those " who were not members of this parlia- " ment, and of the hon. baronet and the " hon. gentleman opposite, now in office. " *If the parliament was not dissolved to get* " *rid of the Committee, why not revive it as* " *far as that could be done, as it existed be-* " *fore the dissolution?* The members who " had proceeded with the business in the " former committee, would more readily " take it up in this, and he should there- " fore object to any individual who should " be proposed, to the exclusion of any of " the former members who were eligible." ——This last is all very reasonable; but, only think of granting places *for life* to a collector and surveyor of the customs at Buenos Ayres, ready against it should be *re-captured!* This was selling the lion's skin with a vengeance. What, to produce such an act, must have been the greediness and impatience of the Honourable Gentlemen, to whom such grants were made! What a life, too, must be that of a minister of state, plagued with the applications of such persons! The plagues of Egypt must have been a trifle to what a minister so situated has to endure. But, it is the natural consequence of the present state of the House of Commons, where, as a correspondent lately observed, the minister of the day must, some how or other, obtain a majority, *or else the government cannot go on.*——I am sorry for Mr. Dugald Stuart, whose great literary merits I am not unacquainted with. His former income would have kept body and soul together; and, if not, would it not have been better to have let them separate a few years sooner, than become, at last, the subject of a wrangle in the Honourable House; than see his name in the Red Book; than be enrolled in the Regiment; than be placed upon a footing with state paupers of the day?——When lord Henry Petty asserted, that he had "always supported motions for " inquiries," he forgot the opposition, which he gave to Mr. Robson's motion for an inquiry into the Barrack-Expenditure in the Isle of Wight; and, indeed, he must have forgotten the opposition which he gave to the motion, out of which this very Fi-

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nance Committee grew. He opposed Mr. Biddulph's motion; and, though he himself moved for a committee, he took good care, that it should be so composed, and so pinned down as to its powers, that it should be little more than a thing of mere form; and, accordingly, nothing did it do, not a word did we hear of its discoveries, until lord Henry Petty and his colleagues were out of office, and had a deep interest in making exposures. For the very same reason, however, that the committee was not what I could have wished *then*, the same persons would have composed a committee that I should like *now*. What I want is, not the smothering, but the exposing of peculation and jobs; and, I know no persons so likely to expose as those who *wish* to expose. The law invites people to inform against offenders. It does more, it commands them to do it. In some cases it offers rewards for such information, and in other cases it threatens with punishment for a neglect to give information. But, here, where the public is so deeply interested, much more than it is in the detection of smugglers or highwaymen, it seems that the quest is to be made by persons "*impartially*" chosen, just as if the offenders themselves were the choosers of their partners. There wants no impartiality. There wants, in such a committee, nothing but intelligence and activity; and of these the old committee had given good proofs. The committee are not to be *judges*. They are merely to examine and report. The House is to be the judge. What should any of us common mortals think of a man, who, if called upon to render an account of his conduct were to insist upon having his friends to receive that account? And, if he has a *majority* of his friends, is not that the same thing? This Finance Committee is to act as detectors and accusers; and, what would be said of that man, who should insist that it was unfair for him to be detected and accused by any one who was not his avowed friend?——After lord Henry Petty followed a Scotch gentleman, who, word for word, repeated what Mr. Perceval had said.——Next came Mr. Brand, who "wished for a fair and *honourable* inquiry, such as was due to the *character of the House*, such as was expected by an anxious country and a suffering people. He was partial to the right hon. gentlemen on the bench below him (the late ministers), from a high opinion of their talents and integrity. But if any charge should be made on them, he would be the first to call for inquiry and investigation into the grounds of that charge. But when he looked to the bench opposite (the Treasury Bench), and saw on it men certainly all remarkable for their talents, but of whom *not two were without pensions, sinecures, and reversions, settled on themselves, or on their families*, inquiry was loudly called for, to shew *how they and their infants had become possessed of those drains from the public purse*. He was shocked at the mode of meeting one accusation by retorting another. When those most remarkable for ability in investigation were excluded, when the names of the new Commissioners were more numerous than those of the old, when the present Ministers, not satisfied with introducing eight names instead of those of the old members not returned, he was sure the country would not think the present Committee auspicious to the cause of retrenchment and reform. To baffle a people loaded with burthens by holding out *a delusive investigation*, could lead to nothing but disappointment and discontent. He lamented the insinuation, that no set of men could be found in the house free from party devotions, or from party animosity, an insinuation that must *sink the character of the House in the opinion of the country*, and must diminish the hopes entertained from the investigation."——In this conclusion I think Mr Brand was deceived; for, I see not the least reason to suppose, that any insinuation, however foul, can sink the character of the House in the opinion of the country. No; the House is not to be affected by insinuations of any sort; its character has long been such as to enable it to set all insinuations at defiance. Individual members, and even parties, may now and then suffer by comparison, in point of reputation; but, as to the Honourable House, taking it as a whole, I venture to assert that its character is far beyond the reach of detraction. "Sink the character of the "House, the Honourable House, in the "opinion of the country?" Oh, no! there is, thanks to its members, no fear of that. The country know that House too well; they feel too sensibly the effects of its wise and just and impartial decisions to suffer themselves to listen to any thing calculated to sink it in their opinion. No; the country entertain a very just opinion of the Honourable House; and, as Mr. Brand seemed to be uneasy upon this score, it must afford him great satisfaction to hear me say, that, from all parts of the country, my correspondents assure me, that apprehensions like his are perfectly groundless.——Mr. Canning came on after Mr. Brand, for, as the reader will

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have perceived, each side takes its turn in putting forward a man, as regularly as if the whole affair was previously arranged. He said, that, "if human affairs could be conducted without partiality or prejudice, the plan they recommended would be entitled to preference. But as the contrary was the fact, and *as personal and party attachments were known to be almost universally prevalent in that house*, he saw no danger in avowing to the public what was already well known, the prevalence of those party attachments, and to guard against any *unfair preponderance* of those attachments, by *balancing the number of the parties*. It was therefore desirable to avoid appointing those whose party prejudices ran all in the same course. He would indeed be ready to allow, that if there was one set of men free from all party prejudice and animosity, that if those men had been for many years out of office, and if on coming at length into office, they exercised their power, neither to stigmatize their opponents, nor immediately to reward their adherents, he would allow that it would be very fit to encourage so brilliant an example of purity, by appointing these men to be of the committee. If not perfectly pure, they would at least be perfectly unaccused, while the conduct of the inquiry would be in their own hands. If, however, he were called upon to point out the description of men most free from political animosity, it was not to the opposite bench that he would look. If he was called upon to point out those who had abstained most from the use of power for the advantage of their dependents, he would look there as little for the reality of the fanciful perfection which was so much to be wished for. If, on the contrary, he were to look for those who made the best use of a very short interval of power for the benefit of themselves and their adherents, the hon. gentlemen were those on whom he should fix. He had heard of a certain Roman moralist, who wished to live in a house of glass, that every thing he did might be seen (*a laugh*).—If that moralist had lived in these times he would have learned, that he who lived in a glass house, should not begin by throwing stones (*a loud laugh*). Those by whom this principle of parliamentary practice had been not long since laid down, were now unwilling that the house of glass, which this inquiry was to constitute, should be enlarged by a bow window, so as to include them. (*A laugh*). It was impossible to state grounds for inquiry, otherwise than generally and in detail. When his right hon. friend made general charges, he was called as loudly to particularise, and when he did particularise, those who forced him to do so cried shame. Well, indeed, might the specification be objected to by the noble lord opposite, and his colleagues. If the plan of the late ministers had been pursued; if collectors, comptrollers, surveyors, searchers, and waiters had been appointed not only to all the ports we should conquer, but to all those that we should intend to conquer, what would have been the consequence? We should have had Collectors and Comptrollers of the Bosphorus, and Searchers and Waiters of Rosetta—(*loud peals of laughter*)—There was here to be observed a great change in the tone of the right hon. gentleman on the subject of Buenos Ayres. When the conquest of that place was effected, the hon. gentleman thought it not worthy of being mentioned in the King's Speech. Now it had acquired a vast importance in their eyes; and why? Not from its importance to the commerce or navigation, or to the general resources of the country, but because it was a place that afforded room for the appointment of Collectors, Comptrollers, Searchers, and Waiters. This was a complete key to the whole policy of the late ministers—and a most happy illustration it was of their large, liberal, and enlightened views. However far the range might have extended in contemplation, the actual list ended here, and it became necessary to return home to the 300 surveyors. The noble lord's defence here, as in the former instance, was, that the appointment was prospective. But was the influence prospective! Why did the appointment take place on the eve of a General Election? If the coincidence was accidental, the hon. gentlemen were the first favourites of fortune. He acknowledged the high literary merit of Mr. Dugald Stuart, who had besides the merit, and he thought it no light one, of having educated the noble lord (H. Petty). He acknowledged and lamented the general insufficiency of the rewards bestowed on literary merit in this country; but he highly condemned the mode of reward here adopted, by constituting a new sinecure, and bestowing it on Mr. Stuart and his assignees for 21 years. As to the comparison instituted by the noble lord between this grant and the rewards granted to the writers of the Anti-Jacobin, he

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" for one, felt no shame for the character or " principles of that work; nor any other " sorrow for the share he had in it than that " which the imperfection of his pieces " was calculated to inspire. He was " told that this provision for Mr. Stuart " was substituted for a professorship of " medical jurisprudence, which it had been " intended to institute. He should like to " see the hon. gent. in the full swing of " their insolence of power, making this " appointment, immediately after their " unqualified attacks upon their antagonists, " as much as to say, " Though you can do " nothing, we dare do every thing." He " doubted whether this same science of me- " dical jurisprudence could be found any " where mentioned, even in the Scotch " Encyclopædia. *(A laugh.)* In answer " to what the noble lord had said about " Newspapers, he would ask, was there no " instance here, of a newspaper conspi- " cuous for its attachment to the constitu- " tion, and in the fairness of its mode of " detailing all transactions in which its par- " ty interests had place, *whose proprietor " was appointed Secretary to the Barrack " Board, at which a secretary was a new " and a sinecure institution?*'——This last was a hit, a palpable hit, at Mr. Perry; and richly he deserves it. I told him he would repent of becoming a placeman. I told him it was better to continue to walk on foot, than to be drawn about in a wooden case by two horses at the expense of his independence. He is done up *for ever*; because, though out of place now, we know that he has been in; and we never shall again look upon him as being actuated by public spirited motives. He is in *the regiment*, and that is enough.——I have inserted all the *laughs* in Mr. Canning's speech; and, it is truly curious to observe, how witty a man becomes the moment he is in place. Mr. Canning made a great many long speeches while he was out of place, and nobody laughed. The laughing was, however, of short duration; for Mr. Curwen rose next after him, and put to him this simple question: " have " not *you* a *pension?*" Whereupon the right honourable Secretary, " with great *dignity* " and *feeling*," said, that, " when he left " the foreign office, a noble lord in ano- " ther House and a Right Honourable Gen- " tleman, now, unhappily, no more, had " *pressed* him to take a pension, one half of " which he had requested him to settle up- " on two very near and dear relations, who " were dependant upon his labours for " support; and, whether he merited this, " or not, he must leave to be decided by " the noble lord in the other House." This answer in plain language was: " True, I " have a pension, and so have my two sis- " ters; but, it was granted by Lord Gren- " ville, who is one of your party, and by " Pitt, whom you are constantly praising; " therefore, talk to Lord Grenville, or shut " your mouth."——But, though this might be a very good answer to " the gentlemen " opposite," was it an answer to the bur- dened and complaining people? Was it an answer to the widow, who out of a legacy of a hundred a year pays in *direct* taxes so much as to reduce the hundred to *eighty one* pounds a year? He takes half to himself and gives half to his sisters; that is to say, the Cannings get three pensions instead of one. And *for what?* Why, because he had been three or four years an under secre- tary of state at a solid salary of two thou- sand a year besides off-cuts and slabs. Out of this salary he might have given his sisters what he pleased; but, what reason was there for fastening them for life upon the people of this country? " They were de- " pendant upon his labour for subsistence." Very well; but, had the receiving of two thousand a year, for some years, from the public, disqualified him for labour? What was he *before?* Had he earned more? Had he *lost* any thing by being under-secre- tary of state? Why, then, are *we* to work for the maintenance of his sisters, any more than for the sisters of another man? Oh! it is very easy to be kind to one's relations in this way. " Two *very near* and *very dear* " relations!" Hi . . . . . hi . . . . hickup! Aye, one may force out a sort of a half blubber at it; but, where is the reason and justice of the thing? Where, too, is the kindness? The public purse, at this rate; the labour of the people, becomes a source of paternal, fraternal, and filial affection, of personal friendship, and of Christian charity!——More of these pensions another time. They are a very pretty instance of the application of the public money; and it will be very useful to keep them in view; because there will a time come to put all such matters right.——Next after the Canning Pensions naturally comes the *Mildmay Contract*, upon which subject nothing more, for the present, at least, would have been said by me, had not Sir Henry, with what degree of dis- cretion I shall not presume to say, again agitated the question, by moving, in the House of Commons, on the 8th of this month, for the production of certain letters from some of the Moulsham Hall *Jurymen*. But, let us hear Sir Henry's ac-

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count of these letters. There is nothing like hearing him out: " Sir H. Mildmay " rose pursuant to notice, to move that " there be laid before the house a supplement to his memorial which was already " upon the table. He took that occasion " to state that *he owed considerable acknowleagments to lord Sidmouth's Government*, for the fairness and liberality " which he had experienced from it. His " first offer had been made to the Barrack " Office during that administration, but " *the whole of the business respecting* " *the letting of his house, had taken place* " *after that administration had gone out of* " *office*. His principal object in rising had " been to move that there be laid before " the house certain letters which he had " received *from some individuals of the* " *Jury*, that had awarded him the compensation for the injury his property had sustained. Of the whole of those who composed the Jury, he was not acquainted " with the addresses of more than four, " one of whom was the foreman. They " were amongst the most respectable persons in the county. The hon. baronet " then read extracts from these letters, " which explicitly stated, that the 16 acres, " with the house, were not included in the " estimate of compensation; *that the award* " *did not preclude the hon. Baronet from re-* " *siding in or disposing of the house*; that " of the 1300*l.* awarded by the Jury, 700*l.* " was for the injury done *to the ground* by " the works, and to defray the expence of " restoring it to the state in which it was " before the construction of the works; " and that the Jury *were aware*, at the " time of making their award, *of his be-* " *ing in treaty with government for the* " *house*"——Now let us take the points in their due order.——Sir Henry says, that " the whole of the business respecting the " letting of the house took place *after the* " *Addington administration were out of* " *office*." Aye, and so I told the public a fortnight ago, Sir Henry; but, you, Sir, told the house on the 29th of June, that " the transaction took place under Mr. Addington's ministry, *for whom you never* " *gave a vote in your life*; so that if it was " a job, *the ministry had jobbed against* " *themselves*." This was an argument, Sir; this was said in your defence; this was urged as a strong proof in your favour; and this proof you have now been compelled to give up, the truth being, that, though your land was put into the hands of government in the month of October, 1803, no offer was made of the house, *no jury was impannelled*, until Pitt, for whom you had always voted, came into place, and you *began your bargaining in less than a week* after he and his associates were seated upon the Treasury Bench! It was about that time, too, that you acted a most conspicuous part in the House of Commons You, Sir, produced the fact of the transaction having taken place under an administration, for whom you never gave a vote in your life; you produced this as a proof, that the thing *was not a job*; but, that fact being proved not to be true, and, it being also proved, that the transaction took place under an administration, with whom you had been always voting, for whom you were voting, and most zealously speaking, at the very time that you were driving the bargain, is there not some danger that your argument may be turned against yourself?—As to the letters from *some* of the jurymen, to say nothing of the novelty of the thing, why not produce letters from them *all*? Besides, how came the jurymen to write letters upon the subject? " Volunteers." I suppose? Eh, Sir Henry? " Volunteers?" Well we shall see *who* and *what* these letter-writers are; and we shall then be at perfect liberty to canvass their conduct too. That is all that remains now to be done; for, as to the rest of the parties concerned, there needs, at present, not another word upon their conduct ——Upon this occasion, " lord Howick said he had no objection to the pro- " duction of this Paper, and he hoped it " would prove as satisfactory as the state- " ment just made by the hon. baronet, " though he lamented that it did not appear " to him yet as satisfactory as could be " desired. There seemed to be some strange " mistake in the case, because *the hon. ba-* " *ronet had stated in his examination before* " *the committee, that the 400l. a year was* " *to procure him another residence*; and " *NOW it was said to have been granted,* " *on the general ground of enabling him* " *to restore the land from the injury done* " *by the works*. If the sum had been " awarded for the rent, it would have been " an exorbitant allowance to make an award " at the rate of 20*l.* per acre; and if for " the land, the whole of the compensation " ought to go to the tenants. But the hon. " baronet in his examination had stated, *that* " *the 400l. per annum was to provide ano-* " *ther residence for him*; in this view there- " fore, the statement did not appear to him " to be satisfactory."—Yes, this is the pinch. There is no getting out of it. A correspondent, whose letter I insert in another part of this sheet, and who labours hard to defend Sir

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Henry, says, "It is one thing for a gentleman to have his residence rendered *unpleasant*, from the vicinity of military works, and to receive a compensation to enable him to procure another residence; and another thing to let the residence." Aye, is it; quite another thing; but, then, if he receives £400 a year because the residence is rendered unpleasant, he is not to receive another £400 a year, and that, too, *from the same party*, for the use of such residence? But, this *unpleasant* is a miserable shuffle. Sir Henry swears, before the Commissioners, that the Jury gave him £400 a year *to provide him with another place of residence*; and, when the Barrack-Master General says that to rent the house will be a waste of the public money, Mr. Brownrigg tells him, that it must be rented, *as a remuneration to Sir Henry Mildmay for the loss of his residence.* If this is not being paid twice for the same thing, there is no possibility of ascertaining the meaning of words. Can the Jurymen say, that they were informed, that Sir Henry Mildmay was freed from residence, *at his own special request*, and at the public expence? Can they say, that they were informed, that he was to receive £400 for the rent of his house, from the public? If they can say this, then it will remain for them to account for their enormous award; and, if they cannot say this, of what weight is any thing that they can say upon the subject.——I insert, in another part of this sheet, a letter from a Hampshire freeholder, which will shew, that Sir Henry's case is not at all misunderstood.——We will now take our leave of Sir Henry Mildmay, for the present, and stretch across to the coast of Africa.——I mentioned the affair, the pretty little quiet affair, of *Sierra Leone*, in my last sheet. I observed, that we had been paying most smartly for this project, and that we should have to pay still more for it. I will now just insert the brief report of what passed upon the subject on the 7th of this month in the Honourable House of Commons.——"*Mr. H. Thornton* presented a petition from the Sierra Leone Company, *praying aid*. *Lord Temple* wished to know if the bill for transferring this possession to the crown was to be carried into a law: any grant to the company would in that case be unnecessary. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that a bill was now in progress. The aid to be granted was only for the maintenance of the settlement till the transfer could take place.—Mr. Dent gave notice, that he would in due season oppose what he could describe by no milder term, than that of the RANKEST JOB that had ever come before parliament." No, Sir, not the *rankest*. I could point out to you some jobs, transacted in former parliaments, that very far surpass this.——Now, what a noble field for emulation and for the reward of merit is here opening again! Here will be a governor, a commander in chief, aides de camp, secretaries, law-officers, collectors, comptrollers, surveyors, searchers, waiters; and, the Lord have mercy upon us, where will the list end! How many "genteel families" will get "*handsome things*" done for them now! Here is another hour or two of hard labour in a year for every Englishman whose lot it is to eat his own earnings.——So much for "Jobs," as they are called in the reports of the debates which take place in the Honourable House; and, after that subject, there comes very naturally that of——II. CLOSED DOORS.——On the 6th instant, Mr. Whitbread, in consequence of a previous notice, brought forward a motion on the *State of the Nation*, that being the term made use of as a signal for a grand combat, during the long wars of Pitt and Fox, which wars were infinitely more injurious to England than were the wars of the red and white roses. When all was ready, the two battalions of the regiment regularly drawn up, and the reporters with pens in their button-hole bottles, prepared to record the deeds of the heroes on each side, Mr. Whitbread set on thus: "I am not, Sir, altogether unaccustomed to address this assembly. During the number of years I have had the honour of a seat among you, it has been my lot to bring forward several important propositions, some of which have experienced a favourable reception, but the greater part a determined opposition. Yet never have I been in the habit of making any apology for the insufficiency of the proposer, however strongly I felt it, thinking it better to rely on the solidity of the grounds upon which my propositions rested, than to attempt conciliating attention by apologies. But I must confess on this occasion, whether from the growing diffidence of the public in public men; whether from the manner in which I have been recently spoken of in this Assembly; whether from the nature of the debates which have lately taken place amongst us, in which a spirit of attack and recrimination has been manifested, by no means calculated to raise the character of this house (*a loud cry of hear! hear!*); whether from the

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"disastrous state of the times, or whether "from all these feelings combined, I never "rose with so great a degree of diffidence "and solicitude. If in my endeavours to "bring back the gravity of debate—to get "rid of the spirit of recrimination which "has too long prevailed amongst us, and "to retrieve the falling fortunes of this "mighty empire"——..... Here the *Right Hon. D. Browne*, of Mayo, rose to order, and moved that strangers be excluded, which was accordingly done immediately; and, as the reporters and others were scrambling out through the passages and down the stairs, they cried out occasionally, with the king in Hamlet, "Lights, lights, "ho! away! away!" Though I do not know, and have never before even heard of, the Right Honourable Browne, I like his motion exceedingly. For the profane vulgar to know what was said upon such an occasion would have been very wrong indeed; and, it would have been still worse for Napoleon to know it; for, without doubt, there were discussed, during that long debate, most extensive and profound plans of national policy. The causes of Napoleon's successes and of our failures were, I dare say, clearly developed; and, I am full as confident, that the means of warding off the consequences were as clearly placed before the Honourable House. But, any pleasure, great as it, doubtless, would have been, that I should have derived from a perusal of such developement, I freely forego it for the good of my country. "In the multitude of councillors there is "wisdom." What a happy people, then, are we, who have nearly a thousand of them, who think nothing of sitting up all night with no other earthly view than that of watching over us! Napoleon is bit at last. He thought to know our secrets, did he! Egad! the Honourable House will soon convince him, that they know how to keep a secret.——The closing of the doors came, indeed, some week, or so, too late, in the opinion of John Bowles and his like. They wanted them closed sooner; but, for choosing the time, the happy moment, for a measure of this sort, let the Honourable House alone. They always know what they are about. And, besides, they are our representatives, are they not? And what is done by them, is *done by us*; therefore what an inconsistent thing it is to grumble! ——The Morning Chronicle imputes the closing of the doors to the ministers, because, forsooth, the Right Honourable Dennis Browne always votes on the side of the ministers; but, this is very slack reasoning; for, I dare engage, that the Right Honourable Dennis Browne, of *Mayo*, knew very well what to do, without consulting any minister whatever.——As to his voting upon the side of ministers, it was, of course, because he thought it best so to do; and, from what other motive ought a man to vote?——I am quite indignant at these slanderous insinuations, and particularly as coming from one who was, only the other day, a stout champion for "regu- "lar government, social order, and our "holy religion," chiming in, second bell, to John Bowles.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——Upon this subject I have so much to say, that I can say hardly any thing at present. The war has ended precisely as I foretold at its outset. I stated what I thought would be the result, and I *gave my reasons* at large for my opinion. How much and shamefully I was abused for that opinion, the reader will not have forgotten; and, all that I now ask of him, is, to read over, once more, my articles, upon this war, at its beginning, which articles he will find in volume X of the Register.——The *shaking fit* seems to have returned to many persons. They really seem to have thought, that the Boulogne fleet would never be heard of again! And now they are filled with dread. For my part, I feel *less* apprehension than formerly. Not that I should like a set of upstart, unprincipled villains, who would swear truth out of the world, to hold the rod over me, to pillage me in virtue of one of their accursed decrees, to send their civil hirelings to rob me, while their foreign armed ruffians stood by to keep me in awe; no, God forbid that I should like this, that I should ever bring my mind patiently to contemplate submission so degrading; but, I have, from long thinking upon the subject, brought myself to a conviction, that the French never will succeed in bringing us into this state. The *why* and the *wherefore* I might have some difficulty in detailing; but, the conviction I entertain, and under it I am easy; and, what is more, I am fully persuaded, that, however some persons may tremble, this conviction is felt by ninety-nine out of every hundred men in the nation. I do not *reason* much upon the matter. I have done asking how the French can get here or to Ireland, and how we are able to repel them. I know the enemy to be powerful by land, and that he may soon become powerful by sea; I see the force of all Europe collected against us, and I have considered in detail the probable acts of such a conqueror; but,

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when I consider who we have for Commanders, and particularly for Commander in Chief; when I consider the strength of our armies; when I consider the extent of our immense resources, and the manner of distributing those resources; when I consider, in short, the whole of the force and state of the nation, the whole of the scene that lies before me, I stop not to reason, but involuntarily exclaim, Buonaparte, I set thy utmost ingenuity, power and malice at defiance!——I fear one thing, indeed, and that is that our gallant friends, the *Hanoverians*, will not be able to get at the French. This was a dirty trick in the Danes, who are said to have shut (out of pure envy I dare say) the Sound against our expedition! I was always afraid of something of this sort. I said, that the Hanoverians would arrive too soon or too late; and now, curse light upon the Danes, they are stopping them! The Courier recommends war against the Danes, and so do I I would sell the shirt off my back to support a war against the Danes. What right had they to stop our expedition? Now it will come back again. Lord Cathcart and all, without having got even a glimpse of the French.——The Morning Post, at the conclusion of a long paragraph about Napoleon's recent victories, says, "as to his views against this country, "they will assuredly prove abortive; for here "he will find a people *united to a man*, and "ready to shed their blood to the *last drop* "in defence of a sovereign whom they "adore." I was very glad to hear him say this so soon after he had represented *no small part of us* as "Jacobins and Levellers." Whatever else he may think of us, he does not, at any rate, attribute to us a *revengeful* disposition. He is manifestly persuaded, that we shall, in the hour of danger, totally forget all the calumnies and all the insults that have been heaped upon us; and now, I hope, he will cease from his endeavours to produce divisions amongst us. I think he will; and I should suppose that John Bowles (who must be in a terrible fright) will be cautious how he employs his venomous pen. ——But, while I hope, that we shall be unanimous in our endeavours to defend our country from without, I must put in my protest against the doctrine, that *this is no time for reformation at home*, being convinced that such reformation is absolutely necessary.——To this subject I shall return in my next.

Want of room compels me to defer what I have to offer to my readers upon *Lord Cochrane's* excellent motions, as also upon the curious affair of *Mr. Mills'* manner of coming into the honourable house; upon the *Irish insurrection* bill; upon the arrival of the *Duchess of Brunswick*; and upon the *Delicate Investigation*.

SIR HENRY MILDMAY.

SIR,——I am not surprised at any thing the Editor of the Morning Chronicle will do, in the way of political animosity, against those who are of the opposite party. But, I must confess, I am somewhat at a loss to account for the countenance and support you have given the people of that paper, in their invidious conduct towards Sir Henry Mildmay, respecting his job with the Barrack Department. It appears to me that very few of the transactions of that department are free from blame, and most of them highly reprehensible. But it is a conduct the most disgraceful in the editor of a public print, *to select one solitary circumstance*, and to follow it up with that audacious pertinacity: this with respect to Sir Henry Mildmay has been, and to leave others entirely unnoticed, and which, in point of enormity, compared with this, are as a mountain to a molehill. There can be no doubt, but this war carried on by the Morning Chronicle, against Sir Henry Mildmay, proceeds entirely from personal motives, and has not the least particle of public utility in view; and what is more to be lamented, such conduct towards an individual tends rather to strengthen and confirm abuses than to bring about a just and wholesome reformation. And you, Sir, in support of such malevolence, have gone farther than any of the facts belonging to the circumstance will justify what you have asserted. You have stated, that Sir Henry has knowingly and willingly received payment for the same thing twice. I do not mean to justify the transaction, nor have I any doubt, but this, like many others, has been a most improvident one on the part of the public. But what you have asserted with respect to Sir Henry's being paid *twice* for the same thing, is not the fact: and let it be remembered, that this assertion of yours, and two or three questions put by the Morning Chronicle, in such a way as to have a very material effect upon the public, in making up its decision upon the merits and demerits of the whole transaction. I cannot believe, if you have paid attention to the documents you have read on the subject, but that you must have discovered a clear and evident distinction, between the 400 received by Sir Henry, as a compensation for the loss of his residence, and the £400 received by him for the rent of his house. It is one thing for a gentleman to have his re-

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sidence rendered so unpleasant from the vicinity of military works, and to receive a compensation to enable him to procure another residence; and another thing, to let the residence he is obliged under such circumstances to leave. The fair question is, whether the £800 per ann. Sir Henry receives, is more than an ample compensation for giving up his residence, and letting that residence with the furniture, to be occupied by any of the military staff, and used in the same way he would have used it himself. The £400 per ann. does appear to be a very ample compensation indeed, for merely the being obliged to give up a place of residence. But, I believe, it is often a very difficult matter, even for those who are on the spot, and in possession of all the circumstances that may be necessary to enable them to form an opinion, as to what is an adequate compensation in such cases. How comes it then that you and the editor of the Morning Chronicle are so competent? If it is a job so base as you and the Morning Chronicle have endeavoured to make the public believe it is, I hope all the parties concerned will receive from the public what such conduct deserves. But, I do think when the whole of *this* matter is sifted to the bottom, that the most disgraceful part of it will attach to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle, for the invidious part he has acted in this affair, and next to him, you will come in for your share, as being his bottle-holder.——I am, &c.——X. T.—*London, July 5*, 1807.

SIR H. MILDMAY.

SIR,——Englishmen in general, and the electors of Hampshire in particular, are under obligation to you for the diligence, discernment, and ability, with which you have unravelled the complicated transactions of the Moulsham Hall contract. It enables us to judge of the stern integrity of that gentleman, who in conjunction with Mr. Chute, and under the auspices of Mr. Rose, has so successfully vindicated the independence of the country. That a bargain has been made injurious to the public and advantageous to Sir H. Mildmay, was from the commencement too palpable to escape observation; but, in the progress of the discussion, I observed with concern, that the loud and confident assertions of Sir H. and his friends both in and out of parliament, began to stagger weaker minds; and that by dexterously confounding or omitting dates, and involving circumstances and details, charges would be shuffled off and eluded, which it was impossible openly and directly to repel. But after the strong and luminous exposition of facts and dates contained in your last number, I defy any man possessed of common judgment, to resist the inevitable conclusion that Sir Henry Mildmay has knowingly and willingly been *twice* paid for the same thing out of the public purse, of which he was the delegated guardian.—It is in vain that Sir H. asks, "was there any thing in the verdict of the jury that prohibited him from letting his house to the Speaker of the House of Commons, or any other individual, *or to government?*" To this I answer that there certainly was no prohibition, *no legal prohibition?* The question is not whether Sir H. kept within the limits of the law, but whether he acted in conformity to those high ideas of honour, and pure principles of integrity, which should animate every gentleman, and more particularly the boasted champion of independence, who feels "a stain like a wound," and is indignant at the bare mention of the name of MILDMAY, in the same sentence with so foul a term as PECULATION. It also appears to me, that there would have been an essential difference between letting Moulsham Hall to the "Speaker of the House of Commons, or any other *individual*," and letting it to "*government*." Sir H. had declared that his house was rendered uninhabitable by the military works erected in its vicinity, and government in consequence released him from his obligation of residence at the public expence, which those who know Sir H. Mildmay, know also to have been an object he had long been desirous to accomplish, and which he would probably, have considered as a sufficient compensation for the deterioration of his mansion. But this was not all; government assembled a jury to award a compensation for the land occupied by their field-works, and the inconvenience he sustained in being obliged to seek another residence, and a most ample sum was consequently assigned; if after this, "the Speaker of the House of Commons, or any other individual," had chosen to give £400 a year for Moulsham Hall, which Sir H. considered *as uninhabitable*, it would have been altogether a private transaction, in which, as no one but the parties would have been interested, no one else would have had a right to interfere. But, Sir H. Mildmay must well know, that no individual would give him an ample rent for a residence so circumstanced as his then was; and as he indignantly asks, "what gentleman having such an house, so furnished would consider £400 as an equivalent?" I, in return ask him, what gentleman having £400 at his command, would give it for an house closely sur-

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rounded by military works and troops, where all his tangible property without doors must be insecure, and where footpad robberies were committed nine nights out of ten in the adjacent fields? Nay, what gentleman would consent to inhabit it rent free? The honourable baronet must therefore, be fully aware that he could not have let it at any price. "But," says he, "I might have pulled it down and sold the materials."—With what face can Sir H Mildmay come forward to make this declaration, when he knows that his obligation of residence in this very house which he talks of pulling down, was only *suspended for four years*; and when he tells us almost in the same breath that he shall be *obliged* to return to it with all its inconveniencies on the next 24th of June? The only pigeon, then, was *the public*, whose feathers, it must be confessed, rose with prompt and most inviting titillation round his fingers: but, it must also be recollected (and surely, Sir H. might have remembered it) that some generosity, some liberality, some forbearance was due to that public which had acted with so much liberality towards him. Would it have been too much to expect from Sir H Mildmay, that he should either have made the jury acquainted with the compensation which government were about to give him for his house, by taking a lease of it on as high terms as if the inconvenience arising from the military works was not in existence: or, that he should have informed government before the execution of this lease, that the jury had taken this inconvenience into consideration, and compensated him for it, as Sir H. upon oath declared he conceived them to have done? Or would it have been too wanton and profuse an exercise of liberality in a gentleman of the baronet's property, if after having been bought out of his house, and fully remunerated for the inconvenience of being forced to quit a residence in which he never willingly placed his foot, he had made a *free and gratuitous* offer of it to government, on the sole condition of paying the taxes and keeping it in repair, which would have amounted to a rent of £200 per ann at least? Had not the public which had virtually paid for the house, a right to expect at least thus much? When I say a *right*, I do not mean a *legal* right. Were I talking of a pettifogging attorney, an usurious money lender, an Old Bailey swindler, or a public peculator, I would allow him to entrench himself within the formalities of *law*. But when I am speaking of a gentleman of extensive property, of high reputation, the representative of a wealthy and populous county, and the champion of ministerial purity and integrity, I cannot but suppose he will acknowledge the validity of a claim on his honour, his liberality, and his justice, to be equal to one of which the *law* could urge the enforcement: and, I ask this gentleman, *I ask his constituents, has his claim been sufficiently attended to by him?*—Yours,—A HAMPSHIRE FREEHOLDER.—*Portsmouth, July 12, 1807.*

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*Sixty-third Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

(Concluded from page 64.)

General Bosanti had with him only a few companies of the 1st Italian regiment of the line, which took to their arms in time, marched with resolution against the enemy, and routed him.—General Teuli, on his side, with the main body of the Italian division, the regiment of musketeers of the guards, and the first company of Gens d'Armes on duty, repaired to invest Colberg. On arriving at Naugarten, he found the enemy intrenched, occupying a fort beset with pieces of cannon. Colonel Boyer, of the musketeers of the guards gave an assault. Captain Montmorency of the company of Gens d'Armes, made a successful charge. The fort was taken, 300 men made prisoners, and six pieces of cannon carried off. The enemy left one hundred men upon the field of battle.—General Dombrowski marched against the garrison of Dantzick: he fell in with it at Dirschau, overthrew it, made 600 prisoners, took seven pieces of cannon, and pursued it for several leagues. He was wounded with a musket ball. Marshal Lefebvre arrived in the mean time at the head of the 10th corps. He had been joined by the Saxons, and marched to invest Dantzick.—The weather is still changeable. It froze yesterday; it thaws to day. The whole winter has passed over in this manner. The thermometer has never been lower than five degrees.

64th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Osterode, March 2.——The town of Elbing furnishes great resources to the army: a great quantity of wine and brandy was found there. This country of the Lower Vistula is very fertile.—The ambassadors from Constantinople and Persia have entered Poland, and are on their way to Warsaw.—After the battle of Eylau, the Emperor passed every day several hours upon the field of battle—a horrible spectacle, but which duty rendered necessary. It required great labour to bury all the dead. A great number of

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Russian slain were found with the insignia of their orders. It appears, that among them was a Prince Repnin. Forty-eight hours after the battle, there were still upwards of 500 wounded Russians whom we had not been able to carry off. Brandy and bread were carried to them, and they were successively conveyed to the hospital. —Let any one imagine to himself, upon the space of a square league, 9 or 10,000 dead bodies, 4 or 5000 horses killed, whole lines of Russian knapsacks, broken pieces of muskets and sabres; the ground covered with cannon balls, howitzer shells, and ammunition; twenty-four pieces of cannon, near which were lying the bodies of their drivers, killed at the moment when they were striving to carry them off. All this was the more conspicuous upon a ground covered with snow: this spectacle is calculated to inspire princes with the love of peace, and an abhorrence of war. —The 5000 wounded whom we had, were all conveyed to Thorn, and to our hospitals on the left Bank of the Vistula, in sledges. The surgeons observed with astonishment, that the fatigue of this conveyance did no harm to the wounded.—The following are some details of the engagement of Braunsberg. Gen. Dupont marched against the enemy in two columns. Gen. Bruyere, who commanded the right column, fell in with the enemy at Ragarn, and drove him towards the river which runs before this village. The left column drove the enemy towards Villenberg, and the whole division shortly after stretched out of the wood. The enemy being driven from his first position, was obliged to fall back upon the river which covers the town of Braunsberg: he at first made a resolute stand, but Gen. Dupont marched against him, overthrew him by a charge, and entered with him into the town, the streets of which were choaked up with the Russian slain.——The 9th of light infantry, the 32d and the 96th of the line, which compose this division, distinguished themselves. Generals Barrois and Lahoussaye, Colonel Semele, of the 24th of the line, Colonel Muenier, of the 9th light infantry, the chief of battalion, Rouge, of the 32d of the line, and the chief of squadron, Hubinet, of the 9th hussars, are deserving of particular encomiums.—Since the arrival of the French army upon the Vistula, we have taken from the Russians in the engagements of Pultusk and Golymin, 89 pieces of cannon; at the engagement of Bergfreid, 4 pieces; in the retreat of Allenstein, 5 pieces; at the engagement of Deppen, 16 pieces; at the engagement of Holl, 12 pieces; at the battle of Eylau, 24 pieces; at the engagement of Braunsberg, 16 pieces; and at the engagement of Ostrolenka, 9 pieces: total, 175 pieces of cannon.——It has been remarked upon this subject, that the Emperor never lost any cannon in the armies which he has commanded, either in the first campaigns of Italy and Egypt, in that of the Army of Reserve, in that of Austria and Moravia, or in that of Russia and Poland.

65th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Osterode, March 10.—The army is gone into cantonments behind the Passarge.—The Prince of Ponte Corvo is at Holland and Braunsberg; Marshal Soult at Liebstadt and Mohringen; Marshal Ney at Guttstadt; Marshal Davoust at Allenstoin, Hohenstein, and Deppin; the head quarters are at Osterode; the parish corps of observation, under General Zayonscheck, is at Nieberberg; Marshal Lefebvre is before Dantzick; the 5th corps is upon the Omulew; a division of Bavarians, under the Crown Prince, is at Warsaw; the corps of Prince Jerome, in Silesia; the 8th corps of observation is in Swedish Pomerania; the fortresses of Breslau, Scweidnitz, and Brieg, are demolished; General Rapp. Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor, is Governor of Thorn; bridges are thrown over the Vistula at Marienburg and Dirschau. —On the 1st of March, the Emperor having been informed that the enemy, encouraged by the position of our army, had shewn themselves on the right bank of the Passarge, ordered Marshals Ney and Soult to advance, reconnoitre, and drive the enemy back. Marshal Ney proceeded towards Guttstadt; Marshal Soult passed the Passarge at Wormditt. The enemy's posts, which retreated with precipitation, were pursued to the distance of eight leagues. The enemy, observing that the French were not inclined to pursue them any further, and that our force was merely an advanced guard, that had left their main body in the rear, brought forward two regiments of grenadiers, and, in the course of the night, attacked our cantonments at Zechern. The 50th regiment received them upon the point of the bayonet. The 27th and 39th regiments also conducted themselves with great courage. In these trifling affairs the Russians had nearly 1000 men killed, wounded, and made prisoners.—After having thus disturbed the enemy, the army returned again to its cantonments.—The Grand Duke of Berg, being informed that a corps of cavalry had advanced to Willenberg, ordered the Prince of Borghese to attack that place, who, at the head of his regiment, charged eight Russian squadrons, overthrew, and put them

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to flight, making 100 prisoners, including three captains and eight officers.—Marshal Lefebvre has completely invested Dantzick, and commenced the lines of circumvallation round that city.

66th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Osterode, March 14.——The grand army remains in its cantonments, where it takes repose. Frequent skirmishes have taken place between the advanced posts of the two armies. Two regiments of Russian cavalry came on the 12th inst. to harass the 69th regiment of infantry of the line in its cantonments, at Lingour, before Guttstadt. A battalion of this regiment flew to arms from an ambuscade, attacked, and repulsed the enemy, who left 80 men on the field. General Guyot, who commands the advanced posts of Marshal Soult, has, on his side, had several affairs of outposts with the enemy, in which he has had the advantage.—— After the little battle of Willenberg, the Grand Duke of Berg expelled the Cossacks, from the whole of the right bank of the Alle. In order to assure himself that the enemy was not making some movement, he went to Wartemburg, Sedburgh, Meusguth, and Bischosburg. He had some engagements with the enemy's cavalry, and took 100 Cossacks prisoners.—The Russian army appears to be concentrated on the side of the Bartensteine on the Alle; the Prussian division on the side of Crentzbourg.——The enemy's army made a retrograde movement, and have approached nearer to Koningsberg. —The whole of the French army is in cantonments; it is provisioned by the towns of Elbing, Braunsberg, and from the resources drawn from the Island of Nogat, which is extremely fertile.—Two bridges have been erected over the Vistula, one at Marienwerder, the other at Marienberg. Marshal Lefebvre has completed the investment of Dantzic. General Lefebvre has invested Colberg. Each of these garrisons have been driven into these towns after a slight engagement.—A division of twelve thousand Bavarians, commanded by the Prince Royal of Bavaria, has crossed the Vistula at Warsaw, and is coming to join the army.

67th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Osterode, March 25.——On the 14th instant, at three in the afternoon, the garrison of Stralsund, taking advantage of a fog, made a sortie, with two thousand infantry, two squadrons of cavalry, and six pieces of cannon, in order to carry a redoubt thrown up by General Dupas. This redoubt, which was open, without palissades and without cannon, was defended by a company of voltigeurs, of the 58th regiment of the line. The immense superiority of the enemy had no effect upon these brave men; being reinforced by a company of voltigeurs of the 4th of the line (light infantry), under Capt. Barral, they resisted all the attempts of the Swedish brigade. Fifteen Swedish soldiers reached the parapet, but there found their death. All the enemy's attempts were equally fruitless. Sixty-two dead bodies of the Swedes were buried at the foot of the redoubt. It is supposed that 120 were wounded, and 50 were made prisoners, though there were not more than 150 men in the redoubt. Several Swedish officers were found among the dead, distinguished by their military decorations. This instance of bravery has attracted the Emperor's attention. His Majesty has sent three orders of the legion of honour for the companies engaged. Captain Drivet, who commanded on this weak redoubt, highly distinguished himself.——On the 20th, Marshal Lefebvre ordered the brigade under General Schraam to cross over from the island of Nogat, in the Erisch Haff, in order to cut off the communication between Dantzic and the sea. These orders were carried into execution at three in the morning. The Prussians were routed, and 300 of them fell into our hands. ——At six in the evening, the garrison of Dantzic sent out a detachment of 4000 men to retake the post; but they were repulsed, with the loss of some hundreds of prisoners, and one piece of cannon. General Schraam had under his command the 2d battalion of the 2d regiment of infantry, and several Saxon battalions, who distinguished themselves. The Emperor has sent three orders of the legion of honour to be distributed among the Saxon officers; and three more for the privates, subalterns, and to the major who commanded them.——In Silesia, the garrison of Niess has made a sortie, but fell into an ambuscade. A regiment of Wirtemberg cavalry took these troops in flank, killed 50, and made 60 prisoners.——The winter in Poland seems to have resembled the winter at Paris, that is to say, variable. It freezes and thaws in alternate succession. However, we have the good fortune not to have any sick in the army. On the contrary, all accounts agree that the Russians have a great number of sick. The army remains tranquil in its cantonments. The works which compose the *têtes du pont* of Sierock, Modlin, Praga, and Marienwerder, are every day becoming more formidable; and the magazines are organized, and are every where receiving provisions. Three hundred

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thousand bottles of Bourdeaux wine were found at Elbing; and though each bottle cost four francs the Emperor paid that price to the merchants, and ordered the wine to be distributed among the army.—The Emperor has sent the Prince Borghese upon a mission to Warsaw.

68th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Osterode, March 29.——On the 17th of March, at three o'clock in the morning, the General of Brigade Lefebvre, Aid-de-Camp to Prince Jerome, passed near Glatz, in his way to Wunchelsbourg, with three squadrons of light horse and the Taxis regiment of light infantry, when 1500 men, with two pieces of cannon, made a sortie from the place. Lieut Col. Gerrard immediately attacked and drove them back into Glatz, after having taken 100 soldiers, several officers, and two pieces of artillery.—— Marshal Massena is gone from Willenberg to Ortelsbourg, and forced an entrance there for the division of Becker's dragoons, which he has reinforced with a detachment of Polish horse. There were some Cossacks at Ortelsbourg, and several attacks were made, in which the enemy lost 20 men.—General Becker, as he was coming to resume his position at Willenberg, was attacked by 2000 Cossacks. An ambuscade of infantry was formed, into which they fell, and lost 200 men.—On the 26th, at five o'clock in the morning, the garrison of Dantzic made a general sortie, which proved very fatal. It was repulsed on all sides. A colonel, named Cracaw, who had a command, was taken with 400 men, and two pieces of cannon, in an attack made by the 19th regiment of chasseurs. The Northern Polish Legion conducted itself in an excellent manner, and two Saxon battalions distinguished themselves.——As for the rest, there is nothing new. The lakes are still frozen; though there is some appearance of the approach of spring.

69th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Finkenstein, April 4.——The gens d'armes of the ordnance have arrived at Marienwerder, and Marshal Bessieres has set out for that place, in order to review them. They have behaved remarkably well, and have displayed great courage in all the affairs in which they have been engaged. Gen. Teuli, who still superintends the blockade of Colberg, has in that command exhibited great activity and skill. The conducting of the siege is now entrusted to Gen. Loison. On the 19th of March the redoubts of Selnow were attacked and carried by the 1st regiment of Italian light infantry. On this occasion the garrison made a sortie; but the company of carbineers of the 1st regiment of light infantry, and a company of dragoons, drove them back. The voltigeurs of the 19th regiment of the line, distinguished themselves greatly in the attack on the village of Allstadt. In that affair the enemy lost three pieces of cannon and 200 prisoners. Marshal Lefebvre commands at the siege of Dantzic, and General Lariboisiere has the direction of the artillery. The latter corps shews itself in all circumstances worthy of the fame which it has so justly acquired. The French cannoniers will merit the name of select troops. The manner in which the battalions of the train have performed their service has also afforded perfect satisfaction. —The Emperor has given audience at Finkenstein to a deputation from the chamber of Marienwerder. It consisted of Count Von Groeben, Counsellor Baron Von Schleinitz, and Count Von Dohna, Director of the Chamber. The deputation represented to his Majesty the great hardships which the inhabitants had suffered from the war. The Emperor answered, that he entertained a lively feeling for their sufferings, and that he would relieve Marienwerder, as well as Elbing, from the burthen of any extraordinary contribution. He farther observed, that there were evils belonging to the theatre of war which could not be avoided; that he participated in the regret which those evils occasioned, and would do every thing in his power to mitigate them.—It is believed that his Majesty will this day set out on a short journey to Marienwerder and Elbing. The second Bavarian division has arrived at Warsaw. The Crown Prince of Bavaria has gone to Pultusk to take the command of the first division. The Hereditary Prince of Baden has marched at the head of his corps of troops to Dantzic. The contingent of Saxe-Weimar has arrived upon the Warta. —There has not been a shot fired for a fortnight past at the advanced posts of the army. The heat of the sun begins to be felt, but it is not yet sufficiently powerful to penetrate and thaw the earth. All is still bound in frost. Spring approaches slowly in this country. A number of couriers arrive at the head-quarters from Constantinople and Persia.

To be continued.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 4.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 25, 1807. [PRICE 1OD.

"That no person who has *an office*, or *place of profit*, under the king, or receives a *pension* from the "crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons."——Act, 12 and 13, William III, commonly called the Act of Settlement, that is to say, the act by which the crown was taken from the family of Stuart, and settled upon the family of Hanover.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT (continued from page 84).——I. *Lord Cochrane's Motion respecting Places, Pensions, &c.*——II. *Precious Privilege.*——III. *Irish Insurrection Bill.*——IV. *Lord Cochrane's Motion respecting the Navy.*——V. *Poor Laws.*——VI. *Westminster Election.*——On the 7th of this month Lord Cochrane made a motion, in the House of Commons, for the appointment of a committee to inquire into, and to ascertain, the number and amount of the emolument, of all places, offices, posts, sinecures, pensions, and fees, enjoyed *by members of the present House of Commons*, or their wives, children, and other relations, and also of all reversions held by them, or any of them, of such places, &c. &c. and of every thing whatever, yielding profit to them, either directly or indirectly, and arising from taxes, or impositions of any sort, upon the people.——My motto, which contains one of the most important of the conditions, upon which the crown of England was taken from the family of Stuart and settled upon the family of Hanover, has been before selected by me; and, indeed, it ought, in one way or another, to be kept continually before the eyes of the nation. Upon the principles of this constitutional law, Lord Cochrane seems to have founded a very excellent motion. As if he had said: "I hear much talk about *the* "*constitution*; whether I go upon the hustings, into the courts of justice, or into "this House, I hear perpetually recur the "word constitution, the invaluable constitution, and I hear myself called upon to "make sacrifices for the constitution, to "give all my money if wanted, nay, to die "for the sake of the constitution. It was "quite natural, therefore, that I should endeavour to ascertain what this constitution "was, or, at the least, to obtain some distinct idea of it. I looked back into the "history of the cashiering of the tyrant "James, and, in the laws, which were "passed in consequence of that event, I "found a description of the constitution, if "a description of it be any where to be "found. The causes of the cashiering are "there stated, and the rules by which the "nation is to be governed in future are "plainly laid down. Amongst these rules, "the most important one of all appears to "me to be, that which relates to the preventing of the House of Commons from "becoming a mere tool in the hands of the "king's ministers, or servants; and which "rule positively provides, that no member "of the House of Commons shall hold any "place or pension under the crown. I find, "however, to my great regret, that, in a "few years after this constitutional law was "enacted, it was, as far as related to this "excellent rule, repealed; that is to say, "that a House of Commons, whom the "law forbade to hold places and pensions "under the crown, a House of Commons, "chosen under a law which forbade them "to pocket the money of their constituents, "passed a law to enable themselves to "pocket as much of that money as they "could prevail upon the minister of the day "to let them take. But, the constitutional "principle remains unshaken by such alteration of the law; and, at a moment "when every man, of whatever party, is "ready to declare that the nation is reduced "to a state of great political peril, it seems "to me necessary to inquire, to what extent this partaking of the public money *by* "*the guardians of the public purse*" has "prevailed, or does now prevail."——Nothing, surely, could be more reasonable than this; and now let us hear what was said upon the subject, taking the report of the debate as we find it in the news-papers.——"Lord "Cochrane said, he was influenced by no "other motive than that of an anxious wish "to discharge a great public duty. If his "motion was acceded to, the result would "prove, whether there was any possibility "of making those who had lived and grown "rich upon the public money, feel for the "extraordinary burdens under which the "people laboured. The late plan of finance "had proved that as much as could have "been exacted had been drawn from the "people, and that it was not possible to "draw more: ingenuity had exhausted it-

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" self in devising new sources of taxation. " The people knew all this. If he was asked, how he could so judge of the public " sentiment, he in answer should appeal to " the universal sentiment without doors; " the variety of publications; the language " held upon the hustings throughout the " empire during the late election; the language made use of in the different advertisements from the successful candidates " to their constituents, and if all these together did not enable a man to form a just " estimate of public opinion, he did not " know what could do so; nor was it to be " forgotten, the different *shameless notices* " *that appeared in the different papers concerning the sale of seats in a certain assembly.* At the same time he wished it " to be understood, that nothing was farther " from his intention, than to complain of the " allowances made to the efficient public " officers; so far from thinking those allowances as extravagant, he thought them " rather under than over what they should " be. As to his motives, Gentlemen might " be disposed to question them. He remembered a member of that house being " accused of *Jacobinism*, because he expressed these sentiments which he (lord " C.) entirely concurred in."——The motion itself concluded his lordship's speech, and a very puzzling motion it appears to have been. None of the *ministers* rose against it in the teeth; but, just as I had foreseen and foretold, a person precisely calculated for the thing, *Mr. Bankes*, got up and objected to it upon the ground of want of *precedent*. But, let us hear him, and with great attention too. His words are well-worthy of being heard and treasured up.——" He thought the information desired by the noble lord desirable in many " respects; but it would be neither practicable nor proper to pass the order in its " present shape. There was *no precedent* " of such an order on the Journals, though " the house had frequently thought it right " to interpose and check the excessive or " improper distribution of salaries, pensions, " and emoluments, derived from the public. " So *extensive a field* of inquiry could hardly " be reduced to any of the known rules " adopted by committees of the house. " The places held by members of Parliament " were besides *known*, and the *pension list* " was either regularly laid on the table " every session, or might be on the motion " of any member. The committee in " which he had the honour to preside (the " Committee of Finance) had ordered the " pension list to be laid before it, and " would proceed to examine the circumstances connected with it in the next " session. It was *invidious and improper to* " *convey to the public an insinuation, that* " *members of parliament were influenced by* " *considerations of private advantage for* " *themselves or their dependents.* He *knew* " *no ground, for casting at the present time* " an imputation *never cast at any former* " *time.* For it was most essential, that at " this critical period, *the character of the* " *house of commons should not be degraded* " *or depreciated.* It was also unfair, as well " as impolitic and unpatriotic, to depreciate " the resources of the country, as the noble " lord had done, by stating that we were " on the verge of bankruptcy. Though " sensible of the difficulties of the times, " and of the relief arising from the judicious " suspension of taxation, *every man of* " *judgement*, who considered the situation " of the country, would allow there were " *ample resources to meet the difficulties* that " we had to encounter. He did not see " how the advertisements, for the purchase " and sale of seats, in a certain assembly, " should be construed *into an argument of* " *the general corruption of members of par-* " *liament.* He agreed with the noble lord, " that the public servants, and particularly " those of the higher classes, were rather " under than over paid. There was only " one species of pensions, which it was " necessary to inquire particularly into. " Within the three last years the several " public departments had got into the " practice of granting pensions within themselves, without complying with the provisions of Mr. Burke's Act that all pensions should be from the Exchequer only. " Some of the public departments had withdrawn themselves even from the controul " of the Treasury in this respect. On the " whole, however anxious for enquiry, " and desirous to afford the public information, he could not consent to pass the " noble lord's motion in its present shape." ——As to the *general pension list* being laid before parliament, I will speak of that by-and-by. The rest of what Mr. Bankes said I shall leave without comment, and it will, doubtless, produce that effect, which every thing coming from a member, so exalted in point of character and public services as to be reckoned amongst those who are thought of *for the peerage*, must naturally produce.——Mr. Curwen said, " that he had hoped the noble lord's motion " would have passed without a dissenting " voice. He had hoped some measures " would be taken to put an end to the dis-

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" graceful scenes that had formed a subject " of such discreditable crimination and re- " crimination a few nights since. It was " no objection that there was no precedent, " the unprecedented state of the thing was " a stronger ground for the investigation. " When the exigency of the times was such as " to require the exertion of every arm, the " want of precedent was not to be pleaded " in bar to the satisfaction due to the public " mind. The Finance Committee had an " extensive range of inquiry before it, and " ought not to suffer a day to elapse without " reporting something. The practice of " granting pensions without the controul of " the Treasury or the Exchequer, was a " stronger ground of inquiry. When it " was recorded on the Journals, *that seats* " *in the house were bought and sold like* " *bullocks in Smithfield market* (Mr. Horne " Tooke's petition), it was too much to find " fault with the noble lord for adverting to " newspaper advertisements."——This last sentence was a pretty good answer to Mr. Bankes's complaint about throwing out *insinuations* calculated to depreciate the character of the House! Mr. Tooke's is far from an insinuation. Mr. Curwen expressed, for *what reason* I know not, his approbation of the manner in which Sir Francis Burdett was elected, though he disapproved of Sir Francis's subsequent address to the electors of Westminster, without, however, imputing any thing more than *a want of judgement* to him. Whereupon I, as one of the subscribers to that unparralleled election, shall only observe, that my opinion of that event and of the address of Sir Francis is no more changed by what Mr. Curwen said, than my opinion of the character of the Honourable House could be by any insinuations that Lord Cochrane could throw out against it.—Mr. Whitbread followed Mr. Curwen, and *he* too wished the inquiry to be referred to the Committee of Finance, that committee the appointment of which, as now *new-moddled*, this same Mr. Whitbread had *strenuously opposed!* This was the committee, loaded with a year's labours at least, to whom Mr. Whitbread proposed to leave this all important inquiry!——Snap, at your word! Mr. Perceval closed with this immediately, and said, " that no opposition would be made " to the motion, if the noble mover would " assent to a modification, such as was " suggested from the other side. It was " his wish to give all possible information. " To call for a return of all those connected " with members of parliament would be to " lead to *an endless list of persons*, from " which no practical result could be derived. " Officers in the army and navy, for " instance, and on the half pay, would be " included. If the matter was referred to " the committee, it might inquire not only " into the pensions held by members of " parliament, which would be distinguished " *by the names*, but into *all pensions, by* " *whomsoever held.* The lists of pensions " and places might be had from the *diffe-* " *rent* departments; but, if the inquiry of " the committee was deemed satisfactory, " he saw no objection to it. He thought " the motion ought to be *extended* in some " respects, and *narrowed* in others, in " order to give it a useful and not an " *unnecessary range.* The crown being " allowed the power of granting pensions " to a certain amount, it would be compe- " tent to inquire before the report of the " committee, as well as after, whether " the pension *list* ought to be reduced. " The house having fixed the amount to " be granted, he questioned whether it " would be right *to canvass the propriety* " *of every individual grant.* He moved, " in the way of amendment, that the " matter should be referred to the Finance " Committee," of which, as the reader will recollect, Messrs. *Leycester, Ryder, P. Carew, H. Addington* and others are members.——Lord Ossulston spoke in favour of the original motion.——Mr. J. Smith stated a fact truly astonishing, namely, that, " amongst his numerous constituents, " an opinion *certainly* prevailed, that the " House of Commons *was not so indepen-* " *dent as it ought to be!*" Indeed! Astonishing! This is a case, if one belonged to the popish party, to call vehemently for holy-water. Mr. J. Smith added, that, seeing how greatly the dangers of the country had been increased by the recent events upon the continent, he thought the *power* of the crown ought not to be diminished; and, as there was under discussion no branch of that power, except that of granting places and pensions, he must, of course, have regarded this species of power as well adapted to the resisting of Napoleon's armies. Well! if this be the opinion, let it be tried, say I! ——Mr. Lyttleton and Sir J. Sebright spoke in favour of Lord Cochrane's motion, as did also Mr. W. Smith.——But, Mr. *Wilberforce* made the most valuable speech. This is just your right sort of man for making a speech upon such an occasion. Let's hear him. " Mr. Wilberforce, after adverting " to the *integrity* and *independence* of his " honourable friend (Mr. Bankes), express- " ed his regret that he should have said " any thing on the present occasion which

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" *might have the appearance of a desire to* " *prevent inquiry!* It was *highly gratifying* " to him, and *must be so to the noble lord* " (Cochrane), to see that his motion was " received with *general approbation*, and " that there appeared to be scarcely any " difference, except as to the FORM. He " thought the mode proposed by the Chan- " cellor of the Exchequer the most proper, " but differed from him as to the grants by " the crown, which might be examined, " though not malignantly nor invidiously. " With regard to the salaries of public men, " he thought that here, too, a prudent parsi- " mony ought to prevail, for it ought to be " considered that they were paid not only " by their salaries, but by the distinction " they enjoyed, and the opportunity of " transmitting their names to posterity as " faithful and able servants of the public. " Yet he thought that they ought to have " pensions upon retirement, upon the same " principle, that officers in the *army* and " *navy* have *half-pay*. He was convinced " that nothing was better calculated than " *openness* and *fair dealing*, to make public " men and parliament stand well in public " opinion, and he was GLAD that this " motion had been made, as it would tend " to *secure that object*. But there was a " danger of hunting too eagerly after popu- " larity. The circumstance that rendered " popular governments more capable of " great exertions than others, was the " affection of the people to their institu- " tions, and their consequent willingness " to bear the public burthens. It was, " therefore, of the *last importance* that " the house of commons should *stand well* " *with the considerate part of the community*, " particularly with the middle classes, which " formed the most valuable part of it. IF " an idea had gone forth that there was a " great deal of corruption in that house, it " was desirable that the public should *be* " *satisfied* that there was *a great deal more* " *independence in it than was imagined*. " This motion came rather suddenly, and " he was desirous to adjourn the debate for " two or three days, to consider about the " most proper mode of attaining the object " in view *(a cry of no, no!)*. He doubted " whether it ought to be referred to the " Committee of Finance or to a separate " Committee. The Committee of Finance " had certainly a great deal of business " already, and would probably bring sums " into the public service that were at present " lost to the state. But the point deserved " consideration."——Consideration! What *consideration* was wanted upon the subject? Lord Cochrane wanted to know how many of the members of the House had emoluments arising out of the taxes; how many of " the guardians of the public purse" *received money out of that purse*. What consideration, therefore, was wanted to determine, whether he should have this information in *a day or two*, or whether he should wait *a year or two* for it? Yes, it was, as Mr. Wilberforce says, a subject of regret, that any thing should have been said, which might have the *appearance* of a desire to prevent inquiry; for, as he afterwards declared (very sincerely, I dare say), he must have been exceedingly *glad* that this motion had been made.——Before I proceed with the debate, I must notice Mr. Wilberforce's curious doctrine relative to pensions granted to retiring place men, upon the *same principle* that half pay is granted to officers in the *army and navy!* Comparisons sometimes serve to make *truth* more apparent; but, is this a comparison of that sort? What similarity is there between the case of a captain in the army, who has served abroad and at home, up to that rank, and who has *bought* his commission, perhaps, whose full pay is a bare subsistence for one man; and that of a man who has been receiving a large salary, in comfort and safety at home? In the navy men *must* enter at so early an age as to render it quite improbable, that, when they are grown up, they should be able to return to private life, and there acquire the means of living; and, as to both army and navy, these are professions which can be followed *no where but under the government*; so that, if an officer of either sercice loses his employment in that service, he loses his *only* means of existence. But, is this the case with placemen? They can, at any time, become what they were before; and, in general, all they have received, in the way of salary, is so much of clear gains. What hinders Mr. Huskisson, for instance, to set up apothecary? Have the large sums which Mr. Canning has received, in his several offices, disqualified him for again editing a newspaper? What should prevent Mr. Rose from getting as good a living as he got before he was in office? Observe, too, that the *half-pay* of officers in the army and navy is not given to them *for life* and *without conditions*. They are liable to be called on again, at an hour's warning, not only to come to their regiments but to go abroad, to face the enemy's sword or the dangers of climate. Nothing more needs be said to show to the officers of the army and the navy the nature of Mr. Wilberforce's comparison. *They* will

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not want much to enable them to form a just opinion of it. In truth, I am half inclined to believe, that this comparison must have arisen from an erroneous chain of reasoning upon that part of Sir Francis Burdett's address, wherein he speaks of "*the "Regiment*;" but, I much question, whether even the Baronet himself, though well-acquainted with the establishment, ever dreamt that it would openly speak of its list of *half-pay!*——This speech of Mr. Wilberforce was most valuable. It gave us the true picture. It was one of those matters, that he was speaking upon, that was clearly understood by the people.——After him came Mr. Sheridan, who observed, "that the noble lord very wisely had not "prefaced his motion with much argu-"ment, because (if he comprehended him "rightly) his object was not so much to "diminish the public expenditure, as to as-"certain the degree of influence which the "crown possessed in that house. As to "the mode proposed by the right hon. the "chancellor of the exchequer, it appeared "to him to be a most roundabout way to go "into the general investigation of the sub-"ject, to obtain a list of all the places, "pensions, &c. enjoyed by different indi-"viduals, and from that list to select the "names of the members of that house who "participated in them. Why not the indi-"vidual list called for by the noble lord? "*Every gentleman seemed to be tender upon* "*this subject*; but the only way to con-"vince the public that its suspicions were "unfounded, was not to mask the matter, "but to show at once what part of the "house received these emoluments, and "what part did not. In his opinion it was "much better that government should ex-"pend fifty, aye, a hundred and fifty mil-"lions of money annually in the general "service of the country, than that they "should expend £50,000 in the house of "commons. He objected to any alteration "in the noble lord's motion. If the re-"sult of the production of the list for "which the noble lord had moved, should "be to astonish those who were not dis-"posed to think very favourably of the "house of commons, it would be most "fortunate: but if on the contrary, it "should be found that there were an in-"credible number of members who either "directly or indirectly derived advantages "from sources not the most pure, that was "a fact which ought to be known to the "people. At any rate let not the question "be blinked."——This was a good speech, and the better, because, if Lord Cochrane's motion had been carried, Mr. Sheridan himself must have appeared upon the list of sinecure place-men; for, he would not have succeeded in persuading lord Cochrane, that the emoluments of his Cornwall place do not arise from the burthens imposed upon the public.——"Mr. Huskisson, advert-"ing to some observations made in an early "stage of the debate, wished to set him-"self right with the house. While now "*in place*, he did not enjoy *the pension*, "which had been granted to him on his "formerly quitting office."——To this Mr. Calcraft replied, in the course of a very short, but very *pithy* speech: "he would "not," he said, "trouble the house long. "The noble lord's proposition was, that a "list of the members who were directly "or indirectly under the influence of mi-"nisters, should be laid on the table. If "there were persons who had their patri-"mony out of the public money, it was "proper that they should be known. *There* "*were some who could not have their MAR-*"*RIAGE SETTLEMENTS without pen-*"*sions, reversions, &c. &c.* The hon. "gentleman opposite *(Mr Huskisson)*, had "a grant, which, from its nature, ceased "when he came into office. This was "*only* 1000*l.* and *his office brought him* "4000*l.* he could not therefore hesitate in "his choice between them. But if he was "not mistaken, the hon gentleman had "*a sinecure place too*, which he enjoyed "*along with the office*, and indeed, in "casting his eye along the Treasury Bench, "*it was difficult to find one who had not* "*some great emolument of this nature.* It "ought to be seen on which side of the "house the greatest portion of indepen-"dence existed, and the list ought to be "laid on the table *unmixed with baser mat-*"*ter*.——Mr. G. Rose, *with great warmth*, "said, that the extent of his rewards for "*his* public services *were well known* to the "public. He *challenged* inquiry, and "wished that the terms of the present mo-"tion might be rendered as satisfactory as "possible."——One of the evils of living in the country, is, that one is prevented from being an eye-witness of the generous warmth of George Rose! Aye, indeed, enough in all conscience of *his rewards* are well-known to the public. Of his "*half* "*pay*," as well as his full pay, we have quite sufficient knowledge; but, Mr. Wilberforce, George's half-pay *goes* on at the same time with his full pay. Thus your comparison does not hold, plausible as it might, for a moment, have been amongst your "middle classes of society." Well

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enough George may praise the constitution! George and his family receive, under this inestimable constitution, not less then ten thousand good pounds a year. Where will he find such another constitution in the whole world?——The *marriage settlements* came out at last. That is excellent. I suggested, I believe, a few weeks ago, that the places and pensions, granted to some persons, had an effect the contrary of that of "checking population;" and, I had, I must confess, heard, that, upon *two especial occasions*, Hymen, in the shape of an old usurer of a father, had actually refused to light his torch, 'till Cupid, in the shape of a minister of state, had made his appearance with a most moving piece of eloquence written upon parchment, having a patent seal upon one corner; but, we are now told plainly, in the Honourable House, that "there are some who could not have "their marriage settlements without pen-"sions, reversions, &c. &c." We are told this plainly; and that, too, in the Honourable House itself, there being *no contradiction* to it. Nor, as to the sinecure, *enjoyed along with his place of* 4,000 *l. a year*, did Mr. Huskisson make any reply. What an excellent country this is for Mr. Huskisson! What an invaluable constitution!—— This little interesting digression being over, Mr. Perceval proposed his amendment, which made the motion this: "*That there "should be an instruction to the Committee "of Public Expenditure to procure a List of "ALL Offices, Places, Pensions, &c. specifying by whom they were held, with the "exception of the Army and Navy, and "Officers below* 200*l. a year in the Revenue; "and cause this list to be laid on the table "of the House.*"——Why any exceptions at all? But, observe, that this list would have *confounded members of parliament with others*; so that, to have found them and their wives, children, sisters, and mothers out would have been not only a work of several weeks for any one man; but, it would have been morally *impossible* for him ever to have arrived at the point which lord Cochrane had in view; for, how would any examiner of such list be able to say, whether such or such a child, or such or such a woman, was related to a member of parliament? This amendment was, in fact, a negative upon the motion; and, *accordingly*, the House having divided upon lord Cochrane's motion, there appeared, for it 61; against it, 90; leaving the ministers a majority of 29. ——After this Mr. Perceval proposed his motion, to which lord Cochrane proposed, as an amendment, to leave out all the latter part and to substitute the words of his motion. ——Now another excellent debate followed. We have it only in substance; but that substance is beyond all praise. I must beseech the reader to go over it with attention; for, the day will come, when it will, every word of it, be to be re-considered.——"Lord Henry Petty again repeated the objection "formerly urged by him, that by the constitution of the Committee of Finance the "present was an inquiry which was already "before them, and which if they failed to "investigate, they would not do their duty. "To prove this he requested that the order "appointing the Finance Committee might "be read. This being done, he said, if it "was meant that the Committee should "quit every other subject of inquiry, and "attend to this alone till they could make "their report, and that such report could "be made *immediately*, he should have no "objection to it, as then it might be of "some utility; as the motion stood, how-"ever, it could in his opinion produce no "good.——Mr. Wm. Smith thought an "order of the house to every public office "to produce the lists in question, would "do better than adopting the motion as it "now stood. He hoped the motion would "be so worded as to instruct the committee "immediately to proceed in the inquiry in "question, or that it would be withdrawn, "and the papers be called for by an order "of the house.——Mr. Perceval said he "had already stated, that he at first thought "of this mode of proceeding; but it after-"wards occurred to him that the committee "might be able to direct the attention of "the house to something in the accounts "which might escape his observation. He "could not forbear observing how unfortu-"nate he had been, after having adopted "the suggestion of the hon. gent. (Mr. "Whitbread) that that gentleman should "have abandoned his own opinion the mo-"ment he (Mr. P.) thought of acting on it. "——Mr Whitbread said, in answer "to the allusion to his conduct, that con-"curring as he did in principle with the no-"ble lord who had brought forward the "motion, and differing from him only in "the mode of proceeding, he submitted the "suggestion which he had thrown out to "the noble lord, and not to the right hon. "gent. The right hon gent. had indeed "gone in with his (Mr. W's) suggestion *as "to form*; but it did not from thence fol-"low that he must agree in the motion of "the right hon. gent. to the principle of "which he objected. He thought the right "hon. gent. would better consult the feel-

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" ings of the public by agreeing to the ori-
" ginal motion. He hoped at least the
" right hon. gent. would allow his motion
" to be so altered, as that the committee
" should be instructed to proceed *forthwith*,
" and that they should also in their report
" distinguish those sinecures, &c. which
" were *held by members of that house*, so
" that the noble lord's motion might not be
" *entirely evaded*. The noble lord unques-
" tionably meant that there should be ex-
" hibited *during the present session of par-*
" *liament a list of all the members of that*
" *house holding sinecure offices, places, &c.*
" under government, and in that way lia-
" ble to have their conduct influenced. If
" such a return was not made *the house*
" *would disgrace itself*. Those who respect-
" ed the house at present would suspect
" that all was not right, and those who al-
" ready suspected them would have their
" suspicions confirmed.——Mr. Bankes
" wished that the accounts might be order-
" ed to be laid before the house, that the
" committe *might not fall into disgrace* It
" was IMPOSSIBLE THEY COULD RE-
" PORT THIS SESSION, AND IT WAS
" EQUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO SAY
" HOW EARLY THEY MIGHT BE
" ABLE TO DO SO IN THE NEXT.
" If the returns were to be made to the
" house, no time would be lost in complet-
" ing them, and then if it was thought the
" committee could be of service, it would
" be time enough to refer the papers to them.
" It would be but doing them slender jus-
" tice, to allow the delay which might
" take place in making the returns to seem
" to attach to the committee.——Mr. She-
" ridan thought it impossible, after what
" had fallen from the Chairman of the
" Committee of Finance (Mr. Bankes), that
" the Chancellor of the Exchequer could
" persevere in his motion, or if he did so,
" that the house would support him in it.
" It was *nothing but an evasion of the no-*
" *ble lord's motion*. Its object was to see
" how many members of this house were
" possessed of sinecure places, pensions,
" &c. and of course might be supposed to
" be under the influence of the crown.
" The motion of the Chancellor of the Ex-
" chequer, however, went to exhibit a
" List of *all persons whatever* having any
" place, pension, &c. This was to *over-*
" *whelm the inquiry*, and to *strangle* and
" *suffocate* the object which the noble lord
" had in view.——Mr. Vyse supported the
" motion of the Chancellor of the Exche-
" quer.——Mr. Biddulph thought the in-
" quiry could not be charged as invidious,
" as some Gentlemen had represented it,
" unless it had been directed against persons
" on one side of the house only.——Mr.
" Wilberforce was surprised at the great
" change which had so lately taken place in
" the language of gentlemen on the *other*
" *side*. Lately they confessed that there
" was little or no difference in the object
" which seemed to be in view by all parties,
" and that the form was the only obstruc-
" tion to unanimity. Now they had all at
" once discovered, that the motion of *his*
" right hon. *friend* the Chancellor of the
" Exchequer, was calculated only to evade
" and defeat the object which the noble
" lord had in view. He contended that the
" motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer
" was *completely adapted not only to the*
" *object sought to br gained*, but that the
" evidence to be obtained by it might also
" be of importance in other respects.——
" Dr. Lawrence lamented to see gentle-
" men who *talked of their independence*,
" and prided themselves on that circum-
" stance, so entirely forget in what it con-
" sisted as to lend their countenance to a
" *deception on the public*.——Mr. H. Mar-
" tin objected to the delay which was like-
" ly to result from the business being re-
" ferred to the Finance Committee; and
" stated, that when the Committee ap-
" pointed in the year 1797 were retiring
" from office, they made a report that their
" precepts had not been obeyed. This was
" a conduct which no public office should
" dare to pursue to that house.——Mr.
" Rose supported the motion, maintaining
" that all the places, pensions, &c. were
" already well known, and that sinecures were
" not now so numerous as they had been.——
" Mr. Calcraft observed, that such a list
" as was now spoken of, might, if any per-
" son were to give himself the trouble to do
" so, be collected from papers that were
" already on the table of that House. The
" object of the motion he conceived to be
" simply this, to bring fairly before the
" House in one point of view *the names of*
" *all the members of that House, who either*
" *held places or enjoyed pensions, or else*
" *whose wives or children derived a similar*
" *emolument from the crown*. He could not
" avoid remarking, by the way, the great
" activity of the member for Yorkshire (Mr.
" Wilberforce) in interposing with *his shield*
" over those *who were in that situation*,
" with regard to the hon. and right hon.
" gentlemen on the opposite bench (the
" Treasury bench) he might certainly find
" some room to compliment them on their
" ingenuity upon this occasion; but he was

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" certain that they had not left him the smal-
" lest opportunity to compliment them on a
" much more solid qualification—their sin-
" cerity." —— After this a division took place, many of the Honourable Members having, in the mean while, come, *from accident*, I suppose, into the House: For Lord Cochrane's amendment 60, against it, 161. Mr. Perceval's motion was then put and carried without a division.——This, then, is the state of the case; 1st, Lord Cochrane makes a motion, the object of which is to ascertain how many of the members of the present House of Commons, receive, either directly or indirectly, money from the purse of their constituents, and what is the amount of, the receipts of each; 2dly, Mr. Wilberforce expresses his gladness that the motion has been made, and is confident that it will convince the people that all their suspicions are groundless; 3dly, Mr. Perceval proposes to new-shape the motion, and instead of an inquiry confined to members of parliament and their relations, to instruct the Finance committee to make out a list of *all* pensions, places, &c. &c. &c. held by all manner of persons, and *not distinguishing members of parliament and their relations from other persons;* 4thly, Mr. Bankes, the chairman of the Finance Committee, states, that it is *impossible*, that the committee should make their report, upon this motion, *during the present session*, and *equally impossible* to say how early they may be able to report upon it in the *next session;* 5thly, Mr. Wilberforce says, that the motion of Mr Perceval is *completely adopted to the object sought to be gained!*——This is a fair statement, and this statement I leave to my readers with an expression of my earnest hope, that they will not forget any part of this day's transactions.——In one part of the debate, Lord Cochrane " observed, that
" his sole motive for making this motion
" was a regard to the public benefit. He
" wished to include the Army and Navy,
" *because of the manner in which he had*
" *observed commissions to have been disposed*
" *of in the latter service.* The assent to this
" motion would tend to establish ministers
" in their situations; for, though they
" should secure all the votes in the house,
" they could not keep their places long
" against the current of public opinion,
" which would set against them if they ne-
" gatived it. The Committee of Finance
" had sufficient business already. If *after*
" the committee for which he moved should
" have made their report as to *the members*,
" it should be thought desirable to have *an*
" *alphabetical list of all places, pensions,*
" *&c. he would have no objection. It would*
" *be an object of great curiosity.* He
" thought that the subject should be gravely
" considered in parliament. He was of
" opinion, that many would be *ashamed* of
" these practices if they were exposed to
" public view, and therefore desired to give
" them publicity."——In this last particular his lordship was mistaken. It is owing to his inexperience, that he supposes that some of the members of the Honourable House would do any thing that they would be *ashamed* of. No, they do nothing that they are ashamed of. It is for common mortals to do things to be ashamed of; this is never the case with a man after he becomes a member of the Honourable House ——II. PRECIOUS PRIVILEGE.——On the 8th instant, there was made, in the House of Commons, a report from what they call there, a committee of privileges, of which, it would seem, George Rose is at the head. This report related to the case of a Mr. *George Galway Mills*, who, it appears, was *in the King's Bench prison* at the time of his being elected to serve in parliament. Some *petitions* against his being released had, it appears, been presented to the House. But, I dare go no farther. I must now confine myself to the report of the debate, just as I find it in the Morning Post Newspaper of the 9th instant, to which report I beseech the reader to pay attention. It will do him great good, if his mind be fluctuating upon these matters. It will tend to give him feelings such as the times, and especially the approaching times, call for.——" MR. ROSE
" brought up the Report of the Committee
" of Privileges, to whom the letter address-
" ed by *George Galway Mills, Esq.* to the
" Speaker of the House of Commons, and
" the petitions presented against the said G.
" G. Mills, Esq. had been referred. The Re-
" port stated, that the Committee had exa-
" mined and found that the said G. G.
" Mills, Esq. was a member of the house of
" commons, and that he was then in the
" custody of the marshal of the King's
" Bench. The committee had consulted
" precedents, and had *abstained* from exa-
" mining *the allegations contained in the*
" *petitions* which had been referred to them,
" conceiving that even had those allegations
" *been proved*, that would *not have in-*
" *fluenced their judgment, or prevented them*
" *from coming to the resolution which they*
" *had adopted*, namely, that the said G. G.
" Mills, Esq. was entitled to the privileges
" of parliament ——Mr. Rose then moved
" that the house do agree with the commit-
" tee in that resolution.——Mr. P. MOORE,

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" as a member of the committee, and as " having himself presented a petition to the " house against Mr. Mills, stated a few " points, which, in his opinion, the house, " duly regarding its own *honour* and *dignity*, " circumstances much more important " than the privileges of an individual, ought " deliberately to consider. The petition to " which he alluded had been presented by " him with the concurrence of the person " against whom it was directed, and for " whose interests he and others had exerted " their utmost efforts; those efforts had " been fruitless; because that hon. gentle- " man *did not choose to abide by his own* " *propositions*. Mr. Mills's debts, of va- " rious descriptions, exceeded £30,000.— " Not one of his creditors wished to inter- " fere with the privileges of parliament; " but they thought, and certainly they were " justified in thinking that while the house " of commons attended to the preservation " of their privileges, they should also at- " tend to the demands of justice, and to the " preservation of their credit with the pub- " lic. As far as time would allow, the " committee had examined all the prece- " dents which appeared to bear upon the " present subject, but in his opinion, not " one was found that met the case stated in " the petitions. The petitions contained " this allegation, that the petitioner had *ob-* " *tained his seat in Parliament as a tempo-* " *rary protection, in order to evade the de-* " *mands of his creditors, and ultimately, he* " *was compelled to say so, to defraud them.* " He was sorry to be obliged to use such " language when speaking of one with whom " he had been in habits of intimacy; but in a " case so glaring, which so strongly excited " the public attention, at times like these, it " would be well for the house to pause be- " fore they granted to any man under such " circumstances, the benefit of the privilege " by which the ends of public justice would " be defeated. He had proposed to the " committee to go into the allegations con- " tained in the petitions. The report can- " didly stated, why they had not done so. " There might be peculiar cases in which it " would be adviseable to grant privileges " without such an examination; but this " did not appear to be one of them. Was " it proper that he should be a legislator, " who himself attempted to trample upon " law?——Mr. Rose observed, that there " was a precedent as nearly in point as " could possibly be expected; it was that " of Mr. Basset, in the reign of Charles I. " who had been arrested on a mesne process, " when it was resolved that he was decided- " ly entitled to the privileges of parliament. " On this ground, and on the ground that " even were the allegations proved, they " could not influence the resolutions of the " committee in this respect, those allega- " tions had not been gone into.——Mr. C. " Wynne agreed *most cordially* with the " report of the committee. The house " were bound to support their privileges " which were given to them, NOT FOR " THEIR ADVANTAGE, BUT FOR " THAT OF THE COUNTRY AT " LARGE. The privileges which mem- " bers of parliament enjoyed of freedom " from arrest, was *as good for the electors as* " *for the elected*; were it not so, many of " the former might *be unrepresented*. There " was not a single instance on the Journals " of the House, refusing the privilege when " clearly defined. Should the abandonment " of this privilege be argued, he trusted it " would be argued not on a particular but " on a general view of the subject; not " with a reference to the individual imme- " diately concerned, but with a reference " to the *honour* of parliament, and the *ad-* " *vantage of the community*. ——Mr. " Cochrane Johnstone thought that a " special report ought to have been made " by the committee on an inspection of the " petitions which contained so strong a " charge on the character of one of the " members of that house: they stated that " he had procured a seat in that house for " the express purpose of enabling him to " evade the payment of his debts and to " escape to the West Indies. He under- " stood that *four or five persons now in the* " *King's Bench were anxiously waiting the* " *decision of the house, in order that if that* " *decision were favourable to Mr. Mills,* " *they might avail themselves of his exam-* " *ple, and take similar steps in order to re-* " *lieve themselves from similar embarrass-* " *ments*. He entreated the house, for their " credit's sake, before they ordered the li- " beration of this gentleman, either to refer " the petitions back to the committee, or to " take the subject into their grave and se- " rious consideration. ——Mr. Ellison " declared, that the committee had entered " upon this subject with feelings as allied " to the foulness of the case, as could pos- " sibly be entertained. If the allegations " of the petitions were proved against Mr. " Mills, *he thought that no hon. member* " *ought to sit in the house with him*; but he " also thought, that circumstanced as they " were, the committee could do no more " than they had done. Although he was of " opinion that it would be better to consider

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" this subject generally, yet if it were deem-
" ed adviseable to take it up particularly, he
" would go as far as any man to rescue the
" house from the imputations that might
" otherwise be cast upon it. If there was
" one duty more solemn than another, it
" was, that *at the present moment* the house
" should *keep itself as clear as possible from*
" *any suspicion of dishonour*.——Mr. Si-
" meon observed, that *no imputation could*
" *possibly rest on the house*, because the al-
" legations contained in the petitions had
" not yet been examined. The committee
" of privileges had nothing to do but with
" the *simple case*, whether Mr. Mills was a
" member of the house, and whether he
" was in the custody of the civil law?——
" Mr. Barham deprecated any interference
" with the privileges of the house on this
" single case. If it could be proved that
" Mr. Mills had *procured his election for*
" *fraudulent purposes, that would be a fit*
" *subject for the consideration of an election*
" *committee*; he thought that Mr. Mills had
" been rather hardly treated, in having such
" grave accusations urged against him in his
" absence, when he was unable to reply to
" them.——The Chancellor of the Ex-
" chequer declared, that it was impossible
" not to approve the conduct of the commit-
" tee, in refraining from entering into the
" allegations of the petitions. Mr. Mills's
" letter had been referred to them to ascer-
" tain the facts which it contained, and not
" to consider the law dependent on those
" facts which had never been questioned.
" Even had such a special report been
" made, as was wished for by an hon. gent.
" and had the allegations been found *proved*,
" *still the house must have granted the pri-*
" *vilege*. What the law was, and what it
" ought to be on revision, were two very
" different considerations. On this subject
" he would at present say, that it would re-
" quire some very strong arguments to in-
" duce him to believe that the public conve-
" nience and advantage would be promoted
" by the abandonment of this privilege of
" parliament, although he was aware that
" in some cases it was productive of private
" injury. *Neither could he agree* with the
" hon. gent. (Mr. Barham) that, *if it could*
" *be proved that an election was procured*
" *for fraudulent purposes, such election must*
" *become void*. If the charges against Mr.
" Mills, with the aggravating circumstances
" attending, could be substantiated (which,
" in justice to that gentleman, he must re-
" mark had not hitherto been done), it
" might amount to a question of expulsion;
" but even in that case, it would be proper
" that the accused should be within the
" walls, to defend himself and his seat.——
" Mr. Littleton and Mr. Herbert each said
" a few words.——Mr. W. Smith re-
" marked, that the house might surrender
" the exercise of a right in a particular in-
" stance without abandoning it. He thought
" the report of the committee was perfect-
" ly proper; it was for the house to take it
" up if they should think fit.——The mo-
" tion for agreeing with the committee in
" their resolution was then carried, as was
" also a motion by Mr. Rose, that the said
" G. G. Mills, Esq. be discharged out of the
" custody of the Marshal of the King's
" Bench."——The least said is soonest
mended upon a subject like this; and, there-
fore, I shall content myself with a word or
two upon the observations of *Mr. C. Wynne*.
An empty-skulled fellow, though that skull
were covered with a wig with as many tails
to it as can be made out of a grey mare's
switch, would have thought that the pre-
cious privilege, above spoken of, was in-
vented, or enforced, at least, for the sole ad-
vantage of persons under arrest; for the sole
purpose of screening members of parliament
from the just demands of their creditors.
But, no, says Mr. Wynne, very shrewdly,
" the house's privileges are given them, not
" for *their advantage*, but for the advantage
" of *the country at large*;" and then comes
the reason; " because," says he, " were it
" not for these privileges, many of the
" electors might be *unrepresented*." This
is so true, so beautifully true, that one won-
ders, upon reading it, that the thought never
struck one before. " Be *unrepresented!*"
That, indeed, would be ..... it would be
the very devil! I lose all patience when I
contemplate the possibility of such a thing;
and, if the venting of a rough exclamation
prevents me from gnawing off my fingers, I
hope the reader will excuse me. " Be *un-*
" *represented!*" Aye, you stupid people, do
you not hear? If there were not a privilege,
exempting members of parliament from be-
ing confined for debt, while the rest of us
are liable to be confined for debt for our
whole lives; if this were not the case,
" *many* of us would be *unrepresented!*" Do
you understand it now? If you do, I need
say no more; and, if you do not, you are
unworthy of the few words that I have al-
ready bestowed upon you.——III. Irish
Insurrection Bill.——This bill, which
was introduced on the 9th of this month, is
now upon the point of becoming a law. Its
provisions are such as one might expect in a
case where the whole, or nearly the whole,
of the people are suspected of a wish to avail

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themselves of the first favourable opportunity of rising in open rebellion. That such a bill is *not necessary* I am far from asserting, or even supposing; but, if such a bill be necessary, what are we to think of those writers of daily papers, and others, who have been continually assuring us, that Ireland "never "was more tranquil?" These impudent falsehoods are, however, trifling when compared with another subject of reflection, namely, *that nothing is proposed to alter the state of Ireland*, which unhappy country seems doomed to remain in a state of continual agitation, and of apprehension, that, from day to day, worse and worse may happen to it——"Hush!" "Mum!" These have been the answers given to all those, who have expressed such apprehensions. And, from the people of England, the thing has certainly been kept secret enough. There are, in the kingdom, a hundred and fifty newspapers; perhaps many more; most of them, and especially the *fashionable* ones, eager to get at news, particularly relating to blood and murder; and, yet, how completely the history of *the fight between the Irish Militia and the Hanoverians* was smothered in its birth! We just heard, that there had been a fight; but, as it were by the pull of a wire, all the mouths of the news-venders were closed up as tight as a bottle. No *inquiry* about it. Parliament has met twice, and no one asks how many of our countrymen were killed in the fight. The *cause*, which must be of importance in any state of things, and especially at this time, remains uninquired into. It did not use to be thus. Time was when *some* member of parliament would have inquired into this. But, upon this subject especially, "*hush*" seems to be the unanimous cry. ——To insert these bills is not compatible with my space; but they are great curiosities, and such as cannot possibly be done justice to by any abstract. I will, therefore, content myself with inserting the description given of them by Sir Arthur Wellesley (so famous for his military and other deeds *in Oude* and other parts of Hindostan), who brought them forward. I take the report of the Morning Post.——"Sir Arthur Wel- "lesley, in pursuance of his notice, rose to "move for leave to bring in a bill, for the "suppression of insurrection in Ireland, "and to prevent the disturbance of the "peace in that country. The house would "remember, that the circumstances, which "preceded and attended the suppression of "the late rebellion in Ireland, had render- "ed stronger measures than the established "laws afforded, necessary in that country. "An act was therefore passed by the Irish "parliament, in 1796, to prevent unlawful "assemblies, and to authorise the lord lieu- "tenant on a report of the magistrates, *to* "*proclaim* any county where disturbances "existed. That law required all persons in "such counties *to keep within their dwel-* "*lings* between the hours of *sun setting* "and *sun rising*, and gave to *the magis-* "*trates* the power of sending persons who "should be found to offend against it *on* "*board his majesty's navy*. The act had "proved effectual for the suppression of the "insurrection, as appeared from the ac- "knowledgment of the leaders of that in- "surrection before a committee of the Irish "parliament. But, though such a law may "be necessary, it was the duty of that house "to *guard against the abuse* of the powers "which it gave. The bill he proposed to "bring in contained the same provisions as "the Insurrection Act, with respect to the "power of the lord lieutenant to proclaim "disturbed counties, and the authority of "the magistrates to arrest persons who "should be found out of their dwellings be- "tween sun setting and sun rising; but, in "order *to prevent hardships to the subjects*, "the bill required that persons so arrested "should be tried at the Quarter Sessions, "by the magistrates and assistant barrister, "assisted by a king's counsel, a serjeant "specially sent down for that purpose. "Besides this bill, he meant to move for "leave to bring in another to prevent im- "proper persons from keeping arms, by "obliging all persons to *register their arms*, "and authorising the magistrates *to search* "*for arms*. These bills had been prepared "by his predecessor, and the only differ- "ence was, that the bill of his predecessor "gave a negative to the king's counsel or "serjeant, which he proposed to take from "him, as it appeared to him that such a "negative would render the measure nuga- "tory. He meant, however, to substitute "a clause, which should, in case of any "difference between the serjeant and the "bench, suspend the execution of the deci- "sion of the magistrates, till the serjeant "should have reported the matter to the "lord lieutenant."——Sir A. Wellesley said he proposed *seven years*, as the time of duration of these bills, but *his mind* was not quite *made up* as to that point!——After some observations, from different members, respecting the duration of the bill, Mr Sheridan rose and said, "that he viewed this "question in a different light from his "friends on the bench near him, and the "hon. gentleman opposite, (Col. Vereker),

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" had only anticipated an opposition which " this measure was to encounter. His right " hon. friend had said, that the measure " could only be justified by one imperious " necessity; now it was *that necessity* which " he wished to have *clearly made out to* " *exist before the measure was resorted to.* " It was no answer to him that the measure " had been prepared by his friends. If it " had, the Threshers were then engaged in " their disturbances and administering un- " lawful oaths. Ireland was now on the " contrary as loyally tranquil as any part of " the empire. Would they state in the " preamble to the bill, " Whereas a very " " small part of Ireland was some time ago " " disturbed by the Threshers, and where- " " as that disturbance has been completely " " put down by the ordinary course of law, " " and Ireland is now completely tranquil, " " be it therefore enacted, That most " " extraordinary powers, &c." This was " the case however, and until it should be " shewn to him that the necessity for the " measure existed, he should oppose it " every stage."——Upon the bill, or bills, I shall not make much observation, at present, but I may ask the English reader to reflect, for a moment, upon a life led in a country, where, upon the *application of the magistrates*, a county is to be proclaimed as being in a state of disturbance, and where, upon that proclamation being made, every inhabitant is compelled to remain *within his doors*, from *sun-set* until *sun-rise*; the magistrates having power to *search the houses* to see if the law be obeyed! What endless informations must this give rise to! What spite and malice and revenge amongst neighbours! What continual inconvenience, dread, alarm; and what unquenchable hatred!——Yet, I do not *know*, that the bill may not be necessary; but I agree with Mr. Sheridan in wishing to see the necessity clearly made out before the bill be passed.——But, can nothing be thought of to obviate this hard necessity? Is there no way of conciliating the good will of the people of Ireland? Are they such brutes as not to be made sensible of having a good government? Are they to be ruled by nothing but stripes? We must either maintain this, or we must allow, that, some when and some where, there must have been a fault in the government.—— The *causes* of the discontents in Ireland were ably developed by an admired correspondent of mine in a letter which will be found in Volume XI. at page 241; and, when one considers the heart-burnings which exist amongst the catholics, and which are kept constantly alive, by the collection of *tythes* alone, one is not astonished at the necessity of an insurrection bill. The evils of *non-residence* are felt quite sufficiently in England; the flagrant injustice of making the holders of land yield one tenth part of its produce to persons who perform no duty for it, and who expend it at a distance from the spot; so glaring a violation of the well-known principles upon which tythes were established, and upon which alone the justice of collecting them can be maintained; this has made a deep impression in England. What, then, must be expected in Ireland, where four fifths of the people yield tythes to an establishment to which they do not belong; and where the residence of an incumbent is looked upon *as a wonder?*——Mr. DILLON, during a debate, in the House of Commons, of the 15th instant, upon a grant proposed to be made for the education of Irish papist priests, " said it was no wonder " that the protestant church was disrelished " by the Irish peasant, when the only way " through which he knew it was the exac- " tions of the tythe-proctor. He concluded " with an earnest exhortation to the House, " to adopt some modification of tithes in " Ireland, as the best possible way of re- " storing the people of that country to con- " tent."——MR. PERCEVAL " assured the " hon. gentleman that the attention of " government should be early and anxiously " directed to the abuse complained of with " respect to the want of glebe houses and " sinecure livings. He did think with that " hon. gentleman that it was extremely " hard that any man *should pass away an* " *indolent life upon an opulent living, while* " *a poor curate was discharging the duties* " *of that office for the year round upon a* " *pittance scarcely sufficient to maintain him.* " He (Mr. Perceval) had before failed in " two or three instances in carrying through " that House a measure for the regula- " tion of rectories and cures; he however " now gave notice that it was the inten- " tion of his Majesty's present government " to submit to the consideration of the " house, a measure for *reducing the opulent* " *livings*, and out of their abundance mak- " ing an allowance for the poorer curates." ——It is true, that Mr. Perceval did make an attempt or two of this sort, in which he had to oppose, in one of the instances, the late ministry. But, while I do not think, that he went far enough with regard to *this country*, I know of no attempt at all that he made in behalf of Ireland. The state in which Ireland is, as to the established church will appear from the following facts.

There are in Ireland—*Parishes* - - - 2,436

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These parishes have been moulded into *benefices* - - - - - - - - - -	1,120
Thereby giving upon an average the tithes of more than 2 parishes to one parson.	
In the 2,436 parishes there are *churches* —only - - - - - - - - - -	1,001
In the 2,436 parishes there are *parsonage-houses*—only - - - - - - -	355

Such is the state of the protestant church in Ireland. I appeal to the heart of any good man, whether it be possible, that the people should contentedly pay tithes in such a state of the church? Tithes are collected, or paid, every where, and they are exacted most rigidly, whether there be church or no church. Does this state of things warrant the notion of *Hypocrisy Personified*, who pretended to hope, in his usual canting stile, and with his Lazarus-like look, that, in time, the papists of Ireland would be *converted* to the true faith? The *dirty* Dean may bawl as long as he pleases "*no popery!*" but, will any man, but such a man, say, that *something* ought not to be done to put a stop to this enormous abuse? Yes, the clergy (I speak with exceptions), and the universities may address the king, and talk about supporting *the church*; but will not every reasonable man call upon them to do their part in supporting it? The moment any measure is proposed for abolishing the abuses in the church; for compelling those who receive its revenues to do the duty for which those revenues were granted, they set up a hue and cry as if you were going to murder them. Their *rights* are indisputable; but, so are their *duties*; and, however law may support the former without the performance of the latter, the mind of man is too truly formed to acquiesce without grumbling.——I must do Mr. Perceval the justice to say, that he is the *only* member of parliament that I know of, who has spoken upon the subject of non-residence, in suitable terms. This is one of the great grievances of the nation here; and, what, then, is it in Ireland? Not an inch do the clergy or the prelates give way as to their *demands*. Where the latter are lords of manors, they are as active as ever in enforcing all their feudal claims, though the corresponding duties have long fallen out of use. Their courts leet and courts baron, all the *utility* of which, to the *vicinage*, have long been unknown, serve the lords as well as ever for the purpose of demanding fines and heriots. ——To return to Ireland, if it be *really* intended to do something, in the way now spoken of, for the people of that country, *why is it delayed?* Never, in my opinion, was there a more fit time. There is a constant cry for sacrifices, on the part of the people; but, it is not *the time*, it seems, to make a reformation in their favour. The *exigency of the moment* is pleaded for the introduction of the sun-set and sun-rise bill; and, perhaps, the exigency may exist; I do not say, that it does not; but, then, I ask, is there not an exigency, *equally pressing*, for some measure to *convince* the people, that you mean to alleviate their burdens? This is what they want, and not a fanciful sentimental bill, the only real effect of which would have been to gratify the vanity of a dozen of families. Oh! but you must be very careful how you trench upon the property of the church, which, in many cases, is private property. Well, but ought you not to be very careful, then, how you trench upon the *personal freedom* of the people; how you pass a law to shut the inhabitants of a whole county up within the walls of their houses from sun-set to sun-rise? Only tell them, that you will, *upon such a day*, actually pass a law to redress the grievances they complain of, or any one of those grievances, and you may leave them to go where they please, by night or by day. ——"But, what would *you* do, if you had "it in your power, in this case of tithes, "for instance?" This is a question which many a reader will put to me; and, my answer is this, that I would abolish tithes in Ireland; I would make each parish maintain its own priest, or pastor; I would remunerate the church by the purchase, at the public expense, and by valuation, of the impropriate tithes in England and Wales; I would compel *every* incumbent here to reside upon his living; and, if, from these alterations, the clergy should suffer inconvenience, or loss, they would only partake, in that respect, with the nation in general. To those, who start at this, I put these questions: Do you think that the catholics of Ireland will ever become protestants while the present system is persevered in? Do you think that they will ever be contented, that they will ever love the government, while they are compelled to pay tithes to a protestant church? Do you think, that, by force, we shall always be able to govern them? If all these questions are answered in the negative, as I think they must be, what remedy is there except the one that I would apply? And, as to *the time*, when will there be a time, if it be not now?—— "What!" (some one will say, perhaps, *Hypocrisy Personified* may say it) "would "you establish and confirm a crafty de- "luding priesthood?" No. I would soon destroy the wretched priest-craft by *making* the people *pay* the priests, whom

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they themselves should choose to have. It appears to me, that we have always been working at the wrong end. In order to fell the tree, we began niggling at the top, instead of taking out the earth from the roots; and so we have continued. People are never, in religious matters especially, either *frightened* or *coaxed* out of an opinion. They must be led into a train of thinking for themselves, and if you take care to give them self-interest for an assistant, you need not be in much apprehension for the result. ——I should like to hear the opinions of others, upon this subject, *freely* expressed. As the ministry say, that they are *thinking* about something to be done with respect to the church in Ireland, this seems the proper time for men to say what they think thereon. I am by no means wedded to my scheme (except after the American fashion which leaves to the parties the right of separating whenever they please), and I should be glad to see the scheme of any other man; but, then, I must beg him to consider, that something *substantial* must be done, and that it must, to answer any good purpose, be done *without delay*.—IV. LORD COCHRANE'S MOTION RELATING TO ABUSES IN THE NAVY.——Not having room to enter into detail upon this subject, I shall just state, that, on the 10th instant, his lordship, at the close of a detailed representation of many grievances in the navy, made a motion for the production of certain papers, which he stated to contain proofs of the truth of some of the allegations which he had made. Sir *Samuel Hood* (late the *worthy* colleague of Mr. Sheridan for Westminster), *Admiral Harvey*, and *Admiral Markham*, all flatly *denied* the truth of Lord Cochrane's statements. When that was done *Mr. Perceval* got up, and said, that he considered the statements of Lord Cochrane to have been "*completely* DISPROVED;" that, therefore, there was *no occasion for the papers which he had moved for*; and, that, besides, "it appeared to "him most evident, that all matters of re"gulation and discipline in the navy should "be first referred to the board of Admiral"ty; and, as this had not been done, in "the present instance, he should vote "against the inquiry as proposed."——A great deal was said about the "*inflammatory* tendency" of the speech. If the motion had been made without grounds stated, then it would have been negatived for want of grounds; and, now that the grounds were stated, the statement is found fault with as being *inflammatory*. Thus, which ever way he presented himself, they were ready for him: —— As to *disproof*, Mr. Perceval, though Mr. Windham completely agreed with you for once, and though he extolled (we are *really* told) Lord St. Vincent to the skies; as to *disproof* I saw none, unless you set it down as a maxim, that the joint *assertion* of three persons is better than the assertion of one. There was assertion against assertion. I know which I believe, and am pretty sure that your belief is just the same.——Mr. Sheridan, with his usual patriotism, and with as much zeal for the good of his country as he displayed in *asking to be made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster for life*, deprecated agitating questions of this sort *in parliament*; and, he had the face to do this after having, at the hustings of Covent Garden, told Lord Cochrane, *that the House of Commons was the proper place!* But, this is like him. Sheridan to the last! He made one very curious statement. In referring to the mischiefs which Lord Cochrane's speeches at the hustings had done, he particularly dwelt upon the *effects* those speeches had produced upon Commodore Keates. "They were such that he had "thought it necessary to demand a court"martial upon his conduct. That had been "*refused*; because there were *no grounds* "for it."! Good! Excellent! These effects, then, were not very distressing, it seems? But, who found out, that there were "no grounds?" Who was it?—— Verily the public will want no one to aid them in coming to a just conclusion upon this point. ——The cry is, that such matters ought not to be touched upon. "*Hush!* "*hush! hush!*" But, is this the language of reflection? If what Lord Cochrane asserted was false, the falsehood would have been *proved* by an inquiry; if true, ought not a remedy to be applied; and how can it be applied unless the evil be known? How are we; what a state are we in, when we fear that any thing, relative to the feelings of the army or navy, should be uttered, whether true or false? What! do we fear that a fleet, so well off, so much indulged, so humanely treated when sick, so happy and so contented as Sir Samuel Hood and Admirals Harvey and Markham and Mr. Sheridan represented them to be; do we fear, that such a fleet can be rendered mutinous by any motions or speeches of Lord Cochrane, and, especially when, if these gentlemen's assertions be true, that fleet must know Lord Cochrane's speeches to be false? Why, then, express apprehensions of *mischief* from those speeches? What are you afraid of, good

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men? What alarms you?——I must here notice the base conduct of the reporter of the COURIER news-paper towards Lord Cochrane. He begins his report thus: "Lord Cochrane rose to move for several "papers, to prove that the manner in which "the naval service was now conducted was "disgusting to the officers and seamen, and "highly injurious and dangerous to the "country. He did not desire to cast the "blame of this mal-administration on any "individual. His object was to call the "attention of his majesty's ministers to the "subject, that the mischief may be correct-"ed. The noble lord in the course of a "detailed statement of grievances, *thro' "-which we shall not follow him*, otherwise "than very generally, *denied as his asser-"tions were by those WHO WERE MOST "COMPETENT to speak to the facts.*" ——This, observe, at the very outset, in order to prejudice the reader against what followed. Now, it is right that the public should be apprized of the probable cause of this hostility against his lordship on the part of the London daily press. Just after he had announced his intention of being a candidate for Westminster, several of the editors of papers went to him, or wrote to him, asking for *money as the price of the support which they offered him*. He refused to give them a shilling; and they became, one and all, his bitter enemies; and such they will continue, unless he does give them money; but, I trust he will be honoured with their hatred as long as their venal souls shall inhabit their bodies —— The conclusion of the debate was curious. I will insert it just as I find it in the Morning Post, though, in my DEBATES, it will be fully and fairly given.——"LORD COCHRANE "rose to reply. As to the hon admiral "(MARKHAM), he was a member of that "board of which he complained, and as "to his experience or *his services*, they had "been much more conspicuous on *shore* "than ever they had been at *sea (Cries of "Order, Order.)* The hon. Admiral had "staid at home and sent his particular "friends, and *those who had interest*, to "sea.——THE SPEAKER told the noble "lord, that the *last expression was quite be-"yond the bounds of order.*——LORD "COCHRANE continued his reply. He "said that he had demanded a Court Mar-"tial for the accident that had happened to "his ship, and it had been refused, *for "fear of implicating those who sent him out "in an unfit condition.* He detailed several "other individual instances of hardship, such "as officers and sailors not being allowed to "go on shore when in port. He had writ-"ten to the Admiralty on other subjects, "and either received a mere formal answer, "or none at all." ——There was no division, the motion being negatived without, and with only one or two dissenting voices. ——V. POOR LAWS. In a page below, the reader will find a letter to Mr. Whitbread upon this subject. The bills will, in all probability, not pass; and, it is of very little consequence, in my opinion, whether they do or not; for, I am morally certain, that they never can be carried into execution. The cause of the misery and immorality of the poor, is, the heavy taxes and their natural consequences. Remove the cause, and the effect will cease; but until the cause be removed, all remedies are vain. "*Badges*," indeed! what will a badge do? It may make its wearer an object of ridicule, and that's all. The labouring people are not easily to be coaxed into content. They have much more sense than Mr. Whitbread seems to imagine; and, as they have, according to his opinion, grown worse and worse of late years, while education has been extending itself, what should make him suppose, that more education would make them better? No; it is a cancer in the body of the nation; to cure the patient you must cut it out; none of your anointing or plaistering will do any good.——VI. WESTMINSTER ELECTION. ——What may be the object of Mr. Sheridan in doing what is described in the following extract from the votes of the House of Commons, I shall not pretend to say; but, I think it right to put the thing upon record here, that we may hereafter refer to it.—— "A Petition of the right honourable Ri-"chard Brinsley Sheridan was read; set-"ting forth, that, at the late election of "members to serve in this present Parlia-"ment for the city and liberty of Westmin-"ster, lord Cochrane, sir Francis Burdett, "bart. John Elliot, esq. James Paull, esq. "and the petitioner, were candidates to "represent the said city and liberty in Par-"liament; and that, at the said election, a "poll was demanded and taken for the said "candidates before Arthur Morris, esq. high "bailiff and returning officer for the said "city and liberty; and that, before and af-"ter the teste of the writ for the said elec-"tion, the said lord Cochrane, by himself, "and by his agents and managers, and "others in his behalf, was guilty of gross and "notorious bribery and corruption, and did, "by gifts and rewards, and by promises, "agreements, and securities for gifts and "rewards, corrupt, procure, and attempt "to procure, divers Electors of the said

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" city and liberty, to give their votes at the " said election for the said lord Cochrane, " and to refuse and forbear to give their " votes at the said election for the petition- " er; and that the said lord Cochrane, by " himself, his agents, and managers, and " others on his behalf, after the teste of the " writ for the said election, and at and " during the said election, and before the " election of the said lord Cochrane to serve " in this present parliament for the said city " and liberty, did give, present, and allow " to divers persons having votes in such " election, money, meat, drink, enter- " tainment, and provision, and make pre- " sents, gifts, rewards, and entertainments, " to and for such persons having votes in the " said election, and to and for the use, ad- " advantage, benefit, emolument, profit, " and preferment, of such persons, in or- " der to be elected, and for being elected " at the said election, to serve in this pre- " sent parliament for the said city and liber- " ty of Westminster; and that by the afore- " said corrupt and illegal practices, the said " lord Cochrane procured himself to be re- " turned as a member to serve in this pre- " sent parliament for the said city and liber- " ty at the said election for the said city and " liberty; and the said Arthur Morris the " said returning officer of the said city and " liberty hath returned the said lord Coch- " rane as one of the persons duly elected to " serve in this present parliament for the " said city and liberty; whereas by the cor- " rup and illegal practices aforesaid, the " said election and return of the said lord " Cochrane was and is entirely null and " void, to all intents and purposes; and he, " the said lord Cochrane, is disabled and " incapacitated, upon the said election and " return, to serve in parliament for the said " city and liberty; and the said election " and return of the said lord Cochrane was " and is contrary to law, a manifest viola- " tion of the rights and privileges of the " electors of the said city and liberty, and " highly injurious to the petitioner and the " legal electors of the said city and liberty; " and therefore praying that the house will " take the premises into consideration, and " declare the election and return of the said " lord Cochrane void, and to grant such " other relief to the petitioner as to the " house shall seem most meet."

Sir Henry Mildmay.——In another part of this sheet I have inserted the two letters to Sir Henry Mildmay, from two of the Moulsham-Hall jury. The reader will see, that they were *written for* by Sir Henry Mildmay himself! Why did he not write to *all* the jurors?——I will only add, *at present*, that the reader has nothing to do, but to compare the assertion of these jurors with the *oath* of Sir Henry Mildmay himself.

Mr. Perry.——This gentleman has published the following article, in his newspaper, as a vindication of himself against what he calls my misrepresentations.——" The " wilful and continued misrepresentations, " by a weekly Journalist, of the nature of " the appointment held some time ago by " Mr. Perry, requires to be noticed on ac- " count of its *malignity*. On the establish- " ment of a Commission for investigating " the Accounts of the Barrack Department, " to which the Auditors of Military Ac- " counts had forcibly drawn the attention of " Government, Mr. Perry was appointed " Secretary to the Board, a situation which " was certainly not a sinecure, nor was ever " so called by Mr. Canning. It was a con- " fidential employment which required from " six to seven hours attendance daily, and " which he undertook *from the hope of use- " fully serving the public* in a matter to " which he had particularly turned his " thoughts, and in the idea that it would be " a task of short duration. As soon, how- " ever, as the magnitude and extent of the " service became known to him, he found " that he could not devote the necessary " time, which a faithful discharge of the " duties of the situation required, and he inti- " mated his desire to relinquish it, long be- " fore there was any rumour of a change in " his Majesty's Councils. He remained " long enough, however, to know that the " public will have just reason to be satisfied " with the result of the investigation. Whe- " ther a laborious trust of this nature, can be " truly said to deprive a man of his inde- " pendence, or that the salary can be called " a boon, he leaves without a word of com- " ment on the sarcasms of Mr. Cobbett, to " the candid opinion of the public."—— Now, what did I ever say, touching this matter? I said, that it was from "sheer " zeal to serve his distressed country," that " Mr. Perry accepted of this place." If, indeed, I had said, that, before he obtained this place, he almost worried poor Mr. Fox out of his existence; if I had said, that, after being refused the place of Gazette-publisher, or writer, he discovered many other places that would suit him; if I had said, that his charges of *ingratitude* against the Whigs were loud and constant, until he got a place; if I had said this, there might have been some colour for his charge of malignity

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against me; but, I never said this, I only said that he was in *the regiment*; I only said, that, from the moment he entered the regiment, he began to rail against "jacobins and levellers," that he joined John Bowles in clamouring for "regular government, social order, and our holy religion," and that, the moment he was out of full regimental pay, he began to attack and strip and expose every part of the establishment. This was all I said. I never said, that the clerks of the Treasury knew his step upon the stairs and in the dark passages as well as a citizen knows the sound of St. Paul's clock. I never said, that the porters at Mr. Fox's office took him, at last, for a piece of the wainscot, and were actually going to hang their hats upon his nose. All that I said was, that he sought a place and obtained one; and that his paper immediately became a vehicle of adulation of all those, who had, no matter by what means, possessed themselves of the powers of the state; and, I further said, that, the moment he lost his place, he reverted to his former sentiments and language.——This I said; this I *proved*; and, of what use are his wailings? Let him say frankly, that he is sorry he ever entered the Regiment, that he is resolved never to do it again; and then he shall have my acknowledgement, that he may be a man fit to have influence over a print, which has always, since I knew any thing of it, been conducted with unequalled ability. But, if he sets up a *justification* for uniting the calling of public writer with that of place-man, he will always find an opponent in me.——I was, I will freely confess, more stung at his disgracing the profession, than at his political infidelity. To see a man, having the absolute command of such a print as the Morning Chronicle, through the means of which he was able to sway the minds of hundreds of thousands of people, condescend to become, nay, *seek* to become, an associate and fellow-labourer with Secretaries of the Treasury, was what I could not bear with patience, and I resented it accordingly. As, however, I regard his present notice in the light of an acknowledgment of his error, I forgive him, for my part, and shall not desire to revive the remembrance of what is passed.

"*Delicate Investigation*" must wait another week.

COBBETT'S

Parliamentary History

OF

ENGLAND

From the Norman Conquest in 1066, to the Year 1803. From which last mentioned period it is continued downwards in the work entitled "Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates."——*** The Second Volume of the above Work, comprising the Period from the Accession of Charles the First in 1625, to the Battle of Edge-hill in 1642, is ready for delivery.—Vol. III. comprising the Period from the Battle of Edge hill in 1042, to the Restoration of Charles the Second, in 1660, is in considerable forwardness, and will be published on the first of December next.

POOR LAWS.

To Samuel Whitbread, Esq.

SIR,——In the Morning Herald newspaper of the 10th inst. you are reported to say, "that at the time when you first "brought forward the Poor Bill it met with "considerable opposition in the house, "and from a quarter from which you did "not expect it would have met with oppo-"sition. But, you must say, that from "the opportunities which the late general "election had afforded you of viewing the "lower classes of society, and nothing af-"forded a better opportunity for such a "purpose than a general election, you were "more than ever confirmed in your opinion "that instruction is the *best* boon which "the people can receive." As I did oppose this bill, if my weak endeavours to fix your attention on the unconquerable *(by the poor)* causes of their poverty and wretchedness can merit the name of opposition, I may probably belong to the quarter from which it met with this unexpected opposition. On this presumption, I think it a duty which I owe to the poor, to myself, and to my country, to vindicate my opposition, while there is a chance left to such opposition, to avert the delusive operations and fatal consequences of any bill *like yours*, which does not go to the root of those evils that no exertions of the poor, however educated, can root out, nor even lop, before it goes to correct such as may arise from ignorance of letters. From this observation, and presuming that you

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have observed my notions of those evils and their remedy, as they appeared in the Political Register of March 21st, May 30th, and June 6th, you will perceive that my opposition to your bill, is not founded upon a belief that instruction is *not a boon* to those who receive it, but on conviction that it is not the *best* boon which the people can receive in the present embarrassed circumstances of their pecuniary affairs. On the contrary, I have gone farther in defence of education than fact, I am now willing to believe, can bear me out; namely, that none could oppose its progress, but those who wished to monopolise the advantages which knowledge gives over ignorance. I know now that I had then judged harshly. Mr. Wm. Randall, 204, High Holborn, whose inestimable "Warning Voice," I hope you have, by this time, got by heart, opposes the education of the poor upon a ground which all the sufferings I have seen or felt throughout life never suggested to me; namely, that it makes the pains of political oppression more poignant than otherwise they would be. I grant it; I lament it; and I would prevent it if I could. But, when we consider the advantages of education, in surmounting all the surmountable evils of this life, or in teaching us resignation under them when they cannot be surmounted, do I labour under an error in holding, that its advantages far outbalance its evils? But, to return. Though "man wants but little "here, and not that little long," still my feelings tell me that food, raiment, and ease sufficient to support health and prolong life, is the best boon which the people can receive; my eyes inform me that a real want of these is the great first cause of complaint with the poor; and I am convinced by my reason, that were they to receive university education, it would not enable them to preserve for their own use a single grain weight of the food and raiment, which the tax-gatherers *by virtue of law*; the monopolizers, by virtue of *their right to do as they please with their own property*; and the idlers, *in virtue of custom*, pull out of their mouths and tear from off their backs. Nay, that, if it could enable them to create more of both, it could not enable them to consume more of either, because the cravings of these their devourers are insatiable. On the principle, however, that there are more ways than one of doing a thing, I may be mistaken. Education, it is true, enables the poor to understand better their own rights and duties, and as they see these more clearly, so they are more disposed to *revert to the constitution*. If you mean, Sir, instruction to be the best boon, as it *tends to produce this effect*, I have to beg your pardon for all I have said, or may say, in opposition to your bill, for, I believe you are correct. But, then, we are as far apart otherwise as ever. I disagree with you completely as to the application of the boon, in this round about way of coming at the object, because I prefer infinitely, that *government* should straitforwardly *revert to the constitution*, than that the people, by any means, should do it themselves, in opposition to the government. The people can do it; but, I would prefer that it should be done by their rulers; because the people generally wade through a great deal of misery before they accomplish their object themselves The history of the world proves indeed, that these miseries *can lose their terrors*, and that death in any other shape is better than that of dying by inches in hopeless expectations When government, then, does that which requires nothing to do it with but *the will*; when *taxation*, *monopoly*, and *idleness* are brought down, by the gentle and parental hand of law to that level which will leave the necessary portion of food, raiment, and ease within the reach of industry; *then instruct the people*, and for the best of all possible purposes; namely, to enable them to guard by every possible means against the future return of these great causes of their wretchedness, misery, and vice. *Suspicious*, Sir, as your views may appear from your opposition to Sir Francis Burdett, and the circumstance of your having neglected to bring forward your motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation while your party were ministers, and *therefore*, could carry any measure in parliament it is generally thought, at least said; (still I am unwilling to believe that you are guilty of double dealing on the subject of the poor;) that your object is popularity on the hollow basis of public delusion; that the advantages of monopoly which completely shields you against the disadvantages of taxation warp your judgment, steel your heart, and blind your eyes to their effect upon the condition of the poor; but it confounds me, and all those, with me, who think seriously upon the subjects of evils and their remedy, that any man who is qualified to legislate for a nation should think of sending the children to school, as a remedy for the evils of taxation, &c. &c. while these very evils deprive the parents of power to supply them with a whole breakfast, of the coarsest of food, before they go out in the morning; or, that he should hold out no prospect of relief for the parents until the education of the children

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removes those evils which do not arise from their want of instruction; but from causes over which their learning can have no controul. Is it possible, Sir, that the people can mistake these to be the principles of your plan? If it is not, depend upon it, Sir, that if, in their unguarded moments they should give you any credit for virtue and talents, it will be but of a short duration should you succeed in your scheme. Therefore, if you be truly anxious to live and die in public esteem; if you be really serious in your desire to mend the manners of the lower classes of the people, at general elections, and every where else, you must remove those evils which learning cannot reach, and enable them to eat and drink before you learn them to read and write.——C. S.——*July*, 13, 1807.

NEW FINANCE PLAN.

SIR,——Parliament being again assembled, and the subject of the public Finances about to come under its consideration, you will probably think some observations on the New Plan of Finance by lord Henry Petty not altogether out of season. In submitting the following remarks to you for publication in your Register, my chief object is to put the merits of the proposed Plan in a different and more familiar light than any in which, hitherto, it has been viewed: for, although many have disapproved of the new system, and although the result of different calculations (lord Henry Petty's own as well as lord Castlereagh's) appear to me to justify the fullest measure of disapprobation, yet no calculations, which I have met with, have aimed at precisely pointing out, wherein the *principle* of the new system is objectionable. This, however, I think highly expedient to be done, in order that we may trace, step by step, the action of the principle of this scheme to its ultimate, as I conceive, necessarily ruinous effects.—I ought, perhaps, to observe to you, that our political opinions are not in every respect the same, particularly as to the general merits of the late administration; and that, on this very question, the principle which I mean to insist upon as shewing the ruinous nature of the new plan, is the reverse of that on which you appeared once partially to approve of it, "because "for three blessed years," we were promised no increase of taxation. It is, Sir, because a country, opposed to an enemy so powerful as ours, must keep on foot a proportionate military establishment, which cannot be maintained but by the produce of commensurate taxation; because the produce of the present taxes in England, how enormous soever they may be, is short of the actual expenditure of the country, and to shrink from raising the actual expenditure within the year leads to the inevitable necessity of laying on *heavier* taxes in the end; and because the new plan of lord Henry Petty does not extend, or act up to what was already adopted of the principle of raising the supplies within the year, but falls back from raising even the interest of the expenditure (for it takes only the interest of the interest;) it is for these reasons, that I consider the Plan, as a temporary expedient by no means to be recurred to, and as a permanent system, speedily destructive. Whatever room may exist for reform in the expenditure of the public money, (and on the necessity of reform I go with you to the full extent of all your reasonings) no man can be sanguine enough to suppose, that, with our existing military and naval establishments undiminished, a sum of 11 millions annually *could* be saved, so as to render further taxes or loans unnecessary. It is plain that 11 millions yearly, of additional taxes, or loans, are required to complete our actual expenditure, and if our necessary expenditure be not short of our actual expenditure by 11 millions, it is evident, that to raise within the year our necessary expenditure calls for additional taxation.——Now, Sir, I would make some observations on the *pure* Funding System; I speak in contradistinction to the system of raising one per cent. to create a Sinking Fund, and the new Plan of lord Henry Petty. The pure funding system, it is well known, consists, not in raising the supplies of the year in taxes, but in borrowing the supplies, and levying taxes only for payment of interest of the sum borrowed. This practice is professedly adopted for avoiding *the evils of taxation.* But what are ultimately its necessary consequences? Let us suppose a country perfectly free from debt, whose annual expenditure is 20 millions, and that it adopts the funding system in its full extent, and borrows at a fair average interest of 5 per cent. It is manifest that, in a period of 20 years, the taxes levied for payment of *interest* will be 20 millions, or equal to the whole expenditure, while the supply of the 21st year will remain wholly to be provided for. In 40 years from the adoption of the system, the taxes levied for payment of interest will amount to 40 millions, or double the annual expenditure, while the supply of the 41st year will remain wholly to be provided for: and these will have been the consequence of a system adopted for avoid-

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ing *the evils of taxation*. It is clear, that for a country to have persevered in such a system 20 years, its power of yearly contribution, that is to say of raising taxes, supposing it to have continued the same during the whole period, must have been originally equal to the whole yearly expenditure; to have persevered in such a system 40 years, its power of contribution must have amounted to double its yearly expenditure; and to have persevered in it 60 years its power of contribution must have been treble the yearly expenditure. And, Sir, regarding these the immediate effects of funding, what shall not be said of a system, which by its direct operation, drains a country of its whole resources in 20 years, if in the beginning, its resources were equal to its expenditure; in 40 years, if in the beginning its resources were double its expenditure; and in 60 years, if in the beginning, its resources were treble its expenditure? These which are immediate and inevitable effects of funding are *primâ facie* evidence of its evils: if we should be told that funding directly or indirectly extends the national industry, and augments the sources of revenue, it will be sufficiently in time, to inquire, whether in fact it is attended with such benefits in a sufficient degree to compensate for the evils of its immediate operation, or with such benefits at all, when the arguments in support of the assertion shall have been advanced. Sir, correspondent with the effects which I have stated directly result from the funding system, are the consequences which we have witnessed to flow from its operation in England. Not, indeed, that in England, or that I know of in any country, has the system brought the government to so full a stop, to so complete an incapacity for all further exertion, as I have stated to be the natural issue of funding, when in any country it has been persisted in till its powers of life are exhausted, till the system, if I may so phrase it, dies of old age. But this does not prove that my propositions are unfounded, or that the life of the funding system can possibly be prolonged beyond the dates, which I have assigned to it under ascertained situations of a country with respect to its power of contribution. Though in England funding has been practised for many years, yet it has been with frequent, and formerly long intermissions. Large sums were paid off by a sinking fund in the time of Sir Robert Walpole. Besides, funding was never, till Mr. Pitt's war of the revolution, adopted to so great an extent as in that war. Another cause why it has been possible to act upon it with intermissions to the extent which has really taken place, is that, within the last 40 years, extraordinary improvements have been made in the productive powers of industry in various of the most important branches of manufactures, and in the formation of canals and other public undertakings; by means of which improvements the power of raising taxes has been greatly augmented. A further advantage also as to raising a *nominally* larger revenue has arisen out of the reduction of the real value of our coin. This has operated to render easy a nominal increase of taxation, because the possessor of the same quantity of real wealth as before has a larger sum of *pounds* and *shillings*; the owner of a bushel of wheat is worth 10s. or 11s. instead of 6s. or 7s., a journeyman mechanic earns perhaps 30s. instead of 20s. per week, and therefore, they can contribute more *shillings* or *pounds* than before, but only the same real value. But another consequence of the reduction in the value of money is, that those, who were stockholders before the reduction, receiving in payment of interest only the *same* number of pounds and shillings in truth receive smaller dividends than formerly. So was the pay to the soldiers and sailors of diminished value, till the late augmentations of pay. Now all these agents have assisted to prolong the possible duration of the funding system, either by increasing the power of raising taxes, or lessening the real amount of the contributions called for. All the foregoing causes have co-operated to preserve England from being, hitherto, rendered incapable of all exertion; but they do not shew, that as far as the system has operated, we have not evidence from the existing situation of our finances, that the consequences of funding are such as I have stated them to be.——We now pay for the interest of debt incurred by funding about 28 millions. Let us direct our attention to that period in which the system was most extensively acted upon, namely, the war of Mr. Pitt, and see how much of this sum grew out of funding during a given period of that war. From a Table marked B 3, accompanying Lord Henry Petty's Plan of Finance*, it appears that, in *nine* years from 1794 to 1803 both inclusive, "the money capital of debt created" was £212,564,745, the interest of which sum, supposing the average rate of interest actually paid (but it was more) to have been five per cent., is £10,628,237. Thus in

* See Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 8, Appendix.

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nine years the English nation was burthened by the funding system with ten millions and a half of permanent taxes, besides other taxes to create and feed a 1 per cent. sinking fund in the capital borrowed; and seeing that funding has, in *nine* years, imposed and absorbed 10 millions and a half of taxes, the supporters of the system may perhaps admit, that, in 36 years, with the like rate of expenditure and interest, funding would absorb 42 millions of permanent taxes. The consequences which would attend such an increase of taxation it is needless to insist upon; they would, however, be the immediate consequences of this not a *speculative* but an adopted system, and one which was really acted upon to the extent required towards such an augmentation of burthens for nine years. Let us keep in mind that the taxes already raised for payment of interest amount to 28 millions. We at present raise within the year towards the expenditure £27,700,000, namely land and malt £2,750,000, surplus of consolidated fund £3,500,000, lottery £450,000, and war taxes £21,000,000. Eleven millions, which make up the whole expenditure (being £38,700,000), are proposed to be raised by loans. From this statement the country, at the present moment, appears to be extricated more than two thirds out of the funding system, and the present operation of that system of course to be proportionally diminished. But, to put the effects of funding in the clearest point of view, let it this year and henceforward be acted upon for raising the whole of the supplies. The taxes in such case (bating the 28 millions for interest of the present debt) would for the current year be only £1,935,000; and how glorious a thing (might the advocates of funding urge) would be the repeal at one stroke of £25,765,000 taxes! which might be the case, supposing the loan of £38,700,000, to be negociated at 5 per cent interest. But following the plan 20 years, what would the taxes for interest of loans amount to, no part of the coming year's expenditure being provided for? why £38,700,000, and in 40 years to £77,400,000, which could be demonstrated by a mere vulgar arithmetic school boy: and this sum added to our existing 28 millions of taxes for payment of interest would make the whole of the taxes levied on account of the national debt in the fortieth year from the present time £105,400,000, the expenditure of the forty first year remaining to be provided for. Such would be the consequence of abandoning at the present moment the plan of raising any part of the supplies within the year; this of course is to be understood, if funding could so long be persevered in, but which the sum itself shews would be an impossibility. I think no man will contend that the produce of the labour of this country could maintain the labourers and contribute £105,400,000 yearly, to support others in idleness. For it is to be remembered, so far from the creditors of the government, the stockholders, *qua* stockholders employing industry with their imaginary capital, that on the contrary, if their demands on the government be obstinately and absurdly called a part of the *capital* of the country, they necessarily keep so much of the capital of the country unemployed and wholly unproductive: because if the owner of £100,000 stock, is determined to employ his capital in some branch of productive labour, he can only so employ it by getting rid of his stock and converting it into money, but the £100,000 stock has only changed hands, the seller becomes master of so much real capital to be employed in a branch of productive industry, while the former owner of this capital is become a stockholder. But, Sir, it is the yearly produce of the national industry, which can alone permanently be taken for defraying the expences of each year; if more than the produce of the year be taken after the necessary fund of subsistance of the labourers is subtracted, the principal is broken in upon, and the annual produce of industry (the productiveness of labour continuing the same) is yearly diminishing, which is a diminution of the sources of revenue.—If the providing for the whole public expenditure by means of loans would lead to the foregoing results, the borrowing of 11 millions to defray so much of the expenditure would lead to similar results. If the interest of the loans of 11 millions should average 5 per cent. for 20 years from the present time, the taxes for payment of interest would be 11 millions and by going on at the same rate 40 years they would amount to 22 millions. Now, possibly, many may be found ready to acknowledge the unsoundness of principle and ruinous consequences of raising the whole supply of £38,700,000 by loans, who will yet refuse to acknowledge raising eleven millions by loans to be equally unsound in principle and equally of ruinous consequence. If there be such men, supposing the power of additional contribution by the country equal to 11 millions annually, and to continue the same, they contend for the wisdom of a plan, which in the short period of 20 years shall exhaust and absorb

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the whole power of additional contribution beyond the present taxes, and leave the country in the 21st year of its operation, altogether incapable of supplying interest of the sum to be borrowed in that year; and yet the country will be burthened with the same amount of taxes, which, if laid on at the present time, would defray the same expenditure for ever. Supposing the resources of the country not equal to the contribution of 11 millions additional taxes, but of 5½ millions, that is a reason, why our establishments and consequent expenditure should be curtailed so much; and not a reason, why we should continue an expenditure and system of finance, which, in 10 years, would absorb the whole power of contribution, and, as to 11 millions of the expenditure, leave the country in the 11th year without the funds for payment of interest even. But supposing the resources of the country equal to the contribution of 22 millions of additional taxes, the levying of 11 millions at the present time would be so much the more easy; and although the interest of funding 11 millions yearly might be provided for 40 years, yet at that period taxes for payment of interest would be double the taxes required now to be imposed for defraying the same expenditure for ever. Of the funding system I shall only further observe, that the *radical* evils such as I have described, have been in a small degree diminished since the year 1793 by the creating a sinking fund of one per cent. on most of the different loans negotiated since that period, but, in the mean time, and until the loans are redeemed, the weight of taxes is thereby aggravated.—Having now, Sir, stated what I had to observe on the system of borrowing money, and merely laying on taxes for the payment of its interest, I shall proceed to consider what is the proposed principle of borrowing in the system of Lord Henry Petty, and wherein it differs from the former, and is more objectionable; and to trace its results as stated in Lord Henry Petty's and lord Castlereagh's Tables, from the operation of its vitious principle. The £6,700,000 raised by the ordinary taxes towards the expenditure of the year, have been laid out of the case in the different tables, and the expenditure taken to be £32,000,000. To complete this sum 11 millions are required over and above 21 millions war taxes. To compare the respective merits of the two modes of borrowing, all aid from expiring annuities and the established sinking fund should be laid out of the calculations; because, it is obvious, the resources which they afford are independent of the terms of any future borrowing of money. They are funds which do or will compose a part of our property; and any question to be raised with respect to devoting them to the payment of interest of any loans, can relate only to the expediency of paying interest with those funds, and not to the advantage or disadvantage of the terms on which the money, whose interest they are proposed to pay, may have been borrowed. Every thing has been done in Lord Henry Petty's tables to make the machinery of his plan cumbrous and intricate, and thereby to encrease the difficulty of ascertaining what will be the real rate of interest paid for the sums raised. But, Sir, it appears that a given sum of money each year will be borrowed, the interest for which we are to provide out of the war taxes, together with another sum equal to the interest of the loan (supposing it to be 5 per cent., which I will assume for the sake of perspicuity) to operate as a sinking fund of the loan; but a further sum is to be *borrowed*; for what? *to replace that taken from the war taxes.*" Why then, Sir, we may put the war taxes out of the case, as to the supposition of the war taxes paying the interest and furnishing a sinking fund for the loan, and consider the *second* sum which is borrowed, as borrowed to pay the interest and create a sinking fund of the first loan. Now for this sum interest is to be provided by means of taxes, that is to say, taxes are levied to pay *the interest of the interest* of the loan for the service of the year, and of a sum which is intended to operate as a sinking fund. What are the effects of this mode of borrowing? The loan is 12 millions, the interest for which at 5 per cent. is £600,000. I will keep the consideration of the interest and sinking fund separate. The first year the sum of £600,000 interest is borrowed, to pay the interest of which interest £30,000 taxes are imposed. In the 2d year another £600,000 is borrowed for payment of interest of the former year's loan, and £30,000 more of taxes are levied for payment of interest of the second £600,000. A third sum of £600,000 is borrowed the third year for the same purpose, and a third sum of £30,000 taxes levied for payment of its interest; making in three years the sum paid or debt incurred for the interest of a loan of twelve millions to be £1,980,000, or £180,000 more than 5 per cent. In fourteen years £3,150,000 will have been paid on account of interest over and above the common rate of 5 per cent., the whole sum paid or debt incurred being at that period £11,550,000. Supposing, at the expiration of 14 years, the practice of borrowing the in-

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terest to be given up, and the whole to be raised in taxes, the amount of taxes will be £1,020,000, namely, the common interest of 5 per cent. £600,000, interest of sums borrowed to pay interest £420,000. Or, should the practice be persevered in 20 years, *twelve hundred thousand pounds* permanent taxes will be required for a loan of £12,000,000 originally received. The same process will take place under the loans raised in every succeeding year. Thus it appears that the amount of taxes necessary to be imposed under the new plan, or of debt incurred on account of interest, will, in the twentieth year from raising any particular loan, be double as much as under common funding, that is to say, borrowing and raising taxes within the year for payment of the interest. This notable expedient, with all its machinery of war loans and supplementary loans, and one per cent. sinking funds on supplementary loans and five per cent. sinking funds on war loans, and raising the first year a smaller supplementary loan than is the proportion of other years, and sagacious Tables to shew how much may be diverted out of the existing sinking fund, and calculations on the rise and fall of consols, and money capital of debt, and nominal capital, turns out to be either the offspring of imbecility, or at best a cunning juggle to conceal the amount of interest really to be paid for the sums borrowed, which interest is manifestly *compound interest*. And at compound interest it has been proposed, and acceded to by the British legislature, to raise loans of twelve, fourteen, and sixteen millions yearly for 20 years!—We will next consider the second sum of £600,000, which is borrowed for creating a sinking fund of the first year's loan. For the interest of this £600,000 as well as the former, £30,000 taxes will be imposed. The object of this scheme is to redeem the loan in 14 years, *to free the public of a debt of 12 millions*. But how will it effect its object? how will it free the nation of a debt of 12 millions? To effect its object in 14 years, fourteen several sums of £600,000 will have been borrowed, that is to say, *another* debt of £8,400,000 will have been created! Upon the £8,400,000 so borrowed, should the 3 per cent. consols have continued at 60, the public will have received a compound interest amounting to £3,600,000. But, during the same period, the nation will have been paying in taxes, or otherwise,* interest on the 14 sums of £600,000 borrowed, which at 5 per cent. in 14 years will be £3,150,000. These taxes, moreover, (or what is the same thing, these sums taken from our property the sinking fund) will have been advanced in certain instalments every year, £30,000 the first year, £60,000 the second year, £90,000 the third year, and so on; so that, if, at the times of advancing the same, these sums had been invested in the funds, a compound interest would have accrued on them by the expiration of the fourteenth year, precisely enough to make up £3,600,000, the amount of compound interest received by the public on the fourteen sums of £600,000 borrowed. Hence it appears, that the real decrease of debt will be only £3,600,000, and, to work this decrease, £3,150,000 will have been actually advanced at such times and in such proportions, that, by investing them in the funds at the times of advancing the same, a compound interest would have been received sufficient to make up £3,600,000, the sum discharged: the *borrowing* part of the transaction therefore yields *no* profit, while the expenses of management are a dead loss to the public. I have stated the proposed mode of redeeming the loans to be as above, for the purpose of simplifying the consideration of it; but, in the scheme of Lord Henry Petty, 1 per cent. on the supplementary sums borrowed is proposed to be raised in addition to the charges to be incurred for the purposes above stated. But this 1 per cent. does not diminish or alter the sums, such as I have stated, to be really paid for discharging the original loans; and indeed it should only be considered as a sinking fund on the new debt of £8,400,000. It is unnecessary to remark, that the same plan will operate on every loan to be raised. Such is the new mode of discharging debts, said to be invented by Lord Henry Petty! It is astonishing that the mind of man should have conceived and brought forth with so much toil such a complex organised abortion ——Sir, the results of the new scheme, as contained in Lord H. Petty's own Tables, are conformable to what might be expected from its destructive principle of operation. will not tire myself or you, or obscure wha it is my object to elucidate, by attempting minutely to reconcile my statements with the numerous and (I dare say) accurate tables of Lord H. Petty; but shall content myself with setting down one or two of the most striking, or, if I may so express myself, *staring* results contained in those tables These, it is stated, will be the results supposing the 3 per cent. consols to continue at 60. They will not demonstrate the principle of action, which I have assigned to the new scheme, to be the true one; but

* Namely, by diverting the sinking fund..

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they will be rather confirmatory of it than otherwise, by shewing the principle must be one equally ruinous and to be dreaded. The first of the results which I shall notice, is, that, for the advantages of a loan of 11 millions annually for 20 years (for the plan only proposes to compleat a supply of £32,000,000, which would be effected by an annual loan of £11,000,000,) the public in 1826 will pay a yearly charge of £14,326,300 *, and 21 millions war taxes, the charge on war taxes decreasing every year, till in 14 years from 1826 they will be set free. The charge for the same aids under the late mode of funding would have amounted to £14,666,660 leaving the war taxes untouched. The Tables of Lord H. Petty stop at the year 1826, very luckily for his lordship's plan, because, if they had been continued 10 years longer, the annual charge of the new system, independently of the mortgage on war taxes, would be found above three millions more than under the late system. A second result appears to be, that the former mode of providing for the proposed expenditure, would make the total of the national debt in the commencement of the year 1826 [Table N] £270,443,305, but under the new scheme it will be [Table N] £455,537,932, being a larger increase under the new system of £185,094,627. A third result of the tables is, that by the new plan after the year 1819, the loans will continually be 32 millions, under the old system they would continue at 11 millions. But not a syllable of apprehension is expressed by Lord H. Petty with regard to the effect, which borrowing so enormous a sum annually, must have on the market price of interest, and consequently the terms of the loans, even allowing the confidence in the government to be unabated. It should be observed, that the above results appear so disadvantageous, when compared with the system of raising the supplies of late years acted upon. But, I have already shewn the great and radical evil of funding *at all*; and Lord H. Petty's plan being so much more improvident and ruinous than the old system, it follows that his is by so much a greater evil. ——I shall make no further observations on the merits of the new plan itself; but, if we search after the motive which led to the proposal of it, we shall find only one adequate cause; namely, a want of courage to make further progress towards raising the supplies within the year, and congratulated the country on the advantages already felt from the extent to which it had been pushed, at the very moment he was proving *recreant* to the principle, totally abandoning all further progress in it; and, instead thereof, proposing to raise within the year, not the interest of the sum borrowed, but the interest of the interest; thereby making the public pay compound instead of simple interest, and turning against our resources with respect to all loans henceforward to be raised, the same principle of operation, which in the established sinking fund has hitherto worked so powerfully in our favour. I have said my opinions, Mr. Cobbett, are different from yours in this respect, that I think the restoration of the late ministry is, on the whole, highly desirable; but, if they shall not be able to find amongst them an abler financier than the author of the system proposed by Lord H. Petty, they had better apply to me to be their Chancellor of the Exchequer.——A. G.——*July* 6, 1807.

* Namely, new taxes [Table C] £2,051,000, expiring annuities [Table C] £615,515, sinking fund diverted [Table D] £11,659,085. See Appendix to Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 8, for the whole of the Tables.

POLICE MAGISTRATES.

SIR,——As the act appointing police magistrates, will expire in November next; and it is understood, a bill is to be brought very soon into parliament, to continue the present system; allow me, Mr. Cobbett, to call your attention to the necessity of preventing police magistrates from attending, and acting at the sessions. Their names are, as a matter of course, inserted, not only in the commissions of the peace for Middlesex and Westminster, but for the counties of Surrey, Essex, and Kent; this may be necessary, but they ought not to intrude themselves at the quarter sessions of those counties; not many years ago, there was a contest for the office of treasurer of the county of Surrey; on that occasion, police magistrates of all descriptions interfered, to the extreme disgust of the country gentlemen. But, Sir, independently of the impropriety of such interference, it is improper and alarming, that persons appointed, paid by, and removeable, at the pleasure of the crown, should act, much more *preside*, at the sessions of those counties where their offices are situated; their so doing not only weakens (I might say, destroys) the benefit of an appellant jurisdiction, but lessens the magistracy in the eyes of the people. At the Middlesex sessions, I have witnessed police magistrates *exclusively* occupying the bench; and frequently they constitute a *great majority* of the attending magistrates; indeed, the inevitable consequence of *their*

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attendance must be, the *undisputed* powers of the bench. In a neighbouring county, a police magistrate, not only continues to act as *chairman of the sessions* for one of the districts, but, until the county interfered, did, at times *preside at the sessions, in the very district where his office was situated,* and to which sessions *appeals from his acts* must come, and where persons whom he had committed, and against whom he must have received *ex parte* evidence, were to be tried. Surely, Sir, these circumstances call for a remedy? Mr. Sheridan, during the Westminster election, promised much to reform the magistracy; but since the parliament met, we have not heard one word from that *man of promise* on the subject: if he is sincere he will attend to the subject of this letter; the grievance is felt, and resented by the magistrates of this, and the neighbouring counties, and needs only to be mentioned to be understood.——A KENTISH MAGISTRATE.——*Maidstone, July 4.*

SIR H. MILDMAY.

Supplement to a Memorial, presented the 8th July 1807, to the Commissioners of Military Enquiry, by Sir Henry Paulet St. John Mildmay, Baronet.

To the Commissioners of Military Enquiry.

Gentlemen;—I beg leave to add to the Memorial, which I had the honour to present to your Board on Monday last, the two following Letters; by way of Supplement. They reached me since that time, and were communicated by General Strutt, Foreman of the Jury who met to award me compensation, on the 18th of August 1804; and by Sir W. Hillary, who was also on the Jury. In awarding the sum of £1,300 for the first year, it appears that the Jury took into consideration the expences of the Inquest, which are stated, on the oath of the under Sheriff, at £250; and they also included the expence of levelling the works, and restoring the land occupied by them to a state fit for cultivation, whenever government should give up possession, and return the land to the proprietor. Messrs. Wood and Mason, two persons accustomed to value lands in Essex, declared on their oaths, that the cost would amount to 35s. per rod; and as the length of the ditch, by measurement, proved 400 rods, the Jury awarded £700 for it. By this award, government is exonerated from any future claim for that purpose—I have the honour to to be, &c.—(Signed)—H. P. S. MILDMAY,—July 8. 1807.

No. 1.—*Copy of a Letter from General Strutt, Foreman of the Jury, to Sir H. P. St. John Mildmay, Bart. dated July 5, 1807, Terling Place.*—Dear Sir, It gives me much pleasure to be able to answer your Queries; and in a manner which, I have no doubt, will be perfectly acceptable to yourself.—Query 1. "In the compensation awarded "to me, for the substantial damages and "inconveniences which I had, or might "sustain from the Military Works, did "you mean to include the rent of Moul-"sham Hall Gardens, Gardener's House, "and sixteen Acres adjoining?" Answer, "Certainly not."—Query 2. "Did you "mean to restrain me from using my house "for any purpose I might choose, after "passing your verdict?" Answer, "Cer-"tainly not."—Query 3. "Did you mean "to prohibit me from letting the house or "to make any alteration in the compensa-"tion awarded me, whether I did or not?" Answer, "Certainly not?" (Signed) Wm. Godhay Strutt, Foreman.

No. 2.—*Copy of a Letter from Sir W. Hillary, Bart. one of the Jury, to Sir Henry Paulet St. John Mildmay, Bart. Dated July 3, 1807.*—Dear Sir, Upon consideration of the circumstances which took place at the time of the Jury (of which I was one) giving their Award, as to the nature and extent of the injury which your property near Chelmsford had sustained by the formation of Military Works upon it, I perfectly recollect that the sum of £1,300 was awarded by us as a compensation for the injury done when these works were erected, for the expences of the Inquest (amounting to £250), and to cover the future charge of again filling up the works, and levelling the ground, when it should no longer be occupied by government. We also fixed a future rent of £600 per annum, to be paid by government, for about 30 acres of land which the works occupied, as a compensation for those lands, and the great injury which your estate had thereby sustained; and not as a rent for your house of Moulsham Hall, and its immediate grounds, &c. which was by no means the intention of the Jury. On the contrary, we were at the time aware, that you had a separate treaty with government for your house, which we did not enter into, or interfere with, as we considered the house to remain your own, either for residence, to let, or for any other purpose you might choose; and our award was given as a compensation for the injury which your estate sustained by the occupation of part of it; and this point I am clearly of opinion was expressly understood, and acted upon by the Jury.—I am &c. (Signed)—WILLIAM HILLARY.

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DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

VOLUNTEERS.—*Circular Letter from Lord Hawkesbury to the Lords Lieutenants of Counties, dated Whitehall, April 25th 1807.*

My Lord;——His Majesty being impressed with the most favourable opinion of the value and importance of the Volunteer Force of the United Kingdom, of the good order and discipline of a considerable proportion of them, and of the zeal and alacrity which they have all invariably manifested, on every occasion in which their services have been required, is desirous of affording to them every encouragement, which a due consideration of the other branches of the military service, and an attention to public economy, will permit—He has, therefore, commanded me to acquaint you, for the information of the different Volunteer Corps within your County, that it is his intention to propose to Parliament, that the pay and allowance, settled for the Yeomanry Cavalry and Volunteer Infantry and Artillery, by the Regulations of July, 1806, and which were intended at that time to be granted to those men only who had been enrolled antecedently to the 24th of July, 1806, should, in future, be extended to all Volunteers, who may have been enrolled subsequent to that period, or who may be enrolled hereafter, provided the respective establishments of Volunteer Corps be not thereby exceeded. —His Majesty entertains the most sanguine hopes, that the adoption of this measure will have the effect of preventing the gradual decline of the Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps, and that it will furnish a strong inducement to the officers commanding those corps, to maintain them in a state of efficiency and good order.—As the employment of Inspecting Field Officers, in a due proportion, appears to his Majesty's Government to be essentially necessary for preserving the Volunteer Force in a state of efficiency, and for enabling his Majesty's Government, from time to time, to form an accurate judgment of the condition, numbers, and good order of the respective Corps, it is his Majesty's intention to appoint, without delay, a certain number of persons to execute the duties of Inspecting Field Officers in the different Districts.——There are many other circumstances connected with the Volunteer Establishment, upon which I have received reports from several quarters, which are under the consideration of his Majesty's Government, and upon which it may be necessary for me to make some further communication to you hereafter; but it has been deemed important that no time should be lost in communicating to you his Majesty's determination upon the above points. I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c.——HAWKESBURY.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*Sixty-ninth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

(Concluded from page 96.)

The health of the Emperor continues excellent; it is even remarked that it appears better than formerly. Some days his Majesty makes excursions to the distance of forty miles on horseback. At Warsaw it was last week believed that the Emperor had arrived there about ten o'clock at night. The whole town was immediately and voluntarily illuminated.—The fortresses of Praga, Sierock, Modlin, Thorn, and Marienburg, begin to be put into a state of defence The works of Marienwerder are planned. All these fortresses form *tetes du pont* on the Vistula. The Emperor praises the activity of Marshal Kellerman in forming the provisional regiments, many of which have arrived in good condition, and are incorporated in the army.——His Majesty also bestows great praise on Gen. Clark, Governor of Berlin, who displays equal activity and zeal in the important post confided to him. Prince Jerome, who commands the troops in Silesia, has also given proofs of great activity, and has exhibited a degree of skill and penetration which is, in general, only the fruit of long experience.

70th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Finkenstein, April 3.——A corps of 400 Prussians, who embarked at Koningsberg, and landed on the peninsular opposite Pillau, advanced towards the village of Carlsberg. M. Mainguernaud, Aide-de-Camp of Marshal Lefebvre, marched towards that place with a few men. He manœuvred so dexterously, that he took the 400 Prussians, among whom were 120 cavalry. Several Russian regiments have entered Dantzic by sea. The garrison has made several sorties. The Polish Legion of the North, and their Commander Prince Michael Radzivil, have greatly distinguished themselves. They took about forty Russian prisoners. The siege is carried on with activity. The battering train begins to arrive. There is nothing new at the different posts of the army.

71st Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Finkenstein, April 19——The victory of Eylau having frustrated all the plans which the enemy had formed against the Lower Vistula, has enabled us to surround

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Dantzic, and to commence the siege of that fortress. But it was necessary to draw the battering artillery from the fortresses of Silesia and along the Oder, so that it had to come upwards of 100 leagues through a country in which there are no roads. This difficulty is now got over, and a part of that artillery is already arrived: 100 pieces of cannon are now on their way from Stettin, Custrin, Glogau, and Breslau, and in a few days we shall be provided with every thing necessary. The Prussian General Kalkreuth has the command at Dantzic The garrison consists of 14,000 Prussians, and 6000 Russians. The inundations and marshes, several lines of fortifications, and the fort of Weixelmunde, have rendered it difficult to surround the fortress. The Saxon, the Polish, and the Baden troops, since the Hereditary Prince of Baden is at their head, are vying with each other in bravery.—The enemy has not tried any other means of coming to the assistance of Dantzic, than by sending a few battalions and some provisions to the place by sea. In Silesia, Prince Jerome continues the siege of Neisse vigorously. Since the Prince of Pletz has declined to act, Baron Kleist, Aid-de-Camp to the King of Prussia, is arrived at Glatz, by way of Vienna, with the title of Governor General of Silesia. He is accompanied by an English commissary, who must keep his eye upon the manner in which the £80,000 sterling are laid out, which were given by England to the King of Prussia.—On the 13th inst. that Prussian officer advanced from Glatz with a corps of 4000 men, and attacked General Lefebvre (who commands the corps of observation which covers the siege of Neisse), at Frankenstein. The operation has been ineffectual. Baron Kleist was repulsed with vigour. On the 14th, Prince Jerome fixed his headquarters at Munsterberg.——For these two months past, the grand army has been quiet in its cantonments. This time has been employed in recruiting the cavalry, and providing them with horses, repairing the arms, establishing large magazines of biscuit and brandy, and furnishing the soldiers with shoes. Independent of one pair in wear, each man has two more pair in his knapsack. Silesia and the Island of Nogat have furnished a number of good horses to the cuirassiers, to the dragoons, and to the light cavalry.—In the beginning of May, an army of observation, consisting of 50,000 French and Spanish troops, will be assembled on the Elbe. Whilst Russia has assembled in Poland nearly the whole of her troops, there is only a part of the French military force in that country. This, however, is a consequence of the great difference which exists between the essential strength of the two countries. The 500,000 Russians, which the writers of newspapers made to march to the right and again to the left, only exist in their papers and in the imagination of some readers, who are the easier misled, by being shewn the immense extent of the Russian territory, without the least mention of its extensive deserts and uncultivated districts.—It is said, that the guards of the Emperor of Russia have reached the army. They will see on the first meeting, whether the Imperial Guard is annihilated, as the enemy's generals have asserted. That guard is now more numerous than ever, and almost double the number it was at Austerlitz Exclusive of the bridge thrown across the Narew, another is forming on piles between Warsaw and Praga: the work is in a very forward state. The bridges on piles are stronger and more serviceable than those of boats. Although it is very laborious to construct such bridges across a river of 400 rods in breadth, it is rendered easy through the skill and activity of the officers, under whose direction it is performed, and from the abundance of timber.——The Prince of Benevento is still at Warsaw, negociating with the Ambassadors of the Porte and of the Emperor of Persia. Independent of the services which he renders to the Emperor as a minister, some important operations are frequently entrusted to him relative to the wants of the army. The cold weather has again set in for these two days: the thaw is the only symptom we have of the spring; the earliest shrubs do not yet present the least sign of verdure.

72d Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Finkenstein, April 23.——The operations of Marshal Mortier have had the desired effect. The Swedes were so inconsiderate as to cross the River Peene, to advance upon Anclam and Demmin, and to move towards Passewalk. On the 16th, before break of day, Marshal Mortier assembled his troops, advanced from Passewalk on the road to Anclam, overthrew the posts at Belling and Ferdinandshoff, took 400 prisoners and two pieces of cannon, entered Anclam at the same time with the enemy, and made himself master of the bridge on the Peene. The column of the Swedish General Cardell was cut off. It remained at Uckermunde when we were already at Anclam. The Swedish General in Chief Armfeldt has been wounded by a grape shot. All the enemy's magazines are taken. The column of Gen. Cardell, which has been cut off, was attacked on the 17th, by the General of Brigade Veau,

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near Uckermunde, when the enemy lost 3 pieces of cannon, and 500 men, which were taken. The rest escaped by getting on board the gun-boats in the Haff; 2 more pieces of cannon, and 100 men, were taken near Demmin. Baron Von Essen, who commands the Swedish army during the absence of Gen. Armfeldt, proposed an armistice to General Mortier, informing him, that the King had granted him a special power to conclude the same. A peace, or even an armistice, granted to Sweden, would accomplish the most sanguine wishes of the Emperor, who has always been very reluctant to carry on a war against a generous and brave nation, which, upon local and political grounds, is the friend of France. Must Swedish blood flow, either to protect or to subvert the Ottoman Empire? Is it to flow for maintaining the balance, or for supporting the slavery of the seas? What has Sweden to fear from France? Nothing. What has she to fear from Russia? Every thing. These reasons are too evident not to prompt an enlightened cabinet, and a nation which possesses clearness of mind, and independence of opinion, to put a speedy stop to the war. Immediately after the battle of Jena, the Emperor made known his desire to restore the ancient relations between Sweden and France. These first overtures were made to the Swedish minister at Hamburgh, but rejected. The Emperor constantly directed his generals to treat the Swedes as friends, with whom we are at variance, and with whom we shall soon be reconciled, from the nature of things. Behold the true interests of both nations. If they did us any harm, they would regret it; and we, on our part, should wish to repair the wrong which we may have done them. The interest of the state will at last rise superior to all differences and petty quarrels. These were the Emperor's own words, in his orders. Animated by such sentiments, the Emperor ordered the military operations for the siege of Stralsund to be discontinued, and the mortars and cannon which were sent from Stettin for that purpose, to be sent back. He wrote to Gen. Mortier in the following words: 'I already regret what has been done. I am sorry that the fine suburb of Stralsund is burnt. Is it our business to hurt Sweden? This is a mere dream. It is our business to protect, not to do her any injury. In the latter, let us be as moderate as possible. Propose to the Governor of Stralsund an armistice, or a cessation of hostilities, in order to ease the burden, and lessen the calamities of war, which I consider as wicked, because it is impolitic.' On the 8th, the armistice was concluded between Marshal Mortier and Baron Von Essen. On the 13th April, at 8 in the evening, a detachment of 2000 men from the garrison of Glatz, advanced with 6 pieces of cannon, against the right wing of the post of Frankenstein. On the following day, the 17th, at break of day, another column of 800 men, marched from Silberberg. These troops, after their junction, advanced upon Frankenstein, and commenced an attack, at 5 in the morning, with an intent to attack Gen. Lefebvre, who was posted there with a corps of observation. Prince Jerome set off from Munsterberg, when the first gun was fired, and arrived at Frankenstein at ten in the morning. The enemy was completely dispersed, and pursued to the covered way of Glatz: 600 of them were taken, together with 3 pieces of cannon. One major and 8 officers are among the prisoners: 300 men were left dead on the field of battle: 400 men that had escaped in the woods were attacked and taken at 11 in the forenoon. Col. Beckers, commanding the 6th Bavarian regiment of the line, and Col. Scharfenstein, of the Wirtemberg troops, have done wonders. The former would not quit the field of battle, although he was wounded in the shoulder; he shewed himself every where at the head of his battalon, and every where he performed wonders. The Emperor has granted to each of these officers the Eagle of the Legion of Honour. Capt. Brockfeld, who provisionally commands the Wirtemberg horse chasseurs, has likewise distinguished himself; and it was him that took the several pieces of cannon. The siege of Neisse is going on prosperously. One half of the town is already burnt, and the trenches are approaching very near the fortress.

73d Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Elbing, May 8.——The Persian Ambassador has received his audience of leave. He brought some very fine presents to the Emperor, from his Master, and received in return the Emperor's portrait, enriched with very fine stones. He returns directly to Persia. He is a very considerable personage in his country, and a man of sense and great sagacity. His return to his country was necessary. It has been regulated that there shall henceforth be a numerous legation of Persians at Paris, and of Frenchmen at Tehesan.—The Journal of the siege of Dantzic will make known, that our troops have lodged themselves in the covert way, that the fire of the town is extinguished, and will give the details of the fine operation which Gen. Drouet directed, and which was exe-

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cuted by Col. Aime, the chief of battalion; Amand of the 2d light infantry, and Captain Ary. This operation put us in possession of an island, which was defended by 1000 Russians, and 5 redoubts mounted with artillery, and which is very important for the siege, since it is in the back position which our troops are attacking. The Russians were surprised in their guard house, 400 were slaughtered with the bayonet without having time to defend themselves, and 600 were made prisoners. This expedition, which took place in the night of the 6th, was in a great measure performed by the troops of Paris, who covered themselves with glory.—The weather is growing milder; the roads are excellent; the buds appear upon the trees; the fields begin to be covered with grass, but it will require a month before they afford fodder to the cavalry.——The Emperor has established at Magdeburgh, under the orders of Marshal Brune, a corps of observation, which will consist of nearly 80,000 men, half Frenchmen, and the other half Dutchmen and Confederates of the Rhine; the Dutch troops are to the number of 20,000 men.—The French division of Molitor and Boudet, which also form a part of this corps of observation, arrived on the 13th of May at Magdeburgh. Thus we are able to receive the English expedition upon whatever point it may present itself. It is certain that it will disembark; it is not so that it will be able to reimbark.

74th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Finkenstein, May 16.—Prince Jerome, having discovered that three out-works of Neisse, alongside the Bielau, impeded the progress of the siege, ordered Gen. Vandamme to occupy them. In the night from the 30th of April to the 1st of May, this general, at the head of the Wurtemburgh troops, took the said works, put the enemy's troops by whom they were defended to the sword, took 120 prisoners, and 9 pieces of cannon.—It seems, that a grand council of war was held at Barfenstein, since the arrival in the camp of the Emperor Alexander, at which the King of Prussia and the Grand Duke Constantine assisted; that the dangerous situation of the city of Dantzic was the subject of the deliberations of the said council, and that it was found, Dantzic could only be relieved in two ways; first, by attacking the French army, to cross the Passarge, and to take the chance of a general engagement, the result of which (provided any advantage was obtained), would be, to compel the French army to raise the siege of Dantzic; the second, to throw succours into Dantzic from the sea side. It seems that the first plan was deemed impracticable, unless the enemy would expose himself to be completely defeated and routed. It was therefore resolved to confine themselves to the other plan of relieving Dantzic by water.—In consequence thereof, Lieut. Gen. Kaminski, son of the field marshal, embarked at Pillau, with 2 Russian divisions, formed of 12 regiments, and several Prussian regiments. On the 12th, the troops were landed from 66 transports, under convoy of 3 frigates, in the port of Dantzic, under the protection of the Fort of Weichselmunde.—The Emperor immediately ordered Marshal Lasnes, who commands the reserve of the grand army, to advance from Marienburgh (where he had his head quarters), with the division of Gen. Oudinot, to reinforce the army of Marshal Lefebvre. He arrived, after an uninterrupted march, at the very moment when the enemy's troops were landing.—On the 13th and 14th, the enemy made preparations for the attack. They were separated from the town by the distance of somewhat less than one league, but that part was occupied by French troops. On the 15th, the enemy advanced from the fort in 3 columns, with an intention to penetrate to the town along the right bank of the Vistula. The Gens of Brigade Schramm (who was at the advanced posts with the 2d regiment of light infantry, and one battalion of Saxons and Poles), received the first fire, and resisted the enemy at the distance of a cannon shot from Weichselmunde.—Marshal Lefebvre had repaired to the bridge which is situated below on the Vistula, and ordered the 12th regiment of light infantry, together with the Saxons, to cross over that way, to support Gen. Schramm. Gen. Gardanne, who was charged with the defence of the right bank of the Vistula, also pressed that way with the rest of his troops. The enemy was superior in numbers, and the contest was continued with equal obstinacy. Marshal Lasnes, with the reserve of Oudinot, was placed on the left bank of the Vistula, where it was expected, the day before, that the enemy would make his appearance; but when Marshal Lasnes saw the movements of the enemy disclosed, he crossed the Vistula with 4 battalions of Gen. Oudinot's reserve. The whole of the enemy's line and reserve were thrown into confusion, and pursued to the palisadoes, and at 9 in the morning the enemy was shut up in the fort of Weichselmunde. The field of battle was strewed with dead bodies. Our loss consists of 25 killed, and 200 wounded. The enemy's loss is 900 killed, 1500 wound-

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ed, and 200 taken. The enemy from the height of his demolished and almost destroyed ramparts, was witness to the whole action. He was dejected, on seeing the hopes vanishing which he had formed of receiving succour. Gen. Oudinot has killed 3 Russians with his own hand.——It will appear from the journal of the siege of Dantzic, that the works are carried on with equal activity, that the covered way is completed, and that we are occupied with preparations for passing the ditch.—As soon as the enemy knew that his maritime expedition had arrived before Dantzic his light troops began to reconnoitre and alarm the whole line, from the position occupied by Marshal Soult, on the Passarge, to that of Gen. Morand, upon the Alle. They were received at the mouth of the musket by the voltigeurs, lost a considerable number of men, and retired with more precipitation than they came.—The Russians also presented themselves at Malga, before Gen. Zayonchek, the Commandant of the Polish corps of observation, and carried off one of his posts. The Gen. of Brigade Fischer pursued, routed them, and killed 60 men, one colonel, and two captains. They likewise presented themselves before the 5th corps, and insulted Gen. Gazan's advanced posts at Willenberg. This general pursued them several leagues. But they made a more serious attack upon the bridge of Omelew at Drenzewo. The Gen. of Brigade Girard marched against them with the 88th, and drove them into the Narew. Gen. Suchet arrived, pursued the Russians closely, and defeated them at Ostrolenka, where he killed 60 men, and took 50 horses.—On the same day, the 13th, the enemy attacked Gen. Lemarrois, at the mouth of the Bug. This general had passed that river on the 10th, with a Bavarian brigade, and a Polish regiment, who, in the course of three days, had constructed several *tetes-du pont*, and had advanced to Wiskowo, with the intention of burning the rafts which the enemy had been at work upon during 6 weeks. This expedition completely succeeded, and the ridiculous work of 6 weeks was destroyed in a moment.—All the army is encamped in divisions of square battalions, in very wholesome situations. These affairs of advanced posts have not occasioned any movements in the army. Every thing is quiet at the head-quarters. This general attack upon our advanced posts seems to have had no other object than to occupy the French army, so as to prevent them from reinforcing the troops employed in the siege of Dantzic.—The hope of succouring Dantzic, by means of a maritime expedition, appears very extraordinary to well informed military men, acquainted with the ground and the position occupied by the French army.—The leaves begin to appear; and the season resembles the month of April in France.

75th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Finkenstein, May 18.——The following are further particulars relative to the affair of the 15th. Marshal Lefebvre makes a very favourable report of General Schramm, to whom he, in a great measure, imputes the favourable issue of the affair at Weichselmunde.—On the morning of the 15th, at 2 o'clock, Gen. Schramm had formed in order of battle, covered by two redoubts, thrown up opposite the fort of Weichselmunde. He had the Poles on the left, the Saxons in the centre, and the regiment of Paris in reserve. The Russian General Kamenski sallied from the fort at day break, and after two hours hard fighting, the 12th regiment of light infantry, sent by Marshal Lefebvre from the left shore, and a battalion of Saxons, decided the victory. Scarcely a battalion belonging to Oudinot's corps had any occasion to take part in the action. Our loss is very trifling. M. Paris, a Polish colonel, was killed. The loss of the enemy is greater than we supposed. We have buried 900 Russians. We cannot reckon their loss at less than 2,500 men. We observed no more movements on the part of the enemy, who seemed to confine himself very prudently within the circuit of the works. The number of vessels sent off with the wounded was 14. The Emperor has issued a decree for making every person who distinguished himself on this occasion a member of the Legion of Honour: they are about 30 in number.—On the 14th, a division of 5,000 men, mostly Prussians, from Koningsberg, landed on the Neyrung, and advanced against our light cavalry as far as Kahlberg, who thought proper to fall back upon Puretenwerder.—The enemy advanced to the extremity of the Frisch Haff. We expected they would have penetrated from thence to Dantzic. A bridge thrown over the Vistula at Furstenwerder, made the passage easy for our troops cantoned in the Island of Nogat, so that the infantry might have attacked the enemy's rear; but the Prussians were too wary to proceed. The Emperor ordered General Beaumont, Aide-de-camp to the Grand Duke of Berg, to attack them. On the morning of the 16th, at two o'clock, the General of Brigade Albert, advanced, at the head of two battalions of grenadiers of the reserve, the 3d and the 1st regiments of

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chasseurs, and a brigade of dragoons. He met the enemy about day break, between Passenwerder and Stege, attacked him, routed, and closely pursued him 11 leagues, made 1100 prisoners, killed and wounded a great number, and took 4 pieces of cannon. —Thus the enemy has suffered considerable losses, at various points, since the 12th.—On the 17th the Emperor caused the fusileers of the guard to manœuvre: they are encamped near the castle of Finckenstein in barracks, equally as handsome as those at Boulogne.—On the 18th and 19th the Imperial Guard encamped upon the same spot. ——Prince Jerome is encamped in Silesia, with a corps of observation, covering the siege of Neisse.——On the 12th the Prince learned, that a column of 3000 men had left Glatz to surprise Breslau. He ordered Gen. Lefebvre to advance with the 1st Bavarian regiment, and a detachment of 300 Saxons. In the morning of the 14th, the general came up with the enemy's rear near Cauth, which he immediately attacked, made himself master of the village with the bayonet, and took 150 prisoners: 100 of the Bavarian light cavalry fell upon those of the enemy, 500 in number, routed and dispersed them. The enemy again formed in order of battle, and offered resistance: 300 Saxons fled; this extraordinary conduct must have been the effects of dissatisfaction, as the Saxons have always behaved with valour ever since they joined the French. However, this unexpected event brought the first Bavarian regiment into a very critical situation. They lost 150 men, who were made prisoners, and they were compelled to beat a retreat, which they effected in good order. The enemy retook the village of Cauth.—In the morning, at 11 o'clock, Gen. Dumuy, who had advanced from Breslau with 1000 French dismounted dragoons, hussars and chasseurs, attacked the enemy in the rear: 150 of the hussars retook the village, after a charge with the bayonet, made 100 prisoners, and liberated all the Bavarians made prisoners by the Prussians.—The enemy, in order to facilitate his retreat to Glatz, had separated in two columns. General Lefebvre, who left Schweidnitz on the 15th, fell in with one of these columns, killed 100, and made 400 prisoners, including 30 officers. A Polish regiment of lance-bearers had arrived on the preceding evening at Frankenstein, and a detachment of these being sent to join Gen. Lefebvre, by Prince Jerome, distinguished themselves on this occasion.—The second column endeavoured to regain Glatz, by passing the Silberberz. Lieut. Gen. Ducoudrais, the Prince's aid-de-camp, fell in with them, and threw them in disorder. Thus a column of between 3000 and 4000 men, that left Glatz, was unable to return. They have been either killed, made prisoners, or dispersed.

76th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Finkenstein, May 20 ——A fine English corvette, copper sheathed, having 120 English for her crew, and laden with powder and ball, presented herself off Dantzic, with an intention to enter that port. On approaching near our works, she was attacked from both the shores with a heavy shower of musketry, and forced to surrender. A picquet of the regiment of Paris was the first to leap on board. An aid-de-camp of Gen. Kalkreuth, who was on his return from the Russian head quarters, and several English officers, were taken on board the vessel. She is called the Undaunted, and had 60 Russians on board, besides the 120 English. —The enemy's loss in the affair of Weichselmunde, on the 15th, was greater than was at first supposed. A Russian column, which held out to the last, was put to the bayonet to a man. There were 1300 Russians buried.—On the 16th a Russian division of 6000 men, under General Tarkow, advanced from Brock to the Bug and towards Pultusk, with a view to prevent the execution of some new works for strengthening the *tete du pont*. These works were defended by six Bavarian battalions, under the command of the Crown Prince in person. The enemy advanced four times to the attack, and were four times repulsed by the Bavarians, and covered with grape shot from the batteries of the different works. Marshal Massena estimates the enemy's loss at 300 killed, and twice as many wounded. And what renders the conflict still more glorious is, that the Bavarians were not quite 400. The Crown Prince commends, in particular, the Bavarian General Baron Wrede, an officer of conspicuous merit. The loss of the Bavarians amounted to 15 killed, and 150 wounded.—The same mismanagement, as in the attack of the 16th at Pultusk, was displayed in that which the enemy made on the 13th, against the works of Gen. Lemarrois; nor was their want of judgment less conspicuous in the preparation of a great number of rafts, which the enemy were preparing on the Bug for these six weeks past. The result was, that those rafts which took them so long in preparation, were burnt in two hours time; and that those repeated attacks upon works well contrived, and defended by strong batteries, without a chance of success, have produced them a consider-

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able loss. We are almost induced to think, that the purport of these attacks, was to draw the attention of the French army to their right wing. But the position of the army was calculated, by anticipation, for every case, and for all chances of attack and defence.—In the mean while, the important siege of Dantzic is continued. The loss of that important fortress, and of the 20,000 men shut up within the same, will be severely felt by the enemy. A mine which was contrived near the outer bastion, had the effect of blowing it up. A communication has been opened with the covered way by four entrances, and we are employed in filling up the ditch.——This day the Emperor reviewed the 9th provisional regiment. The first eight of those regiments have already been embodied. The Genoese conscripts among those regiments are much extolled for the readiness and zeal displayed by them.

77th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Finckenstein, May 29.——Dantzic has capitulated. That fine city is in our possession. Eight hundred pieces of artillery, magazines of every kind, more than 500,000 quintals of grain, well-stored cellars, immense collections of cloathing and spices; great resources of every kind for the army; lastly, a place of the first order for strength on our left wing, as Thorn supports our centre, and Praga our right; these are the advantages obtained during winter, and which have signalized the leisure hours of the grand army; this is, indeed, the first fruit of the victory of Eylau. The rigour of the season, the snow which has so often covered our trenches, the ice which has added fresh difficulties, have afforded no obstacles to our operations. Marshal Lefebvre has braved all; he has animated with the same spirit the Saxons, the Poles, the troops of Baden, and has made them all conduce to his end. The difficulties which the artillery had to conquer were considerable. One hundred pieces of artillery, 5 or 6000 pounds weight of powder, and an immense quantity of bullets have been drawn from Stettin, and the strong places in Silesia. It was necessary to surmount many difficulties in removing the artillery, but the Vistula afforded easy and expeditious means. The marines of the guards have passed their boats under the fort of Grandentz with their accustomed skill and resolution. General Chasseloup, General Kingener, Colonel Lacosta, and in general all the officers of the engineers, have served in the most distinguished manner. The sappers have shewn an uncommon degree of intrepidity. The whole corps of artillery, under General Lariboissire, has sustained its reputation. The 2d regiment of light infantry, the 12th, and the troops of Paris, with Generals Schramm and Puthod, have distinguished themselves. A detailed journal of this siege will soon be drawn up with care. It will consecrate a great number of acts of bravery, worthy of being exhibited as examples, and such as must excite enthusiasm and admiration.——On the 17th, the mine blew up a block house, attached to the guard house on the covered way. On the 19th, the descent and passage of the fosse were executed at seven o'clock in the evening. On the 21st, Marshal Lefebvre having prepared every thing for the assault, they were proceeding to the attack, when Colonel Lacosti, who had been sent in the morning into the place upon some business, signified that General Kalkreuth demanded to capitulate on the same conditions that he had formerly granted to the garrison of Mayence. This was agreed to. The Hakelsburgh would have been stormed with very little loss, but the body of the place was yet entire. A large fosse, full of running water, presented such difficulties that the besieged might have held out for fifteen days longer. In this situation it appeared proper to grant them an honourable capitulation.—On the 27th, the garrison marched out, with General Kalkreuth at its head. This strong garrison, which at first consisted of 16,000 men, was reduced to 9000 men, of which number 4000 have deserted. Among the deserters there are even officers. "We will not," they say, "go to Siberia." Many thousands of artillery horses have been given up to us, but they are in very bad condition. They are now drawing up the inventory of the magazines. General Rapp is named Governor of Dantzic.—The Russian Lieut. Gen. Kamensky, after having been beat on the 15th, retired under the fortifications of Weichselmunde. He remained there without venturing to undertake any thing; and he has been a spectator of the surrender of the place. When he perceived that they were erecting batteries, to burn his ships with red-hot balls, he embarked and retired. He has returned to Pillau.——The fort of Weichselmunde still held out. Marshal Lefebvre summoned it on the 26th, and while they were regulating the terms of capitulation, the garrison advanced from the fort and surrendered.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 5.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 1, 1807. [PRICE 10D.

"The *ballot* is done away, and now, for the first time, the poor deceased ballot has found its panegyrists ".....I shall only remark that those who oppose this bill (the *parish bill*) must recur to the "exploded system of crimps, and the equally exploded system of ballot.....Those who "have witnessed the distress and misery, to which the ballot has given rise, cannot, I conceive, be adverse "to the abolition of that system."——MR. CANNING'S Speech, in the House of Commons, 13th June, 1804.——See Parl. Debates, Vol. II. p. 719 and 720.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT (continued from page 127).——I. *Indemnity Bill.*——II. *Irish Insurrection Bill.*——III. *Military Plan.*——On the 13th of July, upon a motion, in the House of Lords, to read a second time the bill for indemnifying the ministers for having given certain orders relative to the trade with America, without the existence of a law for so doing (the law having expired in consequence of the dissolution), a long debate ensued, in which much more was said about *the dissolution* and the *Irish Catholics*, than about the bill of indemnity.——The bill of indemnity was, in fact, a matter of little importance, seeing how frequently such bills are passed. There is even *an annual* indemnity bill to free from penalties all those who have violated those Test Laws, against the repeal of which we hear such impudent and unprincipled clamours by the *dirty* Dean and others. A bill of indemnity was one of the very first acts of the late ministry; and, that was a bill, too, to excuse them from punishment, not for having given an insignificant order about the manner of carrying on a branch of trade; but, for having advised the king to admit a large number of foreign troops into the heart of our country. Those gentlemen, *then*, saw no objection to bills of indemnity. It was they, too, who were foremost in proposing the bill of indemnity for Pitt, who had lent, without interest, and in direct violation of the law, forty thousand pounds of the public money to two members of the House of Commons. What, then, can they have to say against bills of indemnity? Why nothing, only this present bill grew out of the dissolution of parliament, and that dissolution took from them their majority.——Of this long debate I shall notice, particularly, only two speeches; those of Lord Hawkesbury, and Baron Erskine of Clackmanam, whose son (lately studying the law) is our minister in America, and whose late servant has a reversionary sinecure place secured to him.——Lord Hawkesbury said, that "the "real authors of *the necessity of the dissolution* were the very persons, who had since "so repeatedly and so acrimoniously inveighed against it; for when his majesty, "in the legitimate exercise of his prerogative, thought proper to make the late "change in his councils, the noble lords "opposite him made an appeal to parliament, and brought the question to issue "between themselves and their sovereign. "What, then, was left to his majesty, but "to *appeal to the sense of his people*, while "the events which made that appeal necessary were still fresh in their recollection? "How else was his royal prerogative to be "supported. This is the fair, obvious, simple ground upon which the late dissolution rests, and the result has *amply proved how well his majesty understood the disposition of his people in making that appeal.* "For never was *their sense* more clear, distinctly, and unequivocally expressed. No "means were left untried by the opposers "of government, to procure the fullest possible attendance of their adherents in parliament, at the beginning of the present "session; yet the *sentiment of the nation* in "favour of the prerogative, was pronounced "in the fullest house that ever sat in deliberation, by the largest and most decided "majority. Among their lordships, it met "with the same *loyal* and *triumphant support.* Here, then, was the necessity and "the propriety of the dissolution proved at "once in the most marked and forcible "manner. He earnestly wished to let the "question rest here, but it was impossible "to pass over in silence the latter part of "the noble baron's (Lord Grenville's) "speech to which the former part only "served as a stalking-horse. The deep regret he felt at some of the sentiments and "expressions that fell from the noble baron, he was at a loss how to express; but "he was sure they must have made nearly "the same impression upon most of their "lordships. He was ready to believe that "the same feeling and sentiment pervaded

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" *every class and description of the community*, and that they were disposed to act " with *one heart and hand in support of the* " *constitution against the attacks of the most* " *formidable foe that they had ever to con-* " *tend with*, and now made more formidable by the influence of recent events. " Then what could be the tendency of the " noble baron's observations? What the " effect they were calculated to produce? " But where was the practical good that " could result from them? Was it not well " known how different were the opinions " entertained respecting the chief topic upon which the noble baron had so widely, " and in his mind, so unnecessarily expatiated? Neither could he be ignorant how " very generally the opinion of the country " had been expressed upon that subject. " Where then was the utility of the recommendation which the noble baron had so " anxiously urged? Was there in past experience, was there in any prospect before us, *the slightest ground for consider-* " *ing us a divided people?* Even in defence " of the Catholics, and in mere justice to " that respectable body of men, he would " ask the noble baron, *when were their ex-* " *ertions wanted, if the threat of danger re-* " *quired them to put them forth?* Whatever " the difference of opinion they may have " entertained upon the other points, were " they ever backward, when the appearance " of a foreign enemy called for the zeal and " activity of their services? Whatever the " deprivations under which they suffer, *have* " *they not always considered them as pros-* " *perity and luxury when compared with* " *the promises and the boons by which the* " *enemy would endeavour to seduce them?* " Then the representations made by the noble baron are unfair, of any description of " men *who have uniformly manifested such* " *a spirit of loyalty and patriotism.* It was " unfair surely to describe their conduct and " principles in a light that would justify " him in calling them a divided people. " Respecting our internal policy, there " might perhaps be difference of opinion: " with regard to the threats and attempts of " a foreign enemy, we should always prove " an united people, those who possessed " least, vying with those who possessed " most. The moment called for *universal* " *unity of action*, and under such circumstances as the present, *he hoped to see all* " *party spirit and animosity turn into zeal* " *for the common defence.*"——Yes, my Lord Hawkesbury, and this hope of yours has been uniformly expressed by all those who have, by no matter what means, got hold of the powers and emoluments of the country; and, I take it, the true interpretation of such hope is this; that, now that we are snugly fixed, now that the sun rises to our profit, now when it is the day of our harvest, let no cloud arise, let all go fairly and smoothly on, for all opposition, is so much against our gains. " Let us bury all " party animosities," say the INS. Yes, say the OUTS, with all our hearts; but, then, we must be INS first; for it is quite unreasonable to suppose, that we shall cease to oppose you, while you detain from us that which *(for the good of the country)* we ought to enjoy. Only let them in, my lord, and they will cry for *unanimity*, and for the suppression of all party spirit as vehemently as your lordship now does; but, until they are in, they will certainly continue to act just as your lordship and your worthy colleagues acted while you were out.——I am exceedingly glad to hear, from such authority, that there " is not the slightest grounds " for considering us as a divided people," and especially, that the Irish Catholics " are " never wanting in exertions, when the " threat of danger requires them to put " them forth." I say, I am exceedingly glad of this; because, I was afraid that this was not the case, when I saw introduced into parliament the sun-set and sun-rise bill for Ireland, and when I heard it positively asserted, that *such a bill was necessary*. My fears upon this score were by no means lessened by an article, which appeared in the Courier newspaper of the 22d of July, and which article I here insert. " One of the " Dublin papers of the 17th, which arrived " yesterday, has inserted the following arti- " cle, copied from the Limerick Chronicle: " ——With feelings the most painful we " lately heard of some irregularities committed in the town of Tipperary, and " with astonishment we found, that al- " though we obtained information of the " facts through a friend, it was with the " injunction not to disclose the circumstances, for that party spirit ran so high, that " *perhaps life would have been the forfeit* " *by the friend who made such disclosure.* " We could not of course divulge the con- " tents of the communications to us on the " subject, but now that several respectable " and spirited magistrates and gentlemen in " the neighbourhood have stepped forward " and openly avowed that outrages have ex- " isted there, we cannot feel the least deli- " cacy in stating that shameful proceedings " were allowed for several days, and within " the short distance of twenty-one miles of " this city. On the evening of the 29th

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" ult. the Rev. Wm. Massy, jun. in the ex-
" ecution of his duty as a magistrate, was
" severely wounded by a stone thrown by
" some person unknown; the following
" night his house was attacked, and several
" panes of glass broken: there are, how-
" ever, rewards offered to the amount of
" nearly one thousand guineas, which form
" a fund for the purpose of bringing the de-
" linquents to justice, and it is hoped that
" *proper examples* will be made of such dis-
" turbers of the public peace. But what
" was to be expected, when *a tree of liberty*
" or some other standard, was permitted to
" be erected and to continue in that town,
" with emblems thereon, under pretence of
" some frivolous excuse, for several days,
" and that this token was a rallying point
" for *the intemperate* or *disaffected*. It has
" been stated to us, that at the distance of
" five or six miles from hence, the farce of
" erecting, if it may now be called, a May-
" bush, was intended to take place a few days
" since.——We are sorry to state that an
" affray has occurred in Ballinrobe, county
" Mayo, *between the Longford militia and*
" *a regiment of cavalry*, quartered in that
" town. Some lives (five, as far as our au-
" thority goes) have been lost in this unfor-
" tunate business. Some *ridiculous* reli-
" gious difference is understood to have been
" the origin of this affair."——This article did increase my apprehensions; but, perceiving that Lord Hawkesbury spoke of the future as well as of the past, and knowing that he must possess the best possible information upon the subject, my fears, of course, became hushed; and, I have no doubt, that Napoleon will, from his lordship's speech, derive a thorough conviction, that all his attempts to seduce the Irish, who, as his lordship says, are almost boiling over with loyalty, must prove abortive. This speech of Lord Hawkesbury must, in this way, do great good; for, as Napoleon well knows, that, numerous as his armies are, he can expect no success against a people, who, to a man, are united heart and hand against him, he will not, of course, think of attacking any part of the kingdom, " the *united* kingdom," after having read that speech.——Upon the subject of the appeal, made " *to the sense of* " *the people*," and of the *proof* of the present ministers having that sense on their side, which proof Lord Hawkesbury discovers so clearly in the late " *triumphant ma-* " *jorities* in both Houses of Parliament;" upon this subject we will leave his lordship to be answered by Baron Erskine of Clackmanam. This noble Baron, who was, but a few months Lord Chancellor, and who has now a pension, for life, of £4,000 a year, said, that " no man could question the right " of the king to dismiss his servants, or to " dissolve the parliament. These were un- " doubted prerogatives, but they were " granted for very distinct purposes. If his " majesty saw reason to question the con- " duct of his servants, he might dismiss " them; or, if he saw reason to doubt the " parliament, he might dissolve it, and take " the sense of their constituents as to their " conduct. But the law never intended " that both of these prerogatives should be " exercised at one and the same time, and " with reference to each other. It was ne- " ver in the contemplation of *the constitu-* " *tion* of this country, that parliament should " be dissolved simply *to accommodate a* " *change in administration*. This would be " to consider parliament not as a *controul* " on the conduct of government, but as *an* " *appendage* to it, to be dissolved and " changed to suit the different aspects which " it might assume. The unjustifiable mea- " sures which in the mean time might be " adopted, would, in such a view of the " case, be objects of little consideration to " those by whom they were recommended. " Having, *by the influence of the crown, got* " *a parliament to their mind*, they had only " to begin their career by an *Act of Indem-* " *nity* for any measure which they might " have taken against law, and without ne- " cessity. The arrival of such a period, he " must consider as one pregnant with dan- " ger. It might be very well to TALK of " appealing to *the sense of the people*; what " would the community think, however, " when informed that *there are a number* " *of boroughs at the disposal of the very per-* " *sons who advised this dissolution*; and " that there are others, the *property* of, or " *influenced* by, a number of individuals, " who, again, *are under the influence of the* " *crown?* So that success is, in such an ap- " peal, *next to certain*. But still farther, " when they saw the seal of indemnity real- " ly prepared for those who advised the " measure, must they not be of opinion that " the period was *most dangerous*."——This is dangerous, is it? Really dangerous? And yet, my Lord Erskine, I do not recollect, that you said any thing; no, not even one single word, against these same *boroughs*, while you were *in office*. Then your lordship (for any thing that I heard to the contrary) had no objection to these boroughs; and, indeed, it seemed as if they were considered to be very good things. These boroughs, my lord, were all in existence in 1806, when you and your colleagues made an

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appeal "to the sense of the people." So that, if there were "a number of seats *at* "*the disposal* of those who advised the dis-"solution" of 1807, there must have been a number of seats at the disposal of you and your colleagues; when you advised the dissolution of 1806. There is no getting out of this. Every word said against your opponents, upon this score, cuts both ways; and only serves to convey conviction into the minds of the people; and, that that conviction may, before it be too late, produce an effect salutary to the country, is my earnest hope.——II. IRISH INSURRECTION BILL.—This bill, this fearful bill, passed through a committee of the House of Commons, on the 24th of last month. The reader was before apprized, that it enables the Lord Lieutenant, upon receiving a memorial from the magistrates of a county, stating that *disturbances* exist therein, to proclaim that county in a disturbed state; whereupon the bill compels every man, woman and child in that county, to remain *within* their houses from sun-set at night until sun rise in the morning, though it is notorious, that between before sun-rise and after sun-set affords some of the best hours for husbandry labour. Good God! What a life to lead! But, the being shut up in this way is a trifle. The magistrates, that is to say, persons selected by the government, have, after the issuing of such proclamation, a right, either by themselves or their officers, to make *forcible entry*, at any time in the night, into any house, to see if its inhabitants are at home, and to take up and imprison all those who may be caught out of their houses. To this nobody in the House of Commons seems to have objected; but, it was proposed so to qualify the clause as to compel the house-searchers to give *ten minutes* to the people within to prepare for the visit. It was stated, that women ought to have a few minutes to rise and dress themselves. But, ten minutes was thought to be *too much*, and the words "reasonable time," a charmingly indefinite phrase, was introduced in the stead thereof. ——But, the most strongly characteristic part of this bill is the clause suspending the Common Law, as to *redress against the magistrates and others*, in cases where they may, under colour of this act, be guilty of unlawful violences against the people. As the law, thank God, stands, in this country, *as yet*, every magistrate and other peace officer is liable to be punished for going beyond the law, under pretence of executing the law, except in cases where the *revenue* is concerned, [illegible] the Common Law, that law [illegible] were governed, and of which we have the impudence *to boast*, is, in a great degree, abrogated by statutes, by those statutes, which William the Third's system of funding and taxing introduced. In other matters, however, we have, *as yet*, a *jury* to appeal to against magistrates and other persons in authority, who, under pretence of executing the law, may commit acts of injustice against us; but, how the Irish will now be situated in this respect, the following clause of the bill in question will enable the reader to judge. It is the 5th clause from the end of the bill.——"Provided always, and be it "further enacted, That when *a verdict shall* "*be given for the plaintiff* in any action to "be brought against any justice of the "peace, peace officer, or other person, for "taking or imprisoning, or detaining any "person, or for seizing arms, or entering "houses under colour of any authority "given by this act, and it shall *appear to* "THE JUDGE OR JUDGES before "whom the same shall be tried, that there "was a PROBABLE CAUSE for doing the "act complained of in such action, and the "judge or court shall certify the same on "record, then and in that case the plaintiff "shall not be entitled to more than *sixpence* "damages, *nor to any costs of suit*: provi-"ded also, that where a verdict shall be "given for the plaintiff in any such action "as aforesaid, and the *judge or court* before "whom the cause shall be tried, shall certi-"fy on the record that the injury for which "such action is brought was wilfully and "maliciously committed, the plaintiff shall "be entitled to treble costs of suit."—— Thus, as the reader will perceive, though a man, injured by the magistrates, or their underlings, should obtain a verdict from the *jury*, the judge may set that verdict aside, and the injured person, by way of *redress*, may have to pay his own costs! It is really difficult to see how a *jury* can be, in such a case, of any use at all ——There was a debate upon this clause, of which I shall give an account.——Mr. *Brand* moved for the whole clause to be expunged, as being "grossly unjust and unconstitutional." *Mr. Percevol* admitted that the clause was not one which he could have wished to see introduced, "but, when the *necessity* of the case "was considered; when it was recollected "that the state of Ireland required that very "irksome and disagreeable duties should be "imposed on the magistrates, which they "would be unwilling to perform, and "which, in fact, it would be dangerous for "them to perform with the zeal and fideli-"ty required, unless they were protected

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" from the effects of unintentional errors " into which, *from appearances*, they might " be led; when, in short, it was considered " that the very jurors in such actions of damages might be persons against whom it " had been necessary for them to exercise " the enactments of this act, and whose " minds might, on that account, be inflamed against them; when all these " things were considered, it was *the opinion* " *of those best acquainted with the state of* " *Ireland*, that the act must be imperfectly " executed, unless the magistrates were secured by a clause like the present."—— This is a pretty good confirmation of my Lord Hawkesbury's assertions, respecting " the unanimity that prevails in Ireland, " and the well known readiness of the Irish " to join heart and hand, as one man, against " the enemies of the constitution!"——*Sir Arthur Pigot*, the late Attorney General, in answer to Mr. Perceval said, " that he was " decidedly of opinion, that the provision " now objected to, would be a disgrace to " the statute book. Were they, by this " most extraordinary bill, *to give extraordi-* " *nary powers* to magistrates, and then, af- " ter they had exceeded *even the powers* " *given them*, to protect them from the ver- " dict of a jury. If the right hon. gent. " was afraid that the persons aggrieved " might obtain a verdict while the country " was in a state of irritation, *why limit the* " *time for seeking redress to six months?* If " again he was afraid of the inflammable " state of the jurors' minds, and that they " might even have been parties in the sup- " posed transgression, the remedy was plain " and easy—*to change the venue to a more* " *distant county*, where no dissatisfaction or " irritation of feelings had prevailed. It " had been said, that a similar act had been " intended to be proposed by the late minis- " try. He would only say for one, that he " had never been consulted on, nor heard " of such an intention, nor had he ever seen " the present bill till yesterday. If the state " of Ireland was such as the right hon. gent. " represented, and that a jury could not be " had there whose mind were not in an in- " flammatory state, why not *take away the* " *trial by jury entirely*, at least *suspend* it, " till the feelings of the people were re- " stored to a greater degree of calmness and " composure? It was *a mockery to continue* " *the trial by jury*, and yet to deprive an in- " jured person of the effect of a verdict af- " ter it had been given in his favour. It " was said, that the judges of Ireland were " fair, impartial and upright. He should be " *sorry to doubt it.* He believed, that they " *in common with judges of this part of the* " *kingdom*, with whom he was more inti- " mately acquainted, possessed *every ho-* " *nourable and upright feeling and quality.* " But this was a power not to be intrusted " to any man. It was such a power as the " law had refused to any judge, or any set " of judges whatever."——This answer was complete in all its parts. It left no excuse for the clause.——Now, then, let us hear the defence of it by the present Attorney General, *Sir Vicary Gibbs*, who " con- " tended, that the enactment now objected " to was not so novel as the hon. and learn- " ed baronet had supposed. He confessed " that plaintiffs in the situation alluded to " were to be deprived of the benefit of the " common law; but *was not this already* " *the case in all revenue questions?* Where " an officer of the revenue was sued, nothing " but the dry damage sustained by the in- " jured party was awarded against him. " Where it was a question of *intention* in " revenue cases, and *no intention could be* " *shewn*, the plaintiff could not recover; " and it had been determined, in the case " of Sutton and Johnston, that the question " of "*probable cause*" was a question for " the judge. There the defendant would " have an acquittal, and of course *his costs* " *from the plaintiff*; here the plaintiff was " to have a nominal verdict, even although " the judge was of opinion that the proba- " ble cause was with the defendant. The " duties which magistrates would have to " perform in *the present state of Ire-* " *land*, were of a *most invidious na-* " *ture*, and he thought that this was " not too great an indemnity to allow " them in the discharge of such duties."— *Mr. Boyle* supported the clause, upon the ground, that the same had been enacted before in Ireland, and, indeed, that a similar provision now made part of the statutes of that country; and, he asked Sir Arthur Pigot why he had not, *when in place*, come forward and proposed to do it away. This was a close question. Aye, this is the rub. All these things the Whigs forgot while in place. Mr. Erskine, become Baron Erskine of Clackmanam, forgot, quite forgot those bills, against which he had so strongly protested, and so solemnly vowed to endeavour to cause to be repealed. Nay, he gave his vote for making us pay the debts of the man, by whom they had been framed. This is never to be forgotten.——Mr. *Whitbread* said, that " he had indeed heard " something like an attempt at a legal de- " fence of the measure, by shewing that " such practices also prevailed in revenue

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" questions. But would that render the " power more agreeable to law or to the " constitution? Was it not *known and ac-* " *knowledged*, that our revenue laws were " *infractions of our constitutional liberties*, " and were only tolerated as acts of *necessi-* " *ty*, which, indeed, was the only attempt " at a vindication of the present measure. " The necessity of the revenue laws we " must all be aware of, *a great revenue* " *could not otherwise be expected to be* " *levied*, but of the necessity of the pre- " sent provision, he confessed he was by " no means convinced. An hon. gentle- " man (Mr. Boyle) had, however, treat- " ed the provision as part of the existing " laws of this country, and had asked, " why, if so obnoxious to his learned " friend (sir A. Pigott) he had not moved " to have it expunged from the Statute " Book? A provision to the same effect " he (Mr. Whitbread) admitted, did make " part of a statute of the parliament of " Ireland, which would expire on the 1st of " August. It would have been *too much* " however, he suspected, for his learned " friend to have come forward here, and " moved to have that enactment expunged. " At all events an enactment of the Irish " parliament, could not act as a precedent " for that house, or afford any such argu- " ment for now adopting it, as if they had " been re-enacting a former legislative mea- " sure of their own. There might be a " general conviction of the necessity of the " present act, and yet the clogging it with " one clause similar to that now objected to, " might render it so unpalatable that many " gentlemen, who like himself, were not " otherwise unfriendly to the measure, " might rather wish to see Ireland take its " chance than thus relinquish one of the " dearest and most valuable rights. It was " hardly possible, but that in the execution " of such an act as the present, innocent " persons should suffer wrong. Their " country, however, would still be natu- " rally dear to them, and they would cheer " themselves with the hope that they had " still a remedy left; that they had still a " jury to protect them and to redress the " wrongs they had sustained. If the clause " now objected to, however, should pass, " they could have no such consolation. " They might appeal to a jury; a jury " might give them redress; but they might " then find the judge interpose, and de- " prive them of that recompence for their " wrongs to which they were justly entitled. " He would ask, could a man in this situa- " tion have *the same feelings towards his* " *country* as if no such clause had found its " way into the present bill?——*Sir John* " *Newport* related two cases in which the " precipitancy of the magistrates had been " the ruin of two worthy individuals, the " one, that of a merchant who was taken " up on suspicion, £100,000 bail was of- " fered for his appearance at the necessary " time; this was refused, the man's busi- " ness was ruined for want of his own pre- " sence to conduct it, and he became a " bankrupt. He afterwards went out to " America; he carried with him the " disease of the mind which had thus been " occasioned, became melancholy, his " senses were deranged, and he made an " attempt upon his life. Another person " was apprehended in the county of Tip- " perary, because he was guilty of having " *a piece of French manuscript in his pocket*, " and by order of the Sheriff he *was* " *flogged*, because the sheriff in his ex- " treme *loyal zeal* concluded that the ma- " nuscript must be seditious, or it would " not have been written in French, *a lan-* " *guage which he did not understand.* He " therefore intreated gentlemen to look a " little at the other side; to feel a little for " the injured individual as well as for the " erring magistrates.——*Mr. Windham* al- " ways considered the principle of the re- " venue laws a very deplorable departure " from the general principles of British le- " gislation, and could not readily be in- " duced to think that we ought to adopt " what must be in some instances an unjust " exception, instead of what was an ac- " knowledged, just, and liberal establish- " ed rule. The case of Sutton and John- " ston was a singular exception, not ex- " tremely worthy of imitation."——*Col. Vereker* was afraid this excellent bill was in danger of being *frittered away*.——The *Solicitor General* said, that "if *this* clause " was omitted *all the preceding clauses* " *might be cancelled also*." Well, then, poor Ireland, you are in a hopeful state, since it is held to be absolutely necessary to give such extraordinary, such terrible powers over your people, and since even these powers are of no use, unless impunity be secured to the persons who are entrusted with the exercise of them, and who, upon "*probable* cause" may surpass them, no matter in what degree!——Yet, I do not say, that, in order to prevent a rebellion in Ireland, such measures may not be necessary; but, I say, that the fact of such necessity but badly accords with the halcyon picture drawn by Lord Hawkesbury, and with the positive assertions, lately made in

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the ministerial papers, that, at no period, was Ireland ever more loyal or tranquil.—— But, there are two or three points in Mr. Whitbread's speech which must not pass unnoticed. The first is the proposition, that "*a great revenue cannot be collected* "*without infraction of our constitutional* "*liberties.*" Sir Francis Burdett has said the same a thousand times, and in a thousand different shapes, and at every such time he has been called every thing short of a traitor. The fact is, however, exactly so; and, for this reason it is, that I wish to see the taxing system changed. Mr. Windham observed, that the revenue laws were the *exception*, and not the *rule*; but, Sir, it is a fearfully large exception; for these laws completely circumscribe us; they touch us in every part; not a man of us is exempted, or can be by any care of our own, exempted from their operation. More than a *hundred thousand able men* are engaged in executing them upon a population of eight millions and a half of men, women and children; and, I am persuaded, that, if you were to make an accurate calculation, you would find, that out of every *ten* able men in this country, *one* is, in some way or another, empowered to act under the laws of the revenue, and yet you, who dislike these laws, dislike also "the result of the Westminster election," in which a spirit so opposite to these laws was manifested.—— Mr. Whitbread said, that "it would have "been *too much* for his learned friend, the "late Attorney General, to have come "forward, while in place, and propose to "expunge from the statute book the clause "now re-enacted." But Sir, *why* would it have been "*too much*"? and, it is this *why*, precisely this *why*, that we want to be informed of. The fact is, Sir, it would have been too much for *lord Grenville*; and, here is an instance wherein the people were sacrificed to "the compromise of contend-"ing factions", for the having said that which was the case you, Sir, attacked, in what you regarded as the most vulnerable part, the Middlesex address of Sir Francis Burdett.——The Honourable House divided, as it is called, upon the clause in question, and, it is hardly necessary to say, that it was carried in the affirmative.——After this the *duration* of the bill was fixed at *two years* and to the end of the next ensuing session of parliament. Upon this *Mr Grattan* made a speech full of first-rate *loyalty*, insomuch that he was loudly applauded, it appears, by the Honourable House, and particularly by Mr. Beresford and General Loftus, whose praises he seems most richly to have deserved. He earnestly exhorted the Irish members to inculcate amongst their constituents the fundamental maxim of English policy, namely, *to have nothing to do with France*; which was very patriotic, to be sure; but after having heard the speech of Lord Hawkesbury, one can hardly conceive that there was much necessity for such an exhortation, seeing that "all "the Irish, to a man, are ready to join heart "and hand against the tyrant, who is sub-"duing the rest of Europe." Upon the passing of the bill, in the House of Commons, on the 27th of July, Mr. Grattan, as is stated in the report of the debate, "de-"clared, that he was informed, that meet-"ings of a *treasonable* nature were held in "Ireland. He did *not mean* to accuse his "countrymen of *treason* or *disaffection*; "but he was *certain*, that there was a "*French party in Ireland*; it was against "them, and *not* against *Irishmen*, that the "operation of the bill was directed; and "sooner than run a risk of *losing the con-"stitution altogether*, he would take upon "himself his full share in common with "his majesty's ministers, of the responsi-"bility which would attach to the mea-"sure."——Good! Really Mr. Grattan is in a fair way of securing the praises of the friends of "regular government, social or-"der, and our holy religion," as John Bowles says. No; the Honourable Gentleman did not mean to accuse his countrymen of disaffection; he thought, doubtless, with lord Hawkesbury, that they would unite, hand and heart against the enemy of their country. He was only quite sure, that there was a *French party* in Ireland; that was all.——Mr. *Sheridan*, whose speech I must insert, made a speech of a very different sort. He said, "he could not agree to "the bill in any shape; but most particu-"larly the amendments, which would "make it in some degree palatable, were "rejected. If, said he, the time of read-"ing the bill a third time had afforded me "the best possible opportunity of deliver-"ing my sentiments on it at such length as "I chose, I should not have profited by the "advantage. I certainly did wish, and "mean, to have selected the fittest occasion "for giving fully my reasons for the abhor-"rence I feel for its principle, and the con-"tempt I entertain for its provisions; but "circumstances have since embarrassed my "judgment, and I will state them shortly "and sincerely. When I find the princi-"ple of the bill admitted on the plea of ne-"cessity by all those to whose judgment "and information I am bound to pay the

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" utmost deference, when I find I cannot " oppose their acquiescence without array- " ing my knowledge of the fact of the real " situation and temper of Ireland against " their superior means of information, I " feel the presumption and hazard of ta- " king upon myself the responsibility of an " earnest endeavour to persuade the house " to reject a measure which I am almost " single in regarding as the worst, the foul- " est, and the foolishest measure, that ever " solicited the sanction of parliament; but " still more am I influenced by observing " in my attendance on the committee, where " I avow to have shunned taking any part, " washing my hands, and absolving my " conscience from meddling with, or tam- " pering in any attempt to mend that " which is so hateful in principle, that it is " perhaps best that it should carry with it " all its unequal proportion of deformity. " I say, I cannot but have been induced to " forego my first determination, by observ- " ing that so many efforts at modification, " moved by most respectable characters, " and supported by the most unanswerable " arguments, have been rejected and repro- " bated by insulting majorities."——Oh, what a man this might be! Had I such talents, and had but a month to live, the weight of those talents should be felt.—— The bill passed by a majority of 106 against 8.——This law is, then, by this time, in operation It is the law of Ireland; and, though I do not say, that I disapprove of it, because, for any thing that I know to the contrary, it may be necessary to prevent a rebellion, I may, I hope, be permitted to beseech the reader to consider what the state of Ireland must be, if such necessity exists. I know, that Englishmen are too much in the habit of taking no thought about the four or five millions of their fellow-subjects who live in Ireland; that they are too apt to say, " do what you please with them, so " that you keep them from doing that " which will endanger us." But, is this worthy of an English mind? And, if it could be justified upon principles of morality, can it be justified upon principles of policy? We may rail against the Irish as long as we please; we may call them rebels and half-savages till we are tired; no one can prevent us from despising or hating the Irish; but I think, it is too much for us to blame them, if they should happen most cordially to hate us in return. We have before us now some of the effects of the blessed *union*, which Pitt and lord Castlereagh, through means very little mysterious, effected, and which union together with the subduing of Tippoo Sultaun, Pitt, in his defence of the peace of Amiens, asserted to have given to this kingdom *more additional power than France had gained by all her conquests!* And yet, we are compelled to pay his debts, and to erect a monument to his memory!!

——III. MILITARY PLAN.——This plan is neither more nor less than a return to *the ballot*, with additional rigour; that ballot, that very system, which all men, of all parties, had joined in reprobating. As to the making of a man, who has nothing but his labour to maintain him and his family, pay as much as a man of ten thousand or a hundred thousand a year, nothing need be said upon it. It speaks for itself. It is *felt*; it will be felt; and, in that respect, it will certainly be efficient. *Necessity* is the plea here also; and what other plea has any measure of this sort? Such measures have *always* been justified upon this ground; and, what measure is there, which, upon such ground, may not be justified? But, at a time when this plea is so often used, one might be permitted to ask, *whence the necessity has arisen?* Who has been the cause of this dire necessity? " An overruling providence," as Pitt most piously observed? That will not do, first, because you never attribute any of your *successes* to an overruling providence; and next, because, if this be the cause of the necessity, it is perfectly useless to struggle against it; you are, in fact, upon this hypothesis, at war with providence itself. The piety, therefore, of Pitt and John Bowles is unavailing, and, indeed, I am afraid, that it would merit a term very different from that which has been given to it. The necessity, then, must be traced to some other cause, or causes; and, though these causes may, some of them, be remote and obscure, there can, I think, be no doubt, that the great evident cause has been Pitt, left to pursue his own views, *unchecked* by a Commons' House of Parliament. At any rate, deny this as long as you please, one thing you must allow, that it is you yourselves, you, the two great factions, who have, between you, in and out of place, had the sole management and controul of the nation and its resources. The " Jacobins and Level- " lers " have had no hand in the matter. You have had it all to yourselves. However you have been hampered, baffled, and beaten in your projects abroad, you have triumphed over all discontent and opposition at home. Here you have been completely masters. Well, then, do not look to *the people* for the cause of the necessity. This is a point, which, if I were able, I would

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urge more forcibly. It should always be borne in mind; because the outcry against "Jacobins and Levellers" is very convenient for the purpose of bewildering the public mind, and of turning it aside from that which ought to be the chief object of its attention. It is useless to clamour in this way, unless for the purpose of misleading; for still we, if we think justly, shall say: "Very well, the Jacobins and "Levellers may be consummate villains, "but, at any rate, they have had no hand "in producing the distresses and the dangers, with which you yourselves say that "the nation is now surrounded. One set of "you, as to these military means, enact, in "1803, that there shall be volunteers, an "army of reserve, and a ballot for militia; "another set of you come, in 1804, and "enact, that there shall be no army of reserve, no ballot for militia, and that "there shall be a parish bill, and a permanent duty of volunteers; a third set of "you come, in 1806, and enact, that there "shall be no permanent duty of volunteers, "that most of the allowances to them shall "cease, that there shall be no inspecting "field officers, and that there shall be a "training of the people; a fourth set of "you come, in 1807, and you enact, that "there shall be inspecting field officers, "that the volunteers shall be revived, and "that the ballot for militia shall be restored "with greater rigour than ever. But, with "all, or with any part of this, the Jacobins "and Levellers have nothing to do. It is "all your own work. You have had all "our property and all our persons at your "command. You have been left quite unchecked. Your imagination has had full "scope for all its freaks; and, therefore, "whatever be the consequence, blame not "us."—It was stated, and, I think, proved, during the debates that have taken place upon the subject of the plan now before us, that there are *already men enough* embodied, if those men were properly managed. And, when such a proposition was brought forward, it does not seem that it would have been too much to inquire a little into the management of the force now on foot, especially after what has transpired with respect to the men, who, as the newspapers tell us, have *blinded* themselves, in order to procure, thereby, a discharge from the service. The account of the transactions, here alluded to, I here insert from the Courier news-paper of the 20th of July last.—"A most wicked and diabolical *conspiracy* "has lately been discovered in the 28th "regiment of foot, stationed at Malden in "Essex. The conspirators *having heard* "that many of our soldiers, on their return "from Egypt, were afflicted with a disorder called the Ophthalmia, which occasioned blindness, originated a report that "the complaint was infectious, and that about "300 of that regiment had experienced "its dreadful effects. Many of the men "exhibited every appearance of this alarming calamity. Some were totally blind, "and others had suffered the loss of one "eye. Government became much alarmed "at the affair, and surgeons of eminence "were sent down to investigate the disorder. Some of the men were in consequence discharged, and others were "pensioned and sent to Chelsea. One man "expressing a wish to be sent home to "Ireland, was allowed a guide to attend "him. At length it appears, from the "confession of one, who became an evidence against the rest, that the blindness "was temporary, and caused by the application of a certain ointment to the "eyes. In general, the blindness did not "continue longer than three weeks, unless "to continue the deception a repetition of "the ointment was adopted.——Every man "using the ointment was bound by a particular oath devised for the occasion, not "to discover the secret. This man stated "that this strange and abominable scheme "was engaged in for the purpose of *procuring discharges*, or *being sent to Chelsea*, "&c. Mr. Graham, the Magistrate, and "Mr. Stafford, chief clerk of Bow-street, "*to whom the public is already so much indebted*, have attended several examinations "of the culprits at Malden. The last took "place on Friday, when the witness deposed, "that the ointment was used by nearly 300 "men; some caused both eyes to be affected, and others thought it sufficient to become blind in the firelock eye only. The "witness also stated that on a certain morning after one of his comrades had used "the pernicious ointment, he met him and "said, "How do you do, —?" "By J—s, "" charmingly (said he), for I am quite "" blind of one eye and *devil a much* can "" I see with the other." The oath was "proved against 28, who were committed "to Chelmsford gaol, and will take their "trials on Tuesday next for a conspiracy, "under the mutiny act, which declares "that "any person being legally enlisted "" for his Majesty's service; and shall, "" either by maiming himself, or causing "" himself to be maimed, for the pur"" pose of obtaining his discharge, is lia"" ble to be tried by the Civil Power,

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" " and transported for life." The others " implicated, as far as regards the ointment, will be tried by a court martial, as " soon as it can be assembled in the eastern " districts." ——So, it is necessary, is it, to send for *police magistrates* down into the counties, when any examination of consequence is to take place; and then to puff those magistrates off in the London news papers? Was there no magistrate in Essex; no gentleman in the commission of the peace, capable of acting upon an occasion like this?——There is a mistake about " the conspirators having *heard* that many " of the soldiers from Egypt became " blind;" for this very 28th regiment were in Egypt; they were at the battle of Alexandria, where they behaved with singular bravery, it being owing to their courage and discipline, that the 42nd regiment, after being broken, were not cut totally to pieces. So that these men had *seen* the effects of the Egyptian sun and sand.——As to the act of making themselves blind, there is not a possibility of expressing one's feelings. But, ought there not to be some inquiry with respect to the *cause* of a hatred of the service such as these men must have entertained? I leave the editor of the Courier to characterize the conduct of these soldiers; but, I ask the reader, what, he thinks, must become the state of his mind, before he could attempt to afflict himself with even a temporary blindness! Unhappy wretches are sometimes guilty of self-murder; but, to do an act, voluntarily, which shall expose you to the risk of blindness, is, surely, the next in order, as expressive of despair. ——This is a dreadful symptom. It is in vain that a hint is thrown out, that these self-blinders are all Irishmen. That cannot very well be true. There must, in all probability, have been many Englishmen out of the three hundred. And is not the *cause* worthy of enquiry? It is nonsense to treat the act as a mere *conspiracy*. A conspiracy of men against their own eye-sight! Say, that it was for the purpose of obtaining their release from the service; but, if they will do this for that purpose, what will they not do for the same purpose? You will transport them for life, if you detect them. And, will that have any *terrors* for men so disposed? There must be a something, a cause some where, which renders life a burden in the service, before men will endeavour to release themselves by such means. Therefore, I hope, that the government will set on foot a rigorous inquiry into this cause; and, that whatever it be, it will be removed, before the time comes, when the army is to be called to the coast, there to defend the country against an invading enemy. The cause may be in the erroneous notions of the soldiers themselves, or in their perverseness; but, wherever it be, it is, by wise management, capable of being removed. For my part, I have heard of nothing so alarming as this indubitable proof of hatred to the service. I hope, that " *hush*" will not be the word here too; if it be, our situation is desperate indeed! ——To return, for a moment, to the plan, if a plan it can be called; the best plan would be to do something, that should give the great mass of the people new feelings with respect to their country and the dangers which threaten it. Mr. Whitbread, in the debate of the 27th of July, said " that nothing would tend more to the " strength and security of that empire than " the true sentiment of cordial union and " co-operation through all orders of the " people. I have always (said he) thought " that your best strength would be peace " among yourselves; peace with your de- " pendencies, and above all, peace in Ireland " *(a general cry of hear! hear!)*—peace " with the Irish Catholic, and that would " do more for you than all your measures " for new levies and new conscripts."——Yes, " a general cry of *hear, hear*"; but, there is something more than a cry of this sort required. The *exigency of the moment* is pleaded; it has been pleaded any time these fifteen years last past; but, it is strange, that, at no part of that period, it never should have been thought of to try measures other than those of *new burdens* and *additional force*. Necessity is constantly the plea for these measures, and it is not strange, that that same necessity should never have been the plea for measures of a different sort. There are now 38,000 men to be raised by ballot, this will require about the sum (for it is the *money* and not *persons* of the balloted men that is obtained) £760,000. Now, why not raise this sum, at once upon men who have incomes of more than £500. a year? If all place-men, pensioners and others deriving great emoluments from the public were to give up only one year's income, that alone would raise the 38,000 men, supposing them to be necessary. And would this be too much to sacrifice upon such an occasion? The sinecures of the Grenville family, together with those of Lords Arden, Hobart, Bathurst, and Hawkesbury, would, at once, yield, for one year, about £100,000. Would this be too much to think of? It is not easy to calculate how great the effect of this would be upon the minds

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of the people. But, I am willing to bear my share. I am willing to see the expence borne in the manner first proposed. Any thing rather than press harder upon the people; any thing rather than make them desperate; any thing rather than risk the danger of inducing them to think, that they have nothing to lose from the invasion of their country. The people fully expected, that the ballot would never be revived, and in that expectation they felt great consolation. What, then, must now be the effect, when every parish receives the news, that a ballot, more heavy than ever, is approaching? How many fathers, mothers, and wives will now be kept in hourly apprehension! What discontent *must* be excited in the breasts of those liable to the ballot! What curses will they not bestow upon the military life! What insuring, what crimping, what fraudulent practices, what baseness and knavery of all sorts will not this measure give rise to! Better, a thousand times better, a conscription for personal service at once, because, though the measure would be hard, it would be impartial; it would fall with equal weight upon the rich and upon the poor.

AMERICAN STATES.——The history of the squabble which has taken place between these States and us is given in the following paragraph, said to be an extract of a letter from *Halifax*, Nova Scotia, dated on the 5th of July.——"This is to advise you of an "important event, which has lately taken "place off the Capes of Virginia. The "American frigate Chesapeak, of 44 guns, "commodore Barron, was known to have "several deserters from our ships, lying off "Norfolk (watching the French), on board "her. Representations of the fact had "been, as I am informed, and believe, "made to the American Secretary of the "Navy, to which no satisfactory answer "was given. Captain Douglas, senior officer "on that station, knowing the Chesapeak "about to sail for the Mediterranean, order-"ed the Leopard to cruize for her off the "Capes, and to examine her for the deser-"ters. Accordingly, when captain Hum-"phreys, who commands the Leopard, "came up with the Chesapeak, he sent a "boat on board, with advice of the infor-"mation he had received of the deserters, "ann his orders to search for them. Com-"modore Barron refusing to allow the "search, captain Humphreys fired several "shots, which the other paying no atten-"tion to, he at length fired a broadside, "which she returned by six or seven scatter-"ing guns, and, *on receiving a second "broadside, struck her colours.* On exami-"nation, the deserters, to the number of "five or six, were found, the very men "who had been demanded.—In this short "rencontre the Chesapeak had 6 men kill-"ed, and 21 wounded, and has returned "into port very much shattered. The "above is as nearly the state of the case as I "can recollect, from verbal communica-"tion, not having seen any written account "of the business. I am farther informed, "that the inhabitants of Norfolk, at a "Town Meeting since, have entered into "some violent resolutions, and have pro-"hibited all intercourse with our ships, and "all supplies of water and provisions.—This "affair, I am informed, took place on the "23d of June, and, as far as I can learn, "has been conducted with great coolness "and temper by capt. Humphreys. What "will be the result time must determine; "but if we give up the right of search, we "shall soon be obliged to resign the empire "of the seas. This goes by the '*Sylvia*' "cutter, dispatched by admiral Berkeley, "with the account to government."—— The American statement is said to be this. ——"They admit the desertion of the men "from the English ships; they admit that "a remonstrance was made in the latter end "of May or beginning of June, to the "Secretary of the Navy of the United States, "and they state, that in consequence the "men were taken into custody, and carried "to Washington, were they underwent a "regular examination in the presence of "Mr. Erskine, the English Ambassador, "and that, on the examination they proved "themselves to be citizens of the United "States, born at or near Baltimore, and "they had been pressed into the British "service in Hampton Roads."——The ministers have said, in the House of Commons, that they are not *fully informed* upon this subject; and, I was very sorry to hear Mr. Perceval say what seemed to indicate a decided disposition to yield. If they do yield, if they follow the advice of the Morning Chronicle (which, for years, seems to have had a general retainer from the Americans) our navy will not be long-lived. Mind, I do not pretend to say, that we may not, in this instance, have been in the wrong; because there is nothing *authentic* upon the subject; nor am I prepared to say, that our right of search, in *all cases*, extends to ships of war; but of this I am certain, that, if the law of nations do not allow you to search for deserters in a friend's territory, neither

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do they allow that friend to inveigle away your troops or your seamen, to do which is *an act of hostility*, and I ask for no better *proof* of inveigling, than the enlisting and the refusing to give up, such troops or seamen ——The American statement I do not believe; and, were there no other witnesses, I would not believe it upon the oaths of all their sea captains put together. The fault of our officers, upon that station, has been excessive forbearance. We have suffered greatly from our tameness towards those states. Our commanders (with some few exceptions) have discovered the feelings of traders to America. The insults and injuries they have endured were disgraceful.——The Americans are like the worst sort of women. They will set up a terrible outcry. They will beat Admiral Berkeley in lungs; but, if we keep a firm foot, they will soon listen to reason.——Poor CAPTAIN BARRON and his frigate! I dare say, that this swaggering blade (who is, doubtless, dubbed *Commodore*) has, a thousand times said, that he wished for such an opportunity as this. I can form a very accurate conception of the rage of the people at Norfolk, and of the noisy town-meeting; and, their burning of the water casks of the Melampus is perfectly in character, putting one in mind of the savages, who used to destroy the boat tackling of Captain Cook and to murder his straggling mariners, when one of their queens or princesses had been induced (without much importunity) to commit a faux pas with some one or other of the crew. As to poor Commodore Barron, I should not wonder, if they were to eat him alive. Their rage must be beyond all bounds, and if, in their manner of expressing it, they should appear to be very nice, all I can say is, they are greatly reformed.——The Morning Chronicle seems to anticipate an Iliad of woes from a war with the American States. I thought I had *proved* to him, that that country could not go to war with us, without producing its own destruction as a political body. If necessary, I will prove it to him again. But I would not, because I am morally certain of this, commit an act of *injustice* towards America. I would only demand and insist upon the *rights* of England; and, above all other things, I would insist upon it, that America should not be permitted to destroy the British navy.——We are, not, observe, to judge of the feelings of the *people* of America, properly so called, by what we read in their base and ignorant newspapers, any more than we are to judge of the feelings of the people of England by what we read from the London daily press. Nor is the conduct of the rum-soused rabble at Norfolk any criterion. *More than one half* of the people of America are disgusted at the base partiality, which is shown to our enemies; and, though the other part is by far the most noisy, I venture to predict, that, when time has been taken to cool men's minds, the voice of our friends, and the friends of justice, will prevail. *They will not go to war with us.* Without justifiable cause; without some act of clear injustice on our part, their government will not venture upon such a measure; and, as I am pretty certain that our fault will not be on that side, I conjure the ministers to remain firm.——In all disputes with America, there is a set of persons amongst us, who are always ready *to presume against ourselves.* This is intolerable, and that, too, while our presumption is exactly the contrary with respect to disputes between us and every other feeble power. The reason is, that there are so many persons here, who have property in the American funds; that there are so many partners in American mercantile *houses*, as they are called; and that there are so many opulent manufacturers, who keep thousands of English wretches to "work and weep," for their own profit and for the clothing of the Americans. This is the principal reason of a partiality so unnatural, and so disgraceful to our character.——"*Peace, peace,*" says Mr. Whitbread. Aye, *peace* as soon as possible; but if you mean *submission* I am for putting it off to the last moment. I am far, God knows my heart, from relishing submission at home; but, let my country hold up her head at any rate.——In dismissing this subject for the present, I beg leave just to add, that, if we permit the Americans to inveigle and detain our seamen, we cannot have a navy. The Americans will, in fact, recruit for France; and, England will be beaten by her own seamen.

SIR HENRY MILDMAY.——A correspondent has favoured me with some documents relating to the Moulsham contract. They, and the statement arising out of them, shall be inserted in my next; and, in the meanwhile I am ready to declare, that they contain some circumstances very favourable to Sir Henry Mildmay, who, upon a view of these circumstances, appears to have *said against himself* much more than has been said against him by every body else, and certainly much more than the whole documents, as I now possess them, did by any means warrant.

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PUBLIC PAPER.

PRUSSIA.—*Treaty of Peace and Amity between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Prussia, signed at Memel, January 28, 1807.*

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, being equally desirous to terminate in an amicable manner, and to settle by a formal treaty, the differences which have for a short time interrupted the relations of union and good understanding which had so long subsisted between them; their said Majesties have nominated as their plenipotentiaries to be employed in this important undertaking, namely, on the part of his Britannic Majesty, the Rt. Hon. J. Hely Baron Hutchinson, a General of his Army, and Knight of the Most Hon. Military Order of the Bath; and on the part of his Prussian Majesty, the Sieur Frederic William de Zastrow, his Minister of State and Cabinet, Major General of his Armies, and Knight of the Orders of the Red Eagle and of Merit, who, after having communicated and exchanged their respective full powers, and found them in due form, have agreed upon the following articles:——Art. 1. There shall be between their Britannic and Prussian Majesties, their heirs and successors, their kingdom, provinces, and subjects, perpetual and inviolable peace, sincere union, and perfect friendship, to the end that the temporary misunderstanding which has recently taken place, shall, from the present moment, be regarded as entirely at an end, and shall be buried in eternal oblivion.—Art. 2. The accommodation and the reconciliation between the two courts having for their basis the renunciation, on the part of his Prussian Majesty, of the country of Hanover, his said Majesty relinquishes all right and title whatsoever to the actual and future possession of the Electoral Territories of his Britannic Majesty, and renounces, at the same time, all the pretensions which he had advanced to those States. And in case the events of the war should bring about the re-occupation of the Electorate of Hanover by the Prussian armies, his Majesty the King of Prussia engages not to take possession of the Electorate but in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and immediately to re establish the ancient form of civil government and the ancient constituted authorities of his Britannic Majesty, which authorities shall be formally invested with the entire administration of affairs, in the name, and for the advantage of their legitimate Sovereign.——Art. 3. The freedom of navigation and of commerce shall be restored to the subjects of his Prussian Majesty, as it formerly was in time of peace, and on the same footing as it was before the period of the late exclusion of the British flag from the rivers Ems, Weser, and Elbe; and his said Britannic Majesty having with this view already issued an order, bearing date the 19th November, 1806, to all officers commanding his ships of war, as well as to all privateers, not further to molest, detain, or bring in any Prussian vessels which they may meet at sea, provided their cargoes be innocent and not prohibited by the laws of war, and that they be not bound to ports belonging to the enemies of Great Britain, or occupied by them, the said order shall continue to be observed, and to have effect in its full force and extent.- Art. 4. And in pursuance of the above determination, his Britannic Majesty promises and engages to issue to his Admiralty, without delay, the necessary orders that the merchant vessels which, by the Proclamation of the 24th of September, 1806, were subject to provisionary detention, shall be released and restored to their proprietors, with perfect liberty either to continue their voyages, if their place of destination be not prohibited, or otherwise to return to their own country.—Art. 5. The crews of all the Prussian vessels brought into British ports since the publication of the letters of marque, shall be set at liberty immediately after the conclusion of the present treaty; and the British government shall cause them to return, in the most direct and expeditious manner, into the dominions of his Prussian Majesty, to whatever place shall be hereafter agreed upon.—Art. 6. His Majesty the King of Prussia engages not to impede, nor to allow any other power to impede, the free navigation of his Britannic Majesty in any of the ports of his dominions, but, on the contrary, to afford full liberty to the English flag to enter into and to proceed from the abovementioned ports in the same manner, as before the late closing of the rivers Ems, Weser, and Elbe.—Art 7. The two high contracting parties mutually promise and engage to invite his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias to take upon himself the guarantee of the renunciation on the part of his Prussian Majesty, of his rights and pretensions to the country of Hanover, as stipulated in the second article of the present treaty.—Art. 8. Every other subject of discussion or arrangement between the two courts, is reserved for future amicable adjustment.——Art. 9. The ratifications, drawn up in due and proper form, shall be exchanged in the space of six weeks, or sooner if possible, in case the pre-

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sent difficulty of communication should allow of it.—In faith of which, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty, and have hereunto affixed the seals of their arms. Done at Memel, this 28th day of January, 1807.——HUTCHINSON.—FREDERIC GUILLAUME DE ZASTROW.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Seventy-seventh Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

(Concluded from page 160.)

The commandant, thus abandoned by the garrison, saved himself by sea, and thus we are in possession of the town and port of Dantzic. These events are a happy presage of the campaign. The Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, were at Heiligenbeel. They might have conjectured the surrender of the place from the cessation of the fire. They might have heardthe cannon from that distance.——The Emperor, to express his satisfaction to the besieging army, has granted a present to each soldier.——The siege of Graudentz is now commencing under the command of General Picton. General Lazowsky commands the engineers; and General Danthouard the artillery. Graudentz is strong from the number of its mines.—The cavalry of the army is in fine order. The division of light cavalry, two divisions of cuirassiers, and one of dragoons, have been reviewed at Elbing, on the 26th, by the Grand Duke of Berg. On the same day, his Majesty arrived at Bishoverden and Stalsburgh, where he reviewed Hautpoult's division of cuirassiers, and the division of dragoons of General Crouchy. He has been satisfied with their appearance and with the good condition of their horses.—The Ambassador of the Porte, Seid Mohammed Emen Vahid, has been presented, on the 28th, at two o'clock, to the Emperor, by the Prince of Benevento. He delivered his crédentials to his Majesty, and remained an hour in his cabinet. He is lodged at the Castle, and occupies the apartments of the Grand Duke of Berg, who is absent on account of the review. It is confidently said, that the Emperor told him that he and the Sultan Selim would be, for ever after, inseparably connected as the right hand and the left. All the good news respecting the success at Ismail and in Wallachia have just arrived. The Russians have been obliged to raise the siege of Ismail and evacuate Wallachia.

78th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Battle of Spanden.—On the 5th of June the Russian army put itself in motion. Its divisions on the right attacked the *tête-du-pont* of Spanden, which Gen. Frere defended with the 27th regiment of light infantry. Twelve Russian and Prussian regiments made several ineffectual attempts. Seven times did they renew the attack, but were as often repulsed. The 17th regiment of dragoons charged the enemy immediately after the last assault, and forced them to abandon the field of battle. Thus, during a whole day, two divisions attacked without success a single regiment, which, it must be admitted, was entrenched.—The Prince of Ponte Corvo, in visiting the entrenchments during the intervals of attack, received a slight wound, which will take him from his command fifteen days. Our loss in this affair was trifling. The enemy lost 1200 men, and a number of wounded.

Battle of Lomitten.—Two Russian divisions belonging to the centre attacked at the same time the *tête-du-pont* of Lomitten. Gen. Fetry's brigade (part of Marshal Soult's corps) defended the *tête-du-pont*. The Russian general was killed, along with 1100 men; 100 were taken, and a great many wounded. We had 120 men killed and wounded.—During this period, the Russian Commander in Chief, with the Grand Duke Constantine, the imperial guard, and three divisions, attacked the positions of Marshal Ney, at Alizirzen, Gutstadt, and Volsdorff. The enemy were every where repulsed; but when Marshal Ney perceived that the force opposed to him exceeded forty thousand men, he obeyed his orders, and conducted his corps to Ackendorff.

Battle of Deppen.—On the following day, the enemy attacked the 6th corps in its position at Deppen, on the Passarge. They were repulsed. The manœuvres of Marshal Soult, his intrepidity, which he imparted to all his troops, the abilities displayed in this situation by the General of Division Marchand, and his officers, merit the highest eulogiums. The enemy acknowledges having lost this day 2000 killed, and more than 3000 wounded. Our loss was 180 killed, 200 wounded, and 250 taken. The latter were for the most part taken by the Cossacks, who, on the morning of the attack, had got into the rear of the army.

Battle of June 8.—The Emperor arrived at Marshal Ney's camp, at Deppen, on the 8th. He immediately gave the necessary orders. The 4th corps marched to Volfsdorff, where meeting the Russian division of Kamenski, which was on its way to rejoin the main body, the 4th corps attacked it, deprived it of between 4 and 500 men, made 150 prisoners, and in the evening took its

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position at Altzirken.—At the same moment the Emperor advanced to Guttstadt with the corps of Marshal Ney and Lannes, his guard and the cavalry of reserve. Part of the rear-guard of the enemy, comprising 10,000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry, took a position at Glottau, and attempted to dispute the way. The Grand Duke of Berg, after some very skilful manœuvres, drove the enemy from all their positions.—The light brigades of cavalry under Generals Pagol, Bruyeres, and Durosnel, and the division of the heavy cavalry under Gen. Nansouty, triumphed over all the efforts of the enemy. In the evening at 8 o'clock we entered Guttstadt by main force: 1000 prisoners, all the positions in advance of Guttstadt, and the redoubts of the infantry, were the results of this day. The regiments of cavalry of the Swiss guard suffered more than any of the rest.

Battle of June 10.—On the 10th the army moved towards Heilsberg. It took several of the enemy's camps. About a quarter of a league beyond these camps, the enemy shewed himself in a position. He had between 15 and 18,000 cavalry, and several lines of infantry. The cuirassiers of the division d'Espagne, the division of Latour, Mabourg's dragoons, and the brigade of light cavalry, made several charges, and gained ground. At 2 o'clock the corps under Marshal Soult was formed. Two divisions marched to the right, while the division of Lagrande marched to the left, to seize on the extremity of a wood, the occupation of which was necessary, in order to support the left of the cavalry, and made various efforts to maintain themselves in the positions before Heilsberg. More than 60 pieces of cannon scattered death in supporting the enemy's columns, which our divisions nevertheless repulsed, with the most unexampled intrepidity and the characteristic impetuosity of the French. Several Russian divisions were routed, and at 9 in the evening, we found ourselves under the enemy's entrenchments.——The fusileers of the guard commanded by Gen. Savary were put in motion to sustain the division of Verdier; and some of the corps of infantry of the reserve, under Marshal Lannes, were engaged, it being already night fall; they attacked the enemy with the view of cutting off his communication with Lansberg, and succeeded completely.—The ardour of the troops was such, that several companies of the infantry of the line insulted the entrenched works of the Russians. Some brave men met their death in the ditches of the redoubts at the foot of the palisades.—The Emperor passed the 11th on the field of battle. He there arranged the corps of the army and the divisions, preparatory to a decisive action, such a one as should put an end to the war. The whole of the Russian army was collected.—The Russian magazines were at Heilsberg. The Russians occupied a fine position, which nature had rendered very strong, and which they encreased by the labour of 4 months.—At 4 in the afternoon, the Emperor ordered Marshal Davoust to change his front, and push forward his left; this movement brought him upon the Lower Alle, and completely blocked up the road from Eylau.—Every corps of the army had its post assigned to it; they were all re-assembled, the first corps excepted, which continued upon the Lower Passarge.——Thus the Russians, who were the first to begin the battle, found themselves shut up in their entrenched camp, and were compelled to give battle in the position they had chosen themselves. It was for a long time believed they would make an attack on the 11th. At the moment when the French were making their dispositions, the Russians shewed themselves, ranged in columns, in the midst of their entrenchments, fortified with numerous batteries.—But whether those entrenchments did not appear sufficiently formidable, after viewing the preparations which they saw before them; or whether the impetuosity which the French army had shewn on the 10th, had an effect upon them, they began to pass the Alle at 10 o'clock at night, abandoning the whole country to the left, and leaving to the disposal of the conqueror their wounded, their magazines, and their entrenchments, the result of long and painful labour.—On the 12th, at day-break, all the corps of the army were in motion, and took different directions.—The houses of Heilsberg and its neighbourhood are filled with wounded Russians. The result of the different affairs from the 5th to the 12th has deprived the Russian army of about 30,000 fighting men. They have left between 3 and 4000 prisoners in our hands; 7 or 8 pair of colours, and 9 pieces of cannon. According to the reports of the prisoners several of the most eminent Russian generals have been killed or wounded.—Our loss amounted to 6 or 700 killed 2000, or 2,200 wounded, and 300 prisoners. The General of Division Espagne was wounded. Gen. Roussel, chief of the staff of the guard, had his head carried away by a cannon ball.——The Grand Duke of Berg had two horses killed under him. M. Segur, one of his aids de-camp, lost an arm. M. Lameth, Marshal Soult's aid-de-camp, was wounded. M. Lagrange,

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Col. of the 7th regiment of horse chasseurs, was killed. The detailed reports will communicate particular acts of bravery, and the names of those who were wounded in the memorable battle of June 10.—Several thousand quintals of grain, and a great quantity of different kinds of provisions, have been found in the magazines of Heilsberg.

79th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Wehlau, June 17.——The action of Spandau and Lomitten, the battles of Gutstadt and Heilsberg were only the precursors of still more important events.—On the 12th, at 4 in the morning, the French army entered Heilsberg. Gen. Latour Maubourg pursued the enemy with his division of dragoons, and Generals Duronsel and Wattiers' brigade of light cavalry, to the right bank of the Alle, near Bartenstein. In the mean time the light corps advanced in various directions, in order to pass the enemy to cut off his retreat to Koningsberg, and get between him and his magazines. Fortune favoured the execution of this plan.—On the 12th, at 5 o'clock P. M. the imperial head-quarters arrived at Eylau. Here the fields were no longer covered with ice and snow; on the contrary, they presented one of the most beautiful scenes in nature. The country was every where adorned by beautiful woods, intersected by lakes, and animated by handsome villages.—On the 13th, the Grand Duke of Berg advanced towards Koningsberg with his cavalry, Marshal Davoust followed to support him. Marshal Soult advanced towards Creutzburg; Marshal Lannes towards Demnau; Marshals Ney and Mortier towards Lampasch.——Meanwhile Gen Latour Maubourg wrote that he had pursued the enemy's rear guard; that the Russians had abandoned a great number of wounded in their flight; that they had evacuated Bartenstein, and that they had directed their retreat on Schippenheil on the right bank of the Alle.—The Emperor immediately proceeded towards Friedland. He ordered the Grand Duke of Berg, Marshals Soult and Davoust, to manœuvre against Koningsberg, while he advanced with the corps of Ney, Lannes, Mortier, the imperial guard, and the first corps, commanded by Gen. Victor, on Friedland.—On the 13th, the 9th regiment of hussars entered Friedland, but was driven out of that place by 3000 of the enemy's cavalry.—On the 14th the enemy advanced on the bridge of Friedland, and at 3 in the morning a cannonade was heard. "It is a fortunate day," said the Emperor; "it is the anniversary of the battle of Marengo." —Marshals Lannes and Mortier were first engaged; they were supported by Gen. Grouchy's dragoons, and by Gen. Nansouty's cuirassiers. Several movements and actions took place. The enemy were stopped and could not pass the village of Postenheim. Imagining that they had only a corps of about 15,000 men opposed to them, they followed the movements of our troops towards Koningsberg; thus the French and Saxon dragoons and cuirassiers had the opportunity of making a brilliant attack, and of taking 4 pieces of cannon.—By 5 in the evening the several corps were at their appointed stations. Marshal Ney was on the right wing, Marshal Lannes in the centre. Marshal Mortier on the left wing; the corps of Gen. Victor and the guards formed the reserve.—The cavalry under the command of Gen. Grouchy supported the left wing.—The division of dragoons of Gen. Latour Maubourg was behind the right wing as a reserve. Gen. Lahousayes' division of dragoons, and the Saxon cuirassiers, formed a reserve for the centre.—Meanwhile the enemy deployed the whole of his army. His left wing extended to the town of Friedland, and his right wing a mile and a half in the other direction.—The Emperor having reconnoitred the position, instantly determined to take the town of Friedland. Then suddenly changing his front, and advancing his right, he commenced the attack with the first part of that wing. *(To be continued.)*

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Parliamentary History

OF

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 6.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 8, 1807. [PRICE 1OD.

"At midnight, on the 5th of November, the anniversary of that day which lives in the remembrance of "every Englishman, the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, swore on the tomb of the Great "Frederick, in the church at Potsdam, that they would remain faithful to each other, and to the cause in "which they were engaged. Oh! young and noble-minded and high-spirited monarchs! may the spirit "and wisdom of that monarch, over whose blessed tomb your vows were exchanged, animate your coun-"cils and invigorate your arms in so just a cause!" — COURIER newspaper, 18th November, 1805.

"But it is fit, that it should be publicly known, that the charge against the king of Prussia and the Em-"peror of Russia of being.....has been made solely by the Opposition; "that it is utterly detested, disclaimed, and disowned by the English government (Pitt was in place), who "respect, because they know, the characters of the two sovereigns; who know them to be incapable of "deceit or falsehood, and who place the firmest reliance upon their integrity and their honour."——COURIER newspaper, 2d December, 1805.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND PRUSSIA.——The treaty between these two powers, which will be found in a subsequent page of this sheet, has certainly surprised nobody but fools; for it was quite impossible, that any man of sound common sense and common information should have anticipated any other result of a war between powers, such and so situated, as were the parties to this treaty.——To descant upon the present state of the Prussian king and his power would be useless. It must be obvious to all the world that he is now a king merely in name, and for the sole convenience (perhaps a *temporary* one) of the conqueror. As to the effects of this change upon the welfare of Europe in general, and of the people of the Prussian states, late as well as present, in particular, there may be a wide difference of opinion; for, while some persons will see nothing but cause of lamentation in the change; nothing but fallen monarchy, princes (so virtuous as to defy all "delicate investigation") in tears, and "the best of princes," the "fathers of their people," either killed or become mere tools or vagabonds, the bonds of "regular government, social order, and our holy religion" being all dissolved: while some persons will have their minds filled with this gloomy picture, others there may be, who, taking a wider view of things, may be led to ask, whether the people, the millions of human beings formerly governed by those princes, will now be worse off than they were before; whether, in these conflicts amongst their rulers, in these wars for who shall be their masters, they may not have obtained some little consequence in the scale of existence; and whether, if they have experienced only a change in their immediate masters, their parish and village despots, whose grasp was screwed to the highest possible pitch, that change alone ought not to be regarded as a sufficient counterbalance for all the evils which their rulers have endured, or can ever endure. If men are doomed to have despotic masters, if they are to have neither security of property nor personal liberty; if they are to be *slaves*, it is little matter to whom they are slaves. Viewing Europe, after the manner of some persons, as consisting of a certain number of states, belonging to certain individuals, who own them, and the people of them, as men own farms and manors and the cattle and game thereon; viewing Europe in this light, we must naturally lament to see such a *disturbance of property* as Napoleon has occasioned; but, viewing the people of Europe as we still view, or affect to view ourselves, we must, before we lament the changes that have taken place, ascertain that those changes have produced an effect injurious to the people; and, this, I believe, it would be very difficult for us to ascertain.——The wise men, who, for our sins, are deputed to conduct the hireling press of the metropolis, seem to be utterly astonished, that the "magnanimous Alexander," should have received from Buonaparté a compensation for the expences of the war in the territories of the ally, whom he had "so generously stepped forward to assist "and protect;" and, it must be confessed, that this conduct on the part of "the magnanimous Alexander" does not very well agree with his high-sounding proclamations and declarations. But, where is the ground of *astonishment?* Who but fools expected any thing else? and who but knaves affected to believe any thing else?——The strains of the newspapers, upon this subject, are doleful beyond description, and yet, certainly not more doleful than foolish. The Morning Post, never the hindmost in folly, observes:

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"With respect to Russia, we *regret* to say, "that so far as that power is comprehended in the provisions of the treaty with Prussia, there is presented to the world another disgusting instance of the prevalence of the spirit of *plunder and spoliation*, over those of genuine *integrity and pure honour*. The Emperor Alexander, after a solemn exchange of *oaths*, after the most sacred and repeated pledges of support, without any sacrifice of territory on his part, and, therefore without any claim to indemnification, not only abandons his late associate, to the whole vengeance of the enemy, but profits himself by the punishment inflicted, shares in the spoil, and strips his unfortunate friend and ally of part of his sad remains. For a few hundred miles of territory and a few hundred thousands of inhabitants he *forfeits his character as a man, and gives up his honour as a prince.* What Buonaparté took from Prussia he took by the sword; what Alexander has received constituted part of the possessions which, but a few days before, he was endeavouring to preserve for Prussia, with the whole strength of his empire! *May we be permitted to hope*, that the hitherto magnanimous character of Alexander will not be still further degraded by his acquiescence in the hostile views of Buonaparté against Great Britain? The submission of Prussia to the conditions injurious to our commerce, was, in her reduced situation, a matter of unavoidable necessity; she was obliged to accept such terms as a rude conqueror thought proper to dictate; but for the honour and character of the Emperor Alexander, who still continues to hold a commanding situation in Europe, we *hope and trust* he will not be induced to lend himself to such unworthy purposes, or consent to become an instrument of oppression in the hands of the most unprincipled tyrant with which, perhaps, the earth has ever been cursed."——Yes: you may be permitted to hope and trust this as long as you please; or, at least, until the next mail, or the mail after, shall have arrived; but, no longer.——And is it thus, Sir, that you talk of our "august ally?" Do you indeed describe as having forfeited his character as a man, and his honour as a prince that very person, for having ridiculed whose Potsdam oath, real or pretended, you and your fellow-labourer of the Courier manfully called for vengeance, *Attorney-General* vengeance? you, who set up a holloo, a cry of prison and of pillory, against the "CONSTANT READER" of the Herald? (See Reg. Vol. VIII. p. 882) *Now*, who was right? Who was best informed? Who was the best judge of human nature as operating upon the affairs of nations? And who is it, that this country has to curse for its ruinous delusion?——But, what emboldens you now to attack "our august ally" after this sort; for our *ally* the Emperor of Russia still is, say what you will of him? And how dare you *libel* him; for, as you well know, *truth*, though, for once you may have spoken it, is a libel? How dare you libel "our august ally?" How dare you speak of him in such rascally terms? Is this the way you support "regular government, social order, "and our holy religion?" To be sure the Emperor of Russia is a sort of *Catholic*; but, then, you said, that he was the most brave and faithful personage in the whole world; and now you abuse him. Will the Russian Ambassador bear this? You reviled Mr. Windham for doubting whether the Russian nation was fit to cope with the French nation; and now you lay foul of the head of this same Russian nation. The fact is, I believe, you now perceive, that the Emperor of Russia can do no more of what you simply enough thought he was doing for us; and, as he can no longer serve your turn, you are ready to revile him as much as you before reviled those who foretold what has now happened.——The language of the Courier, that other sapient guide of this sapient nation, is less abusive than that of the Morning Post, but not at all less foolish: "This "treaty," says he, "with Prussia is remarkable for a principle by which Buonaparté *hopes* to give a mortal shock and "blow to all coalitions. He has *made* ally "prey upon ally, given part of the territories "of Prussia to Russia, and thus consummated her misery and humiliation by making "her the victim both of friend and foe. In "the article of the treaty (the 18th) by "which part of Prussian Poland is to be "given to Russia, it is endeavoured to be "represented as the establishment of national boundaries between Russia and the "Duchy of Warsaw. National boundaries! "as if such petty rivers could oppose any "obstacles to the encroachments of either "power, if either power were determined "upon making encroachments! This article of the treaty did indeed *surprise and "afflict us:* because *we thought* that the "Emperor Alexander would have rejected "with scorn and disdain, any offer that "should tend to call in question *his disinterestedness and magnanimity*, and to enrich him at the expence of his prostrate "and ruined ally. This conduct towards

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" Prussia prepares us to suspect that the " nature of the treaty between Russia and " France is of a very different nature from " what—but we *will not anticipate.*"——No: do not anticipate, I pray you. The assurance of your fears will come soon enough for you.——You *thought!* But we told you not to think so; and you called us " Jacobins and Levellers." If we were to laugh at you now, how could you blame us; unless you proceeded upon the maxim of the Addingtons, that when, in the teeth of our prediction and advice, you bring ruin upon the country, that very ruin ought to make us hold our tongues? Unless you pretend, that, having been despised and abused by you, in the hour of your imaginary prosperity, is a ground whereon for you to claim compassion and indulgence at our hands, in the hour of your confusion and distress? I remember your past conduct. Your insolence is, and will be, fresh in my mind. I have put upon record your base endeavours to prepare the public mind for an Attorney-General prosecution of the ridiculer of the Potsdam Oath; and I now laugh at the eighteenth article of the treaty of Tilsit, which article makes you weep.——*Hanover* is a subject of speculation with these sages. " Han- " over," says the Courier, of the 3d instant, " it is suspected by some, will be in- " corporated with the kingdom of West- " phalia. We do not believe it. The " placing it in the hands of the Spaniards " shews that it is meant to be ceded to us in " return for the cession of our conquests in " South America. But *will any man say* " *that*, in the present state of the Conti- " nent, *we ought to give any thing for* " *Hanover?* Could his Majesty re-possess " it as an independent state? Whatever im- " provements were made in it during a " state of peace, would only be so many in- " citements for the French to overrun and " pillage it in war. We should be in the " situation of men sent to improve the coun- " try for the benefit of others; and, be- " sides, one of the conditions annexed to " the restitution of it would be, that it " should join the Rhenish Confederacy. Do " we wish to see a King of England in the " condition of a vassal of Buonaparté, and " forced, as sovereign of Hanover, to join " France against Russia or Austria, with " both of whom he might be in the strictest " alliance and amity as king of England?" ——Yes, we shall, I think, see the man that will say that we ought to give something for Hanover, that Hanover which a Lord told us, some months ago, ought to be as dear to us as Hampshire. When this happens I will recall the thoughts of the editor of the Courier, who has, upon this occasion, certainly been writing without due instructions. If Mr. Fox (alas! poor Fox!) could see reason for our going to war for Hanover, I leave the reader to guess how easily those sharp practitioners, Lords Eden, Hawkesbury and Castlereagh, and Messrs. Canning and Perceval, will find out reasons for surrendering colonies for the same object. No: we have not done with dear Hanover yet; and, I am greatly deceived, if we shall not yet hear the Courier revile those, who shall dare to object to the making of English sacrifices for the sake of retaining it.——If any thing, at this day could surprise us, it would be, that our ministers still persist in the sending of their expeditions to the Baltic. That they may succeed in nothing that they undertake elsewhere is more than I would say even of them; but, it is, I think, impossible, that an expedition to the Baltic should produce any thing to this country but injury, except as far as relates to the employing of the *Hanoverians*. They, indeed, may effect something for us; but, I am greatly afraid, that they, even they, will find no opportunity of getting at the French, and of making a last effort for " the *deliverence* of Europe!"——Nothing dismayed, however, the no-popery heroes and their partizans continue to send forth their accusations against the late ministers for not having done *sooner* what they are doing now. The two errors which the late ministry committed, with regard to the continent, were, their demand of Hanover, which, observe, drove Prussia into a quarrel with France, and their remittance of £80,000 to Prussia. They must, one would think, have been morally certain that no efforts of ours could save either Prussia or Russia. From the first to the last, there was no probability, that Prussia would not be subdued. With my scanty means of information, I was in possession of knowledge, upon which I would have betted a thousand to one, that neither the Prussians nor the Russians made head against the French for a single day. The late ministers must have been acquainted with the state of things; and, if they had, nevertheless, granted subsidies, and sent out expeditions to the Baltic, would they not have deserved the execrations of the country? If we could have sent out 40,000 men, it would have been sending them to certain defeat and disgrace. To pretend, that the overthrow of the Russian and Prussian armies could have been prevented by us, is, perhaps, the most shameful instance of hypocrisy that ever was witnessed, even on the part of no-popery, or of Mr. Hypocricy Per-

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sonified. This Lazarus, at the head of all his saints and all his fools, at the head of all his Lazaroni, would scarcely, one would think, venture to feign to believe, that an English expedition would have prevented the peace of Tilsit. Yet are these men impudent enough to blame the late ministers for not wasting the blood of our army, and the money of the people, in the war which has just terminated! For the purposes of party even the Foreign Secretary has accused his predecessors, that is to say, "*his Majesty's government*," of want of faith towards the Emperor of Russia; he has imputed to them the *cause* of the peace of Tilsit; and, as the Morning Chronicle has well observed, he must be in a delicate situation, when, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he comes to *defend* the conduct of his own government towards Russia! Here we have an instance of the baneful effects of place-men being suffered to sit in the House of Commons. In their wrangling for place, out comes every thing that can make a figure in debate. If the successors of a ministry, who had acted unwisely or unjustly towards another nation, were not in parliament, and had no war of words to carry on there, they would, of course, take care to keep secret, as far as they could, such want of wisdom or of justice; but, as things now are, this can never be expected; and the poor country is situated as a gentleman would be, who should employ two stewards alternately, the chief business of one of whom being to discover flaws in every bargain or contract made by the other, without the least consideration as to the injury which such discovery might produce to their harrassed employer. Even in the discussions respecting the misfortunes, as they are called, of the continent, the predominant motive evidently is, the working out of praise or of censure of the two factions respectively. Every thing turns upon this pivot. Place and profit are the objects, before which all others vanish like a shadow.——With respect to the effect, which the stipulations of the peace of Tilsit may have upon England, I apprehend, for my part, no other than that which every one must fear, namely, the leaving of Napoleon at leisure to plan his intended attacks upon England, and particularly upon *Ireland*, where, as it has been openly avowed in parliament, *a French party* exists. The loss of *trade and commerce*, which some persons are so alarmed at, has no terrors for me; for, the loss of that trade and commerce which the closing of foreign ports can take from us will never do us any harm. Commercial men, headed by a commercial minister, have succeeded in persuading this cozened nation, *that almost all its taxes are paid by them.* In my next, I shall endeavour to uncozen my readers upon this head; and I do flatter myself, that I am able to prove to the conviction of every human being, the determined Pittites excepted, that, if every port in the world was closed against us as effectually as it is possible to close it, the strength and real riches of our country would not be thereby diminished. I can easily discover reasons enough in such men as Pitt for propagating a contrary belief; but, I am quite unable to discover any one reason for our adopting it.——I must return, for a moment, to the Emperor of Russia, in order to notice the progress, which the London papers are making in their abuse of him. The Morning Post, of the 4th instant says: "It "is reported, that the *Russian Senate* sent "for the Emperor Alexander, for the purpose of hastening him from Tilsit. It was "supposed, that this was not done with any "view of *applauding* his conduct; and "there are many, who, having a perfect "knowledge of the Russian character, do "not hesitate to say, that, should it appear "that Alexander has acted contrary *to the* "*wishes of his people*, the consequence may "prove FATAL to him. So prevalent was "this idea yesterday, that *five guineas were* "*given, to receive* £100 *if the Emperor* "*Alexander should lose his life in a month.* "A considerable sum was subscribed on the "speculation. The Russian nobility, most "of whom compose the senate, derive their "revenues from the *commerce* of the empire, and whenever that is cramped, they "uniformly become not only dissatisfied but "*ferocious*."——This is a pretty broad hint to these *ferocious* gentlemen to kill their Emperor; that "young and noble minded "and high-spirited monarch," who exchanged vows upon the tomb of the Great Frederick, in the church at Potsdam! And now these varlets would murder him! Or, rather, they would instigate others to do it! It is plain "Alexander" now. No longer "our august ally," for not sending troops and subsidies to whom the late ministry are (in the same breath with these maledictions against him) bitterly reproached. Mark, too, this Emperor is to be killed, if he has "acted contrary to the wishes of his peo- "ple. And yet this Morning Post calls me Jack Cade!——This betting upon the killing of the Emperor of Russia is truly characteristic of the bett-makers. Now that they are pretty certain that he will, for a while, check their projects of gain, they would rob-

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scribe their six-pennies to take away his life. Let the pretended *cause* be observed too. The Russian nobility derive their revenues from *commerce*; when that is cramped, they become *ferocious*; that will now be cramped; of course they will become ferocious; and the Emperor will be the object of their ferocity. This is, too, a pretty amiable picture of *nobility*, especially of *commercial* nobility, of banking-house and loan-jobbing lords.——When the Emperor of Russia receives this Morning Post, and gets some one to read it to him, what will he think of us? What will the "ferocious" nobility think of us? Never was there any thing so base and infamous as this London press. This particular paper calls itself, as I believe it is, the paper of those who stile themselves the "fashionable world." Let any man find me, if he can, any thing so bloody-minded and cowardly as this in the annals of even French democracy. These are the sentiments of the fashionable world, are they? This writer is the associate of John Bowles in defending "regular go-"vernment, social order, and our holy "religion." Is this a specimen of their religious sentiments? They give the poor Emperor but a month to live. Mercy upon those who offend a *commercial* nobility!

SIR HENRY MILDMAY.——A correspondent, whom I know to be a friend of Sir Henry Mildmay, has communicated to me some remarks upon the publications which I have made with respect to the transaction of Moulsham Hall, and also an authentic document of some importance in the question, which document has not yet been published. ——Though this correspondent has made, against me, no direct charges, it is not to be disguised from me, that he thinks I have acted, if not unfairly, at least with an over-degree of zeal as an accuser of his friend. But, persons, thus circumstanced, should recollect, that, if I were to consult the feelings of the public men, of whom I speak, and of whom I must speak, or hold my tongue altogether; if I were to stop, in each case, till I have an opportunity of hearing the private explanations of the parties, or of their friends; if I were to do this, I should certainly be able to render the public but very little service, and should, indeed, be a creature as perfectly useless as a well-meaning member of parliament, who wears the bridle of a wife whose acquaintance consists of the families of placemen, pensioners, and public robbers.——One exception, taken by my correspondent, is, that, while the wasting of millions pass unnoticed by me, this little thing of Moulsham Hall is taken up with avidity, and dwelt upon at great length and with uncommon force. Now, I know of no millions that are wasted without my taking notice of them. I have noticed the waste of money upon the Volunteers, in the Army, in the Navy, in the Barrack Department, in the Loan Department, in the Civil List, in the Collection of Taxes, upon the Speaker's House, upon St. Margaret's Church, upon the East India Company, upon the merchants of Granada, upon Sierra Leone, and, indeed, though the enumeration would be without end, there is no waste of the public money, which has come to my knowledge, of which I have not, in some way or other, made public mention. But, it is not the amount of the *sum* so much as the nature of the case, and the situation of the parties concerned, that renders a transaction worthy of particular and repeated notice. Sir Henry Mildmay is not a man like the Trotters and the Davisons. He is a man of high station. He is a member for a county, and he has just made his son a member for a city. He has, at public political dinners, stood forward as the champion of one of the factions. He has taken upon him, in the like public manner, to extol the administration and the principles of Pitt, and has asserted, that whosoever shall tread in the footsteps of that man, shall have his support. In short, he has come forth, with all the weight which his family, his character, and his property can give him, to recommend, to vouch for, and to uphold one of the factions which are dividing the power and the riches of the nation between them. Such a man has no plea on the score of private feelings. He challenges inquiry and discussion in respect of every thing that he says or does, or that he has said or done. If, for instance, I were to whince and whine and complain when the editors of the London daily-press write against me, should I not be laughed at? The very idea is ludicrous. Not only must every man, who thus puts himself forward, *expect* to have his character and actions inquired into, but they *ought* to be inquired into and publicly discussed; because it is right that the public should be able to judge of all the probable as well as apparent motives of every one who takes upon him to be their guide. ——And, as to the amount of the *sum*, though, in the whole, it was but £1,600 yet the circumstances were curious and interesting. The transaction served to show how the public money was wasted in a branch of expenditure which had heretofore escaped notice. Besides which my correspondent must excuse me, if I have *my feelings* too. and if, after having been called a "jac-

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and leveller," I seize hold of transactions best calculated to prove to the world that my accusations against the wasters of the public money are not groundless. Some men have been awed into silence by being reproached and vilified. That is not my way. Let the hirelings call me jacobin and leveller as loudly as they please; and the louder their accusations the more strenuous are my endeavours to prove, that, whether jacobin and leveller or not jacobin and leveller, my principles are sound, or, at any rate, that my charges are true. To defend one's self is not to be revengeful. We complain, that the public money is wasted; they accuse us of jacobinism; we become more indefatigable in our exertions to prove the reasonableness of our complaint; they then call us revengeful. What they want us to do, is, to plead "not guilty my lord", to waste our time in proving our own innocence. But, that is not the way for me. The way to prove that I am innocent of making groundless complaints is to produce proof upon proof that my complaints are well-founded; and, my correspondent must not be surprised, if, in the producing of these proofs, I pay very little respect to persons.——So much as to the reasons for my taking up the transaction of Moulsham Hall; and now for the transaction itself, which I will again, in substance, describe as it stands represented in the authentic documents, published in the fourth report of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry.——In October, 1803, Sir James Craigg, commanding in Essex, fixed on, as a spot for military works, some lands belonging to Sir Henry Mildmay in right of his wife, close by the mansion called Moulsham Hall, at which mansion Sir Henry was, by the will of the ancestor, obliged to reside three months in every year. To occupy these lands for this purpose the government was empowered by an act of parliament, which provided, that in such cases a jury should be called to award damages to the party whose land should be occupied. No steps were, previous to the occupation, taken to call the jury. The lands were occupied by Sir Henry Mildmay's consent, and the works were forthwith constructed. The first step that Sir Henry took, was, to request of the ministers (the Addingtons) to bring in and pass a bill to excuse him from a residence to which he was obliged by the will of his ancestor, that is to say to nullify the condition, or, at least one of the conditions, upon which he held for the life of his wife an estate which he estimates at eleven thousand pounds a year. An act of parliament, the grand panacea for all difficulties, was obtained, and, to be sure, one cannot help being enchanted at the easy politeness with which Messrs Pole Carew and Vansittart talk of getting this act for Sir Henry dispatched, seeming not even to cast a thought upon what the parliament might think of such an interference with the tenure of private property. I do not say, that it might not be proper, in an extreme case to nullify a will by an act of parliament; but, Mr. Pole Carew talks of the thing as one would talk of a leave to ride over a field; and just as if Mr. Addington was the sole proprietor of that field. Sir Henry himself, in his memorial talks much about in the same strain. "I considered," says he, "that I had a claim upon *the government* to relieve me, *by law*, from a "residence which their own measures, for "the public safety, had rendered untenable". He therefore made an application to this effect "to *Mr. Addington's government*". Just, you see, as if there had been no parliament to consult! Just as if *Mr. Addington's government* made the laws, and could make what laws they pleased! This gives us a pretty correct notion of the light, in which Sir Henry Mildmay must have viewed that parliament, of which he himself was a member. And then comes Mr. R. Pole Carew, who says to Sir Henry: "I have made it my business to see Mr. "Addington this day upon the subject, and "am directed by him to acquaint you, that, "if you will have the goodness to direct *your* "*agent* to communicate with Mr. Vansit-"tart, he shall be extremely ready to do, "on his part, *what may be proper to give* "*effect to your wishes.*" And not a word about *the parliament* any more than if it had been composed of a set of footmen and grooms, who received yearly pay for their attendance and their votes.——Since I have digressed so far, I may as well say, in this place, what occurs to me as to the propriety of this step, on the part of Sir Henry Mildmay.——The ground was occupied in *October*. In *November*, having experienced "great inconvenience from the numbers of "military brought near the place, in expec-"tation of invasion, and having known "foot-pad robberies to be committed in the "very field next adjoining his garden, the "residence became intolerable", and, therefore, he applied to be released from it. This might be very natural; but, did not *others* experience inconvenience as well as he? And, when the *people* were called upon to make such extraordinary *sacrifices*, was he to make none at all? When necessity was pleaded for tax-

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ing the poor equally with the rich, as they were at that moment taxed by the ballot for the army of reserve, was he to submit to no sacrifice at all? I shall be asked, perhaps, what good he could have done in Essex. The good of *example*, at a moment when "*invasion was expected.*" Queen Elizabeth, when threatened with invasion by the Spaniards, finding that some persons were preparing to flee from this very coast of Essex, "swore by God, that if she knew "those persons or might know of any that "should do so hereafter, she would make "them know and feel what it was to "be cowards in so urgent a cause." * I do not mean to impute cowardice to Sir Henry Mildmay. I have not the least reason to suspect him of that weakness; but, I am satisfied, that he ought to have reflected, that, if his inconveniences were greater than those of most other men, so also was the property which he had to preserve; and, that, if such men as he fled from inconveniences, others could not be expected to remain in the face of danger. It is in times of trouble that the great and the rich ought to stand forward and animate others by their example. If all the rich men, all the proprietors of the soil, were, in a time of "expected invasion," to quit the parts of the coast where works and troops are found, were to go off and leave their lands to be defended by others, who would say, that the lands, if successfully defended, ought not to appertain to those others? I hope, that the rich, in case of danger would not flee from the coast; and, I also hope, that, upon reflection, Sir Henry Mildmay will think it right, as soon as the act and lease have expired, to return to Moulsham Hall, there to reside agreeably to the sacred condition upon which he received so large an estate.——To return to my narrative: Sir Henry Mildmay, having obtained, by law, and at the public expense (for the poor public had to pay fees to its own clerks for the passing of the bill), during the session of 1803-4, the award of damages by a jury, and the letting of the house to the Barrack office, remained, as far as appears from the documents and evidence in the fourth report, unmentioned until May, 1804. In that month he bargained with the government to take the House as an officer's barrack, at 400*l.* a year. In August the jury assembled to award damages for the land. They awarded 1300*l.* for the first year for 31 acres of ground, and 600*l.* a year for every year afterwards. When General Hewett, the Barrack master-general, was directed to close the bargain for the house, he remonstrated against it as a waste of the public money, in answer to which he was told by Mr. Brownrigg, that it was thought necessary to take it, in order "to remunerate Sir Henry Mild- "may for the *loss of his residence.*" Sir Henry Mildmay is asked, by the Military Commissioners, *for what* the jury awarded him so large a sum as 600*l.* a year for 31 acres of land? His answer is, that they gave him 200*l.* for the land, and 400*l.* a year *to provide him with another place of residence.* ——Now, said I, it is, then, evident that he knowingly received payment twice for the same thing; once in the award of the jury, and once in the lease of the House with the Barrack-office; and, accordingly, I characterized the transaction as a *job.*——Nothing was published in reply; and, here it was that Sir Henry Mildmay was badly advised; for, having stood forth as the champion of a party, not without some little promising as to what he would do in inquiry into abuses, it was not for him to despise public opinion, nor any thing that was likely to have an effect upon that opinion. When parliament met, however, he moved for a memorial, which he had presented, on the same day, to the Commissioners of Military Inquiry, and which memorial was inserted in the Register at page 52 of the present volume. In his speech he said, that the transaction could be *no job*, because it took place under Mr. Addington's administration, for whom he never gave a vote in his life. But, I proved, from the documents, that the proposition for the renting of the house and the assembling of the jury, both took place under the Administration of Pitt, for whom he always voted. And there was something very suspicious in his waiting for nine months, and then making the proposition and calling the jury, immediately after Pitt came into office. But, my correspondent has now communicated to me a copy of a letter from Mr. Brownrigg to Sir Henry Mildmay, dated on the 12th of April, 1804, which states, that, even in the preceding November, the Duke of York had applied to Lord Hobart for authority to rent the House, and that the authority had been obtained. So that, the bargain for the house was begun under the Administration of Mr. Addington, the conclusion of it, under Pitt, was a matter of course, and, therefore, the transaction evidently was *not* what is called *a job*, which phrase is employed to designate a transaction, *wherein votes in parliament are obtained, either directly or indirectly in exchange for*

* See Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England, vol. 1. p. 892.

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the public money. I am really glad that this has been proved; for the worst light in which I viewed the transaction was that of a job, a vile barter of votes for money; a base act of treachery towards a confiding people. It is now pointed out to me, too, that in Brownrigg's letter, contained in the report documents, he makes mention of the authority given by Lord Hobart to rent the house as a Barrack. This incidental mention escaped me, or I should have noticed it; for it shewed that the bargain for the house was begun, at least, under the Addington set.——But, as yet we see nothing to remove the charge of *knowingly receiving payment twice for the same thing.* Now, however, we have to consider the two letters (in p. 145 of this Volume) from two of *the jurymen* to Sir Henry Mildmay, one of whom says, that the *house* was not at all included in the estimate, and the other says, that the award went only to the occupation of the 31 acres of ground, and the *general injury which the estate must suffer from such occupation*, the jury being aware that Sir Henry was at that time in treaty with the government for the renting of the house, which they considered him at perfect liberty to do what he pleased with.—Now, Sir Henry Mildmay declares, upon oath, that *he understood* the jury to have awarded him £400 out of the six *to provide him with another place of residence*: so that there is a manifest disagreement between the declaration of the jurymen and his declaration. In answer to this my correspondent says: "The *jury* (he should have said *two* "of the jury to whom Sir Henry Mildmay "wrote) having now distinctly stated the "motives which influenced, and the considerations included in their award, it is "*very immaterial* what Sir Henry Mildmay "*understood* on the subject. He has stated "nothing, on this point, to the commissioners, on his *own knowledge*, but only "what he had understood in loose conversation." Now, Sir, supposing it had been the whole of the twelve men instead of two of them, who had thus written, pardon me, if I think, that, by *their letters*, the case is not at all mended; and that what you seem to regard as "*very immaterial*," is most of all material; for, though Sir Henry Mildmay, when he gave his evidence, now appears (for I will not question the truth of the two letters) to have been mistaken as to the *fact*, you, surely, will not wish me to believe, that he could be *mistaken* as to what he *understood* of that fact; and he says, that he understood, that £400 from the public was awarded to provide him with another place of residence, *with which understanding in his mind* he must have made the bargain to let the house to that same public at another £400 a year; or, if the lease came first, he must have *understood*, that he was receiving an award of £400 a year from the public to provide him with another place of residence, when he had already let that residence to that public at £400 a year. I should be glad to see a way out of this, but I cannot, unless it can be shewn, that the *house* and the *place of residence* are not one and the same thing——But, it is asked: "might "Sir Henry Mildmay not have let the house "to any *individual*?" Yes, to any body but the public, though, if an "*untenable*" house had found a tenant, I should have thought it somewhat strange. The difference between the public and an individual, in this case is, that the public had already paid four hundred a year, besides the fees in passing the bill of non-residence, *for rendering the house untenable*, and for the poor sweated public to become the *tenant* of it afterwards at another four hundred a year was what, surely, no man, in any country but this would have believed. My correspondent says, "that, if the go-"vernment had not rented Moulsham Hall, "as an officer's barrack, they must have "rented some other place and at a higher "rate." General Hewitt says otherwise; but, supposing it to be so, it should have been considered, that, as the house was discovered to be *tenable* for one description of persons in the world, and as the public was to be the paymaster, the rent was already allowed for in the award, because the *untenableness* of the house must have been taken into consideration by the jury, or else they never could have made such an award. The circumstance stated by my correspondent, that Sir Henry Mildmay does, in fact, only hold the estate in trust for his son is of some weight, as it fairly accounts for his sending two lawyers to plead before the jury, a man having no right to give away that which belongs, either now or eventually, to another.——My correspondent asserts, and, I believe, with truth, that the park has been greatly disfigured by the works, which pass very near to the house, and which have quite cut off the main entrance to it. But, all *damages* of this sort are imaginary, when an estate cannot be sold; as this estate cannot; and, it is to be lamented, that the imagination should, in this case, have fixed them so high.——He says, that "Mr. Vansittart "bears testimony to the liberality of Sir "Henry Mildmay's conduct, and that it

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" is preposterous to suppose, that a man " of Sir Henry's fortune would, for the sake " of £400 a year for only four years, have " done what he regarded as a mean ac- " tion." I like the latter argument best; for as to the evidence of Mr. Vansittart, or any other secretary of the Treasury, or any other placeman, that is not what I should wish to abide by in any transaction to which the public was a party. But, it is, indeed, incredible, that a man of Sir Henry Mildmay's fortune and *character* (for he has not that of a money-lover) should, with his senses about him, have done a mean act for the sake of £1,600; and, it is, I think, but fair to regard his boldness in speaking about jobs, during the late election dinner, as a presumptive proof that he felt no *consciousness* of having done such an act. To say that *others* have obtained higher payment from the public, to cite the instance of a parson Bingham of Gosport, who, under the late administration, received £1,700 and *a hundred a year for life* besides, for *a house and garden*, in that town, destroyed by military works; to cite this, or a thousand such instances, makes nothing in defence of such a man as Sir Henry Mildmay, who would, I dare say, not be very willing to be thought to be upon a level with the parties receiving such awards.—Upon the whole, I think, that it must appear, that payment has been twice received from the public for the use of Moulsham Hall; but, that the new facts now brought forth do entirely remove the hateful imputation of a job; and that, from his evident unacquaintance with the detail of the transaction, it is probable, and likely, that Sir Henry Mildmay had, as is the too common practice with men of large fortunes, left the business in the hands of an agent, who thought it is duty to get from the public as much as he could, by any means, obtain, leaving his employer, in case of need, to justify the thing in the best manner that he might be able. This, by inference, at least, my correspondent asserts to have been the case. From all that he has written and said to me, upon the subject, I believe it; and I do sincerely regret, that the circumstances, now brought to light, were not sooner made public; because, though they do not justify the act itself, they totally change the nature of the probable motive; and though, in the libel-trials they will hear nothing of any motive other than that which is manifested in the act, or rather, in their interpretation of the act, God forbid that men should judge their neighbours by that rule!——But, if we say, that, in the cause of this affair, Sir Henry Mildmay has been wanting to himself, what shall we say of those, who, " walking in the footsteps of " that great man," (Pitt) left him in the lurch at the moment of his utmost need, Mr. Perceval told the House, that his honourable *friend*, the honourable Baronet, had *requested* not to be upon the Finance Committee! Did he, indeed, make that request? Was it really *he*, who thus sought to evade a discussion upon the subject of Moulsham Hall? Had I had a "*friend*" in Sir Henry Mildmay's situation, I should have said to him, " if you wish to be " thought conscious of innocence of evil " intention, withdraw not your name from " that committee, especially after what you " have said at Portsmouth."——Is it not a sorrowful thing to see such a man sacrificing every thing, even to reputation, to a party; and a party, too, composed of ..... but I will rather stop than cheat my description! One would think Sir Henry Mildmay has now had enough of faction. But, I know not how it is. Such men appear to be infatuated. It would seem, that they took a delight in being underlings; in being, in fact, nothing more than mere mouths, to be opened and shut at the pleasure of those, in whose train they have chosen to enroll themselves.

BRISTOL MEETING.

At a numerous and respectable Meeting of Freemen, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the City of Bristol, held July 10, 1807, for the express purpose of enquiring into the present State of the Elective Franchise.——Henry Hunt, Esq. in the Chair.——It was unanimously resolved,

1st. That the elective Franchise is an object of the highest importance, as it is the basis of our laws and liberties. That in the free and unbiassed exercise of this great and yet undisputed privilege, depends our best interests, and dearest rights, as freeborn Englishmen.—2nd. That if any club or party of men whatsoever, arrogate to themselves the power of returning a representative for this city, whether designated by the title of the White Lion Club, the Talbot Club, or the Loyal and Constitutional Club, if they threaten, persecute and oppress a voter for the free exercise of his judgment in the disposal of his suffrage, they are enemies to their country by acting in direct opposition to the sound principles of the British constitution.—3d. That we view with painful anxiety the contracted and enthral'd state of the elective rights of this city, and we are fully convinced of the existence of such unconsti-

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tutional Clubs as are mentioned in the foregoing Resolution, that their evil effects have reduced this great city, to a level with the rottenest of rotton Boroughs, therefore, we are determined by every legal exertion in our power, to interpose and adopt, such constitutional and effective measures as may appear most conducive to the recovery and firm establishment of the Freedom of Election in this city.—4th. That the following Declarations of the Westminster Committee, contain the great constitutional principles on which we ought to act.—"That as to our "principles they are those of the constitution of England, and none other, that it "is declared by the Bill of Rights, that one "of the crimes of the Tyrant James, was "that of interfering by his ministers, in the "election of Members of Parliament, that "by the same great standard of our liberties, it is declared, that the election of "members of parliament ought to be free! "That by the act which transferred the "Crown of this Kingdom from the heads of "the House of Stuart to the heads of the "House of Brunswick, it is provided that "for the better securing of the liberties of the "subject, no person holding a Place or Pension under the crown shall be a member "of the House of Commons: That these "are constitutional principles: and as we "are convinced that all the notorious peculations, that all the prodigal Waste of public Money, that all the intolerable burthens and vexations therefrom arising, "that all the oppression from within, and "all the danger from without, proceed "from a total abandonment of these great "constitutional principles: we hold it to "be our bounden duty, to use all the legal "means in our power, to restore those "principles to practice.—That though we "are fully convinced, that, as the natural "consequence of the measures pursued for "the last sixteen years, our country is "threatened with imminent danger from "the foe, which Englishmen once despised, "and though we trust there is not a man "of us, who would not freely lay down his "life to preserve the independence of his "country, and to protect it from a sanguinary and merciless invader: yet we hesitate not to declare that the danger we "should consider of the next importance, "the scourge next to be dreaded, would be "a pack'd and corrupt house of commons, "whose votes, not less merciless, and more "insulting, than a Conqueror's Edicts, "would bereave us of all that renders "country dear, and life worth preserving, "and that too, under the names and forms "of Law and Justice—under those very "names, and those very forms, which yielded security to the persons and property of "our forefathers."——5th. That in following the glorious example of the Citizens of Westminster, by choosing men of corresponding sentiments, and undeviating public virtue, we shall as far as rests with us, restore the blessings of our constitution, and the just rights and liberties of the people.—6th. That the freeholders, freemen, entitled freemen, and inhabitants of this city, who have united themselves for the laudable purpose of supporting each other in the free and unbiassed exercise of their judgment in the choice of their representatives, merit the approbation and applause of all their fellow citizens, and that we do now form ourselves into a body to be called, the "Bristol Patriotic and Constitutional Association," to cooperate with them in counteracting that unwarrantable influence, manœuvre, and deception, which have reduced the electors of this city to mere political cyphers, to passive spectators of the general wreck, freemen with no other appendage of freedom but the empty name; we therefore pledge ourselves individually and collectively to assist and protect them in the recovery of our just and constitutional liberties.—— 7th. That a public subscription be immediately opened to raise a fund for the purpose above mentioned, for defraying the expences of a Room for the Association, Printing, &c., and that a List of the Subscribers and Subscriptions, be regularly kept, and that proper Books be provided for that purpose.——8th. That these Resolutions be signed by the Chairman, and that they be published,—Signed, —HENRY HUNT, Chairman.

GENERAL ESTE.

Mr. Alexander Davison having circulated observations on the Third Report of the Commissioners of Military Enquiry, Major Gen. Este states for the information of the public the following circumstances, to shew the nature of the transaction which brought him to public notice; and adds some remarks on such part of the observations as concerns him.—Maj. Gen. Este, on taking the command of the troops in the Island of Alderney, found there was no allowance of coals made to him, and from the difficulty of procuring coals, he requested Mr. Hamilton, the Barrack Master, to issue coal on his account till further orders, and immediately made application to the Secretary at War for a continuation of such indulgence; adding his proposal for the payment of the amount when called upon: the indulgence was con-

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tinued to the issue of 492 bushels, when it was stopped, and a demand made on the general to return the quantity so issued into the store. A compliance in this mode of settlement was very difficult, as no coal merchant resided on the island, nor could the quantity be obtained but by sending a vessel to Weymouth for such direct purpose. He, therefore, on the 20th May, 1801, submitted to the Barrack Master General the following proposal, viz.—"A ready mode of "payment suggests itself to me; let the "contractor, now about to furnish the annual supply, be directed to lay in a surplus equal to the quantity issued to me, "and the expence thereof, together with "the additional charges of cartage and storage thereon be made to me, and I shall "pay the amount."——On the 0th June, Gen. Este having occasion to write to Maj. De Lancey, the assistant Barrack Master General, informed him of the proposal he had made to the Barrack Master General; and in the same letter stated, that he had lately seen in the public papers, the best Sunderland coals sold in the Pool, fluctuated between the prices of £1. 14s. 0d. and £1. 17s. 6d. per chaldron, and delivered at any part of London at £2. 3s. 6d. and £2. 6s. 6d. per chaldron: he therefore imagined a fair price at Alderney would be about £2. per chaldron: but added, "however, this is only an idea as it at present strikes me, if it should appear to you "any way erroneous or objectionable, you "will have the goodness to point it out, "and let me know the amount of what I "am held indebted to the public on this account, and I shall send you a draft accordingly."——About three weeks after, Gen. Este received a letter from Major De Lancey dated June 21, informing him that his proposal appeared to him a most equitable mode of adjustment both to the public and the department, and that he had taken the liberty of naming it to the Barrack Master General, who had empowered him to conclude the business. Thus stood the agreement, and Gen. Este heard no more of it till the month of October, when Mr. Davison's agent made a demand on him for the sum of £38. 19s. which he paid by draft, as set forth in Mr. Davison's observations.—— If any deviation were made from the original agreement it was totally unknown to Gen. Este, which Major De Lancey should answer for his own credit; and the general trusts, on better founded ground than Mr. Davison has given to the public in his observations, viz.—"That his agent had Major "De Lancey's permission not to charge the "general more than he thought the coals "cost, as he knew the general was very fond "of money."——An assertion Gen Este trusts will be readily confuted by the whole of his military acquaintance, who must have known him in the discharge of many public situations, in all of which, he feels, he stands secure from every degree of meanness, and has ever been a marked enemy to peculation, and was never concerned in any dirty job: nor can he see any other motive for the introduction of so malicious an insinuation in Mr. Davison's observations, unless to give a momentary gloss to transactions that will not bear the test of public enquiry.—— Mr. Davison is pleased to observe on the extreme singularity of the following draft, viz.

£38. 19s. 0d. *Alderney, Oct.* 10, 1801.

"Ten days after date pay to Alex. Davison, "Esq. or his order, the sum of thirty eight "pounds and nineteen shillings, (being for "four hundred and ninety two bushels of "coals, delivered by the said Mr. Davison "into the barrack store of this island, on "my account, at the rate of nineteen pence "per bushel, including cartage and storage)" being the price charged to government," and place the same with or without further advice to the account of — Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) C. W. Este, B. G.

Messrs. Meyrick, Spring Garden, London."

Surely under the circumstances of the agreement it was a most proper draft, and particularly as the bill presented was by a perfect stranger to the general, and a clerk to the agent of the contractor, and the charges not certified by any officer of the Barrack Department. Besides, at the time of making the payment the general's mind was strongly impressed with the unreasonableness of the charge, it differing so widely from the current prices he had seen in the public papers, and which he had submitted to Maj. De Lancey in his letter of the 0th June.—— Mr. Davison observes, that the price of coals at the time of Gen. Este's payment was by certificate 72 shillings per chaldron: on which Gen. Este takes the liberty to remark he has a receipt of a Mr. T. Boucher, clerk to a Mr. Walker of Guernsey, dated the 13th of the same month, acknowledging to have received the sum of £4. 7s 6d. for fifty bushels of coals sold by Mr. Walker, and laid in at the general's house, at the rate of 63 shillings per chaldron, and both persons were and are entire strangers to Gen. Este, of course he had no reason to expect favour nor did he seek any.—C. W. Este,—*Great Portland Street, July* 1, 1807.

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PUBLIC PAPER.

TREATY BETWEEN PRUSSIA AND FRANCE.—*Conditions of Peace between his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, done at Tilsit, the 9th July, 1807.*

His Majesty, the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, animated with the same desire of putting an end to the calamities of war, for that purpose, appointed plenipotentiaries, namely; on the part of his Majesty the Emperor of France and King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, M. Ch. Maurice Tallyrand, Prince of Benevento, his Great Chamberlain, and Minister for Foreign Affairs, &c. &c.; and on that of his Majesty the King of Prussia, M. Marshal Count de Kalkreuth, Knight of the Prussian Orders of the Black and Red Eagle, and Count Von Golz, his Privy Counsellor, Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and Knight of the Prussian Order of the Black Eagle: who after the exchange of their several full powers, have agreed on the following articles:—Article I. From the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, there shall be perfect peace and amity between the King of Prussia and the Emperor of France.——Art. II. The part of the Duchy of Magdeburg which lies on the right bank of the Elbe; the Mark of Preignitz, the Ukermark, and the new Mark of Brandenburgh, with the exception of the Circle of Rothus, in Lower Lusatia; the Duchy of Pomerania; Upper, Lower, and New Silesia, with the County of Glatz; the part of the district of Mess which lies to the north of the road from Driesen to Schneidesmuhl, and to the north of a line passing from Schneidesmuhl, by Woldau, to the Vistula, and to the frontiers of the Circle of Bromberg Pomerelia; the Island of Nogat, and the country on the right bank of the Vistula and the Nogat, to the west of Old Prussia; and to the Circle Culmer: finally, the kingdom of Prussia, as it was on the 1st of January, 1772, shall be restored to his Majesty the King of Prussia, with the fortresses of Spandau, Stettin, Custrin, Glogau, Brc-law, Schweidnitz, Niesse, Brieg-Cosel, and Gloz; and, in general, all the places, citadels, castles, and forts of the above mentioned, shall be restored in the state in which they at present are: the town and citadel of Graudenz, with the villages of Neudorf, Parschken, and Schwierkorzy, shall likewise be restored to his Majesty the King of Prussia.—Art. III. His Majesty the King of Prussia acknowledges his Majesty the King of Naples, Joseph Napoleon, and his Majesty the King of Holland, Louis Napoleon.—Art. IV. His Majesty the King of Prussia in like manner acknowledges the Confederation of the Rhine, and the present state of the possessions of the sovereigns of which it is composed, and the titles which have been bestowed on them, either by the act of confederation, or by the subsequent treaties. His said Majesty likewise engages to acknowledge those sovereigns who, in future, shall become members of the said confederation, and the titles they may receive by their treaties of accession.——Art. V. The present Treaty of Peace and Amity shall be in common for his Majesty the King of Naples, Joseph Napoleon, for his Majesty the King of Holland, and for the Sovereigns of the Confederation of the Rhine, the allies of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.—Art. VI. His Majesty the King of Prussia, in like manner, acknowledges his Imperial Highness Prince Jerome Napoleon as King of Westphalia.——Art. VII. His Majesty the King of Prussia cedes, in full right of property and sovereignty to the Kings, Grand Dukes and Dukes, and Princes, who shall be pointed out by his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, all the Duchies, Margravates, Principalities, Counties, and Lordships, and, in general, all the territories and domains, and all territorial property of whatever kind, or by whatever title possessed, by his Majesty the King of Prussia, between the Rhine and the Elbe, at the commencement of the present war.——Art. VIII. The kingdom of Westphalia shall consist of the provinces ceded by his Majesty the King of Prussia, and of other states which are at present in possession of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.——Art. IX. The arrangements which his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon shall make in the countries alluded to in the two preceding articles, and the occupation of the same by those sovereigns in whose favour he shall make such arrangements, shall be acknowledged by his Majesty the King of Prussia, in the same manner as if they were contained and stipulated in the present treaty.——Art. X. His Majesty the King of Prussia renounces for himself, his heirs, and successors, all actual or future right which he has or may require. 1. To all territory without exception, situate between the Elbe and the Rhine, and in general to all not described in Art. VII. 2. To all possessions of his Majesty the King of Saxony and of the House of Anhalt, situate on the right bank of the Elbe. On the other hand, all rights or claims of the states

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situate between the Rhine and the Elbe to the possessions of his Majesty the King of Prusia, as they are defined by the present Treaty, shall be for ever extinguished and annulled.—Art. XI. All negociations, conventions, or treaties of alliance, that may have been publicly or privately concluded between Prussia and any States on the left Bank of the Elbe, and which has not been broken by the present war, shall remain without effect, and be considered as null and not concluded.—Art. XII. His Majesty the King of Prussia cedes the Circle of Kotbuss, in Lower Lusatia, to his Majesty the King of Saxony, with full right of proprietorship and sovereignty.—Art. XIII. His Majesty the King of Prussia renounces for ever possession to all the provinces which formerly constituted parts of the kingdom of Poland, have at different periods come under the dominion of Prussia, excepting Ermeland, and the country to the West of Ancient Prussia, to the East of Pomerania and the Newark, to the North of the Circle of Halm and a line which passes from the Vistula by Waldau to Schneidemuhl, and passes along the boundaries of Bromberg and the road from the Schneidemuhl to Driesen, which provinces, with the town and citadel of Graudetz, and the villages of Neudorf, Parschken, and Swierhorzy, shall in future be possessed, with all rights of proprietorship and sovereignty, by his Majesty the King of Prussia.—Art. XIV. His Majesty the King of Prussia renounces in like manner, for ever, possession of the city of Dantzic.——Art. XV. The provinces which his Majesty the King of Prussia renounces in the 13th article, with exception of the territories mentioned in the 18th article, shall be possessed with right of property and sovereignty by his Majesty the King of Saxony, under the title of a Dukedom of Warsaw, and governed according to a constitution which shall secure the liberties and privileges of the people of that duchy, and be conformable to the tranquillity of the neighbouring states.—Art. XVI. To secure a connection and communication between the Kingdom of Saxony and the Duchy of Warsaw, the free use of a military road shall be granted to the King of Saxony through the states of his Majesty the King of Prussia. This road, the number of troops which shall pass through it at one time, and the places at which they shall halt, shall be settled by a particular agreement between the two sovereigns, under the mediation of France.—Art. XVII. The navigation of the river Ness and the canal of Bromberg, from Drieven to the Vistula and back, shall remain free from any toll.—Art. XVIII. In order to establish, as much as possible, natural boundaries between Russia and the Duchy of Warsaw, the territory between the present boundaries of Russia, from the Berg, to the mouth of the Lassosna, and a line which passes from the said mouth, and along the channel of that river, the channel of the Bobro to its mouth, the channel of the Narew from its mouth to Suradz, the channel of the Lisa to its source near the village of Mien, and of the two neighbouring arms of the Nurzuck, rising near that village, and the channel of the Nurzuck itself to its mouth, and lastly along the channel of the Bug, up the stream to the present boundaries of Russia, shall for ever be incorporated with the Russian Empire.——Art. XIX. The city of Dantzic, with a territory of two miles circumference, shall be restored to its former independence, under the protection of his Majesty the King of Prussia and the King of Saxony, and be governed by the rules by which it was governed when it ceased to be its own mistress.——Art. XX. Neither his Majesty the King of Prussia, nor his Majesty the King of Saxony, shall obstruct the navigation of the Vistula by any prohibition, nor by any customs, duty, or imports whatsoever.——XXI. The city, port, and territory of Dantzic, shall be shut up during the present maritime war against the trade and navigation of Great Britain.—Art. XXII. No individual of any rank or description whatsoever, whose property and abode are situated in such provinces as formerly belonged to the kingdom of Poland, or which the King of Prussia is henceforth to possess; and no individual of the Duchy of Warsaw, or residing within the territory incorporated with Russia, or possessing any landed property, rents, annuities, or any income whatsoever, shall either with regard to his person, his estates, rents, annuities, and income, nor with respect to his rank and dignities, be prosecuted on account of any part which he may have taken, either in a political or military point of view, in the event of the present war.—Art. XXIII. In the same manner, no individual residing or possessing landed property in the countries which belonged to the King of Prussia, prior to the 1st of January, 1772, and which are restored to him by virtue of the preceding second article; and in particular, no individual of the Berlin civic guard or of the gens d'armes, who have taken up arms in order to maintain tranquillity, shall be prosecuted in his person, his estates, rents, annuities, or any income whatsoever, or in his rank or dignity, nor in any manner whatsoever, on account of any part which he may have taken in the

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events of the present war, or be subjected to any inquiry.—Art. XXIV. The engagements debts, or obligations of any nature whatsoever, which his Majesty the King of Prussia may have contracted or concluded, prior to the present war, as possessor of the countries, dominions, and revenues, which his Majesty cedes and renounces in the present treaty, shall be performed and satisfied by the new possessors, without any exception or reservation whatsoever.—Art. XXV. The funds and capitals which belong to private persons, or public religion, civil, or military associations, countries which his Majesty the King of Prussia, or, which he renounces by the private treaty, whether the said capitals be vested in the Bank of Berlin, in the Chest of the Territory of Noviltrade, or in any other manner, in the dominions of the King of Prussia, shall neither be confiscated nor attached by the proprietors of the funds or capitals, shall be at liberty to dispose of the same, and they are to continue to enjoy the interest thereof, whether such interest be already due, or may yet become due at the periods stipulated in the conventions or bonds; the same shall, on the other side, be observed with regard to all funds and capitals which are vested by private individuals, or public institutions whatsoever, in such countries which are ceded or renounced by his Prussian Majesty by virtue of the present treaty.—Art. XXVI. The archives which contain the titles of property documents, and in general all the papers which relate to the countries, territories, dominions, as well as the maps and plans of the strong places, citadels, castles, and forts seated in the above-mentioned countries, are to be delivered up by commissioners of his said Majesty, within the time of three months next ensuing the exchange of the ratification of this treaty, to commissioners of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, with regard to the countries seated on the left Bank of the Rhine; and to commissioners of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, of the King of Saxony, and of the City of Dantzic, with regard to all the countries which their said Majesties and the City of Danttic are in future to possess, by virtue of the present compact.——Art. XXVII. Until the day of the ratification of the future definitive treaty of peace between France and England, all the countries under the dominion of his Majesty the King of Prussia, without any exception whatsoever, shall be shut against the trade and navigation of the English. No shipment to be made from any Prussian port for the British Isles or British Colonies; nor shall any ship which sailed from England, or her colonies, be admitted in any Prussian port.—Art. XXVIII. The necessary arrangements shall immediately be made to settle every point which relates to the manner and period of the surrender of the places which are to be restored to his Majesty the King of Prussia; and to the civil and military administration of the said countries.—Art. XXIX. The prisoners of war taken on both sides are to be returned without any exchange and in mass, as soon as circumstances shall admit.——Art. XXX. The present treaty is to be ratified by his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and by his Majesty the King of Prussia, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Konigsberg by the undersigned, within the time of six days next ensuing the signing of the treaty — Done at Tilsit, the 9th July, 1807.——Signed. C. M. TALLEYRAND, Prince of Benevento.——COUNT KALKREUTH, Field Marshal.—AUGUSTUS COUNT GOLTZ.——The ratifications of this treaty were exchanged at Konigsberg on the 12th July, 1807.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Seventy-ninth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

(Concluded from page 192.)

About half past 5, Marshal Ney began to move forward. Some shots from a battery of 20 cannon were the signal. At the same moment the division of Gen. Marchand advanced, sword-in-hand upon the enemy, and proceeded towards the tower of the town; being supported on the left by the division of Gen. Bison.—When the enemy perceived that Marshal Ney had left the wood in which his right wing had been posted, they endeavoured to surround him with some regiments of cavalry, and a multitude of Cossacks: but Gen. Latour Maubourg's division of dragoons rode up in full gallop to the right wing, and repelled the attack of the enemy. In the mean time Gen. Victor erected a battery of 30 cannon in the front of his center. Gen. Sennarmont, who commanded this battery, pushed his works forward more than 400 paces, and greatly annoyed the enemy. The several manœuvres they attempted, in order to produce a diversion, were all in vain.—Marshal Ney was at the head of his troops directing the smallest manœuvres with that coolness and intrepidity peculiar to himself, and maintained that example which has always distinguished his corps among the other corps of the grand army. Several columns of the enemy which attacked his right wing were received with the bayonet and driven into the Alle. Thousands found their graves in that river, and

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some escaped by swimming; meanwhile Marshal Ney's left wing reached the Raveline, which encircles the town of Friedland. The enemy who had posted the imperial horse and foot guards in ambush there, advanced with great intrepidity, and attacked Marshal Ney's left, which for a moment wavered: but Dupont's division, which formed the right wing of the reserve, fell upon the Russian imperial guards, defeated them, and made a most dreadful slaughter. The enemy sent forward several other corps from his centre, to defend Friedland: vain efforts! Friedland was forced, and its streets bestrewed with dead bodies. The centre, commanded by Marshal Lannes, was at the same time engaged. The attempts which the enemy had made upon the right wing, being frustrated, he wished to try the effect of similar efforts upon our centre, he was, however, suitably received by the brave divisions of Oudinot and Verdier, and the commanding Marshal.—The repeated attacks of the enemy's infantry and cavalry were incapable of obstructing the march of our columns, all the powers and all the courage of the Russians were exerted in vain.—Marshal Mortier, who, during the whole day, had given great proofs of coolness and intrepidity, in supporting the left wing, now advanced, and was in his turn supported by the fuzileers of the guard under the command of Gen. Savary. The cavalry, infantry, and artillery—all, on this occasion, generally distinguished themselves.—The imperial horse and foot guards, and two divisions of the first corps, were not in the action. The victory was never for a moment doubtful. The field of battle is horrible to behold. It is not too much to estimate the number of the dead on the side of the Russians, at from 15 to 18,000. The number of dead on the French side was not 500, but we have 3000 wounded. We have taken 80 cannons, and a great number of cassoons. A great number of standards have also fallen into our hands. There are 25 of the Russian generals either killed, wounded, or taken. Their cavalry has suffered an incalculable loss.—Gen. Dronet, Chief of Marshal Lannes' corps; Gen. Cohorn; Col. Regnaud of the 15th of the line; Col. Lajonquire of the 60th; Col. Lamotte, of the 4th dragoons; and Brigadier General Brunryn, are wounded. Gen. Latour Maubourg is wounded in the hand. Deffourneux, colonel of the artillery; Hutin, Chef d'Esquadron, and first Aid-de-Camp of Gen. Oudinot, are killed. Two of the Emperor's Aids-de-Camp, Mouton and Lacoste, are slightly wounded.—Night prevented us from pursuing the enemy; they were followed until 11 o'clock. During the remainder of the night, the cut off columns tried to pass the Alle at several fordable places, and next day, we saw caissons, cannon, and harness, every where in the river.—The battle of Friedland is worthy to be numbered with those of Marengo, Austerlitz and Jena. The enemy were numerous, had fine cavalry, and fought bravely.—Next day the enemy endeavoured to assemble on the right bank of the Alle, and the French army made manœuvres on the left bank to cut them off from Koningsberg. The heads of the columns arrived at the same time at Wehlau, a town situated at the confluence of the Alle and the Pregel. The Emperor had his head quarters in the village of Peterswelde.——The enemy having destroyed all the bridges took advantage of that obstacle, at day-break, on the 16th, to proceed on their retreat towards Russia. At 8 in the morning, the Emperor threw a bridge over the Pregel, and took a position there with the army.—Almost all the magazines which the enemy had on the Alle have been thrown into the river, or burnt. Some idea may be formed of the great extent of their loss by what yet remains to us. The Russians had magazines in all the villages, which, in their passage, they every where burnt. We have, however, found more than 6000 quintals of corn in Wehlau.——Koningsberg was abandoned on the arrival of the intelligence of the battle of Friedland. Marshal Soult has entered that place, where much wealth has been found. We have taken there some hundred thousand quintals of corn, more than 20,000 wounded Russians and Prussians, all the ammunition which England had sent to the Russians, including 160,000 muskets which had not been landed. Thus has Providence punished those, who instead of negociating with good faith to bring about a salutary peace, treated that object with derision, and regarded the repose taken by the conquerors, as a proof of timidity and weakness.—The army is now in a delightful country. The banks of the Pregel are rich. In a short time the magazines and cellars of Dantzic and Koningsberg will afford us new resources of superfluity and health. The names of the brave men who have distinguished themselves, cannot be contained within the limits of one bulletin. The staff is employed in collecting their deeds.—The Prince of Neufchatel gave extraordinary proofs of his zeal and knowledge in the battle of Friedland. He was frequently in the hottest part of the action, and made arrangements which were of great advantage.—It was on the 5th

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the enemy renewed hostilities. Their loss in the ten days which followed their first operations may be reckoned at 60,000 men, killed, wounded, taken, or otherwise put *hors de combat*. A part of their artillery, the necessary supply of military stores, and all their magazines, on a line of more than 40 miles, are lost to them. The French army has seldom obtained such great advantages with so little loss.

30th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

During the time that the French arms signalize themselves on the field of battle at Friedland, the Grand Duke of Berg arrives before Koningsberg, and takes in flank the corps of the army commanded by Gen. Lestocq.—On the 13th, Marshal Soult found at Creutzberg, the Prussian rear-guard. The division of Milhaud's dragoons makes a fine charge, defeats the Prussian cavalry, and takes several pieces of cannon.——On the 14th, the enemy was compelled to shut himself up in Koningsberg. About noon, 2 of the enemy's columns, which had been cut off before that place, with a view of entering it, 6 pieces of cannon, and from 3 to 4000 men who composed this troop, were taken. All the suburbs of Koningsberg were raised, and a considerable number of prisoners were made. The result of all these affairs is between 4 and 5000 prisoners, and 15 pieces of cannon.——On the 15th and 16th, Marshal Soult's corps was occupied before the entrenchments of Koningsberg; but the advance of the main body of the army towards Wehlau, obliges the enemy to evacuate Koningsberg, and this place falls into our hands. The stores found at Koningsberg are immense: 200 large vessels from Russia are still all loaded in the port. There was much more wine and brandy than we had any reason to expect.—A brigade of the division of St. Hilaire advanced before Pillau, to form the siege of that place; and Gen. Rapp has sent off to Dantzic for a column, ordered to go by the Nehrung, to raise before Pillau a battery which may shut the Haff. Vessels manned by marines of the guard render us masters of this small sea.—On the 17th, the Emperor transferred his head-quarters to the farm of Drucken, near Klein Schirau. On the 18th he advanced them to Sgaisgirren; and on the 19th, at 2 in the afternoon, he entered Tilsit.——The Grand Duke of Berg, at the head of the greater part of the light cavalry, some divisions of dragoons and cuirassiers, has followed the enemy in his retreat these three last days, and did him much injury. The 5th regiment of hussars distinguished itself. The Cossacks were repeatedly routed, and suffered considerably in these different charges. We had a few killed and wounded: among the latter is the Chief d'Escadre Pieton, Aide-de-Camp to the Grand Duke of Berg. After the passage of the Pregel, opposite to Wehlau, a drummer was charged by a Cossack at full gallop; the Cossack takes his lance to pierce the drummer, but the latter preserved his presence of mind; takes his lance from him, disarms the Cossack, and pursues him.——A singular circumstance, which excited the laughter of the soldiers, occurred for the first time near Tilsit, where a cloud of Cossacks were seen fighting with arrows. We were sorry for those who gave the preference to the ancient arms, to those of the moderns, but nothing is more laughable than the effect of those arms against our muskets. Marshal Davoust, at the head of the third corps, defiled by Labian, fell upon the enemy's rear-guard and made 2500 prisoners.—Marshal Ney arrived on the 17th at Insterbourgh, and there took 1000 wounded, and the enemy's magazines, which were considerable. The woods, the villages, are full of straggling Russians, sick or wounded. The loss of the Russian army is enormous. It has not with it more than 60 pieces of cannon. The rapidity of our marches prevent us from being able as yet, to ascertain how many pieces we have taken; but it is supposed, that the number exceeds 120.—Near Tilsit, the annexed notes, numbered I and II. were transmitted to the Grand Duke of Berg; and afterwards the Russian Prince, Lieut. Gen. Lubanoff, passed the Niemen, and had a conference for an hour with the Prince of Neufchatel.—The enemy burned in great haste the bridge of Tilsit over the Niemen, and appeared to be continuing his retreat into Russia. We are on the confines of that empire. The Niemen, opposite Tilsitt, is somewhat broader than the Seine. From the left bank we see a cloud of Cossacks, who form the rear guard of the enemy on the right bank.—Hostilities have already ceased. What remained to the King of Prussia is conquered. That unfortunate prince has only in his power the country situate between the Niemen and Memel. The greater part of his army, or rather of the division of his troops, is deserting, being unwilling to go into Russia.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 7.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 15, 1807. [PRICE 1OD.

"For what true English heart will not swell, when it shall be made clear and evident, as in this book, "that the sovereignty of the seas, flowing about this island, even to the very shores opposite, hath, in all "times, whereof there remains any written testimony, under every revolution, down to the present age, "been held and acknowledged by all the world, as an inseparable appendant of the British Empire; and "that, by virtue thereof, the kings of England successively have had the sovereign guard of the seas; that "they have imposed taxes and tributes upon all ships passing and fishing therein; that they have obstructed "and opened the passage thereof to strangers at their own pleasure, and done all other things that may "testify an absolute sea dominion. What English heart, I say, can consider these things together with "the late actings, and not be inflamed with an indignation answerable to the insolence of these people, "raised, but yesterday, out of the dust."—NEDHAM'S Dedication of SELDEN'S Dominion of the Seas.

TO THE

INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER XX.

GENTLEMEN,

When I concluded the last letter which I did myself the honour of addressing to you (see Vol. XI. p. 930), I foresaw, that occasions would arise, when I might again think this the best mode of communicating my remarks to the public in general. An occasion of this sort has now arisen. The bill for *preventing grants of Places in Reversion* has been thrown out in the House of Lords, after having passed the House of Commons; and, as it is reasonable to suppose, that some of you may not be fully acquainted of the nature of such grants, and of the circumstances under which the bill was thrown out, I, who have had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with both, will endeavour to give you a just description of them.

There are, Gentlemen, numerous places under the government, which are called *sine-cures*, from two Latin words which mean *without care*. Places having no care, no charge, and, of course, no employment, attached to them; places which give the holders no other trouble than that of receiving the salaries or fees arising from them. The reason why these places are described by out-landish words is evident enough; for, to call them, in plain English, *places without employment*, or *nothing-to-do places*, would naturally produce feelings, in the people, not very friendly to such a snug establishment; and, indeed, had these places always been described by English words, my opinion is, that they would have ceased to exist long ago. We have here, Gentlemen, a striking instance of the great utility of the "*Learned Languages*," which once were so serviceable to the monks and friars, and which are now kept as much in use as possible by all those who are desirous of making a mystery of what ought to be clearly and universally understood. For the same reasons *the law*, that which every man ought to understand as clearly as possible, has been rendered mystical by the introducing and the retaining of foreign words. Latin, French, Half-French and Half Latin, any thing so that it be incomprehensible to the people in general; no matter what it is so that it keeps them from a knowledge of the real nature of the thing; and, what is above all things provoking, when a couple of empty-headed fellows have once got a gown and wig on, and have learnt the use of this barbarous jargon, they will, without the least sense of decency or shame, stand up amidst hundreds of spectators, and bestow upon each other, at every second breath, the appellation of "*learned* friend." Much more depends upon *names* than seems to enter into our philosophy. When the excellent parliament, which made a law to provide against Englishmen being unjustly deprived of their personal liberty; when they were enacting that the persons of innocent men, of all ranks, should, for the future, be secure from the fangs of a tyrannical government, they should have taken care to give their act a name which all men must have clearly understood; and not have left it to the "*learned* friends" to call it the act of *Habeas Corpus*, a name that, as far as nine-tenths of the people know, may mean something to eat, or to drink. If it had been called the *personal security act*, or the act for preventing *unjust imprisonment*, be you assured, Gentlemen, that it never would have been *suspended for seven years together*, not, at least, without some complaint, on the part of Englishmen, against such sus-

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pension. The English name would, too, have sounded badly in debate. Pitt, even Pitt, would not have talked so glibly of suspending the act for preventing unjust imprisonment. Men out of doors would have been startled at such a proposition; upon inquiry they would have found, that, from the moment this act was suspended, *any man* in the kingdom was *liable to be seized by a messenger from the offices of government and to be imprisoned as long as the council thought proper*, without any trial, and without any mode of obtaining redress, or even a hearing in his defence; and, finding this, it is not to be believed, that they would have acted as they did.

From this digression, in which I have anticipated myself as to one objection to the teaching of what modern impostors and impudence term "the Learned Languages," I return to *sine-cure places*, the nature of which I have endeavoured to explain to you. But, Gentlemen, persons to *fill*, if it may be so called, places where there is nothing to do but to receive the salaries or fees, are found in such abundance and they meet with ministers so ready to reward their public services, that these places, alas! numerous as they are, fall far short of the number required. They are all filled, at all times. This being the case, all that a poor minister can do for his friends, or relations, is to *promise* them the first vacancy. But, here arises a difficulty: two difficulties indeed; for the minister may not keep his promise; and, if, by any chance, he should be disposed to do that, he may not keep his place; besides which he may die, or the asker of the place may cease to support him. Therefore, in order to make things as sure as this sublunary state of things will admit of, the place-hunter says, if you cannot give me the place, give me the *reversion* of it: that is to say, obtain me a grant from the king, making me the *heir* of the man who now holds the place. Nay, sometimes these reversions are granted to two or three persons at once; first to one, and, if he or she should die, to another, and, if he or she should die to another, in which way, the late ministers have asserted in open parliament, that most of the places upon the Irish establishment are now granted, many of the grantees being young children; so that the places are granted away for sixty or eighty years to come.

This, Gentlemen, is what is meant by granting places in reversion, pensions, observe, being frequently granted in the same manner, and also some offices which are not perfect sinecures.——The late ministry, composed of our friends, the Whigs, brought in a bill, *a day or two before their being ousted*, to prevent, for the future, the granting of places in reversion. Their successors, though they have, as you have seen, obtained a decided majority in both Houses of Parliament, did not oppose the passing of this bill. But, when it came to the noble Lords, the noble Lords quickly dispatched it. On the 4th instant they did this, after a debate, which I shall here insert exactly as I find it reported in the Morning Chronicle newspaper; and I beseech you to read every word of it with attention.

"Lord ARDEN considered the bill to be "an unnecessary and *indecent attack upon "the king's lawful prerogative.* Nothing "whatever had been stated to prove that "such a measure was necessary, except "merely an expression in the preamble of "the bill, that it was expedient for the "public service. The manner also in which "the bill originated was very unusual, and "no ground had been shewn to prove that "there was any necessity to make such an "attack upon the king's just prerogative. "He should therefore oppose the bill and "take the sense of the house upon it.

"Earl GROSVENOR expressed great regret "at the opposition given to this bill by his "noble friend. He conceived the bill to "be so completely in unison with the po-"pular feeling at the present moment, that "it would be unwise to reject it, and he "thought his majesty's ministers, by oppo-"sing the bill, would render themselves so "unpopular that they would not long re-"main in office. He was a warm friend to "the bill, not merely for its own sake, but "for the sake of those measures of reform "relative to the public expenditure, of "which he considered this merely as the "forerunner; measures which were highly "necessary at a crisis like the present, "when it was of so much importance to "engage the hearts as well as the arms of "the people. He trusted their lordships "would not be induced to reject the bill.

"The EARL OF LAUDERDALE called their "lordships attention to his majesty's speech "at the close of the last session, in which "satisfaction was expressed at the conduct "of the Committee of Finance, and con-"tended that this bill, being the only mea-"sure which that committee had then re-"commended, the king's speech contained "in effect an approval of the measure. Af-"ter ministers had thus approved of the "measure, after they had approved of it in "the other house, and after the bill had "been so long in this house, he was greatly "astonished at the opposition it now expe-

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" rienced. He could not help also adverting to " the conduct of his majesty's ministers upon this occasion. If they now thought " this bill ought not to pass, why did they " not attend in their places, and oppose it " in a manly manner, instead of staying " away themselves, and sending their " friends and connections to oppose the " bill?" [None of the ministers were present, except the lord chancellor.] " He " did not mean by this to impute to the noble lord that he was sent there for that " purpose; but that construction would be " put upon such conduct by the public. He " was convinced that the public feeling was " strongly in favour of the bill; and that " ought to be, at the present moment, a " strong argument in its favour. The " granting of offices in reversion he considered to be highly prejudicial to the public service, and highly improper; such " grants being frequently made to children, " at a very early age, and such offices, although requiring regulation, from a " change of circumstances, could not, during such grant, be regulated for the benefit of the public. He would instance " one case, that of the large office held by " the noble lord (Arden), and the reversion " of which had been granted to him *after the death of his father*, whose public services were undoubtedly great, at a time " when the income arising from it was comparatively trifling. The profits of it had " since increased to an amount which could " not possibly have been in the contemplation of any one, and which arose, in a " great degree, from the misfortunes of the " country. It would, no doubt, have been " thought expedient to regulate an office of " that description. He thought, upon every ground that could be stated, that " this bill ought to be proceeded in.

" Lord Arden said he was not sent " to that house to oppose the bill, nor " would he be sent there by any man: he " opposed the bill because he conceived it " to be his duty, as a peer of parliament to " do so.

" The Earl of Lauderdale, in explanation, disclaimed any intention of throwing the least imputation upon the noble " lord; he only mean to allude to the construction which would be put in the public mind upon the opposition given to the " bill, coupled with the absence of his majesty's ministers.

" Lord Viscount Melville said there " was only one point in which he agreed " with the noble lord (Lauderdale), namely, that which related to the absence of " ministers. He wished they had been " there to declare their sentiments in opposition to the bill, if such were the sentiments which they entertained upon the " subject. But when the absence of ministers " was spoken of, he would ask, where were the " illustrious members of the late administration? Why did not they attend to support their own bill, and display their parental fondness for their own offspring? " He denied that this measure had been approved of or alluded to in his majesty's " speech. The speech applauded the general object of the Committee of Finance, " namely, to inquire into the means of reforming and economising the public expenditure; but could not be made to apply to the present measure. No argument had, he contended, been adduced in favour of the present measure, except an " assertion, that it was agreeable to the " public feeling. He did not believe that " there was any such feeling in the public " mind, nor was there any thing in the bill " by which the public could be benefited. " If the bill were to pass, *not a sixpence* " *would be saved by it*; the offices would " remain the same; and, the only object " of it would be to encroach upon the king's " just and lawful prerogative. The noble " lord had spoken of reversions being " granted to children, but was it not the " practice, when great services had been " performed by *an Admiral or General*, to " confer hereditary honours, and to grant " also an annual sum, which was not confined to the person to whom granted, but " was extended to his descendants? It " had been the constant practice of our ancestors to act upon this principle. He " would put a case also to shew the expediency of acting upon it in other instances: " suppose a person was rendered incapable " by age or infirmity from executing the " duties of an office which he had held for " 20 or 30 years; such a person was not to " be turned out without some provision. " There were in this case only two modes " of acting; the one by a pension, and the " other by granting the reversion of the " office to his son or other relation, who " might ASSIST *him in the office*. By " the former mode, a charge was made upon the public during the life of that person, and in the latter there was no additional expense. He could discover nothing in support of this bill, but an assertion that it was expedient; whilst, on " the other hand, there was the uniform " practice of our ancestors. He could not, " therefore, consent to such a bill as the

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" present, nor could be for a moment consent, that after a *beneficent reign* of nearly half a century, such an attack should be made upon the prerogative and influence of a *beloved* and *revered* monarch.

" Lord Holland said, as the noble viscount had began his speech by stating that there was only one point in the speech of his noble friend (the earl of Lauderdale), in which he agreed, so he would observe, that there was only one point in the speech of the noble viscount in which he had the good fortune to agree, and that was, that his majesty's ministers ought to have been present to have declared their sentiments in a manly manner upon this bill. As to the charge made by the noble viscount, of the absence of the members of the late administration, he could assure their lordships, that, had there been the least expectation that this bill would be opposed, there would have been a full attendance of those noble lords, with whom he had the honour to act. But when it was recollected that only four-and-twenty hours notice had been given of any intention to oppose this bill (he did not mean to throw any imputation upon the noble lord who had commenced this debate), there was not much ground for surprise at the thin attendance. He thought it, however, of so much importance that this bill should be debated in a full house, that he intended to move to adjourn the debate till to-morrow, in order to give an opportunity for that full attendance, which the importance of the subject demanded. After the bill had been nearly a month before the house, without appearing to meet with any objection, he was astonished that it should now be attempted to be debated in a thin house, and at so late a period of the session. His noble friends had not attended, because they thought there was no intention of opposing the bill; he was convinced they would attend if the consideration of the bill was postponed till to-morrow. He entirely agreed with his noble friend (earl Grosvenor), that this bill was only to be considered as the *forerunner of important measures of reform and economy in the public expenditure of the country*. When it was in contemplation to abolish or to regulate offices, it was natural as the first step to be taken, to prevent those offices being granted in reversion, because if they were it was obvious that for a considerable time no regulation could be applied to them. It was therefore through the public feeling was so much interested in this bill, which he contended it was, and he begged leave to say that he thought the noble viscount in denying the existence of this public feeling was mistaken. He was convinced that if ministers thought that the rejection of this measure would not be an unpopular measure, they would find themselves miserably mistaken. He denied that the bill was an encroachment upon the just prerogative of the crown, on the contrary, *the granting in reversion was an encroachment upon that prerogative*, and upon this subject he would put the case, which though an extreme one, would shew the tendency of the argument, namely, that of all the offices being granted in reversion, it would necessarily follow, that *the successor to the crown* would find himself deprived of all influence. Reversions, besides, had a tendency to render the offices themselves sinecures, and sinecures were again granted in reversion: then reversions begat sinecures, and sinecures begat reversions. It might be true that, by the operation of this bill in itself, nothing would be saved; but when it was considered as the first step to other measures, it must be viewed in a very different light; and although there might be considerable exaggeration as to the saving which it was possible to effect, yet, at the present moment, every sixpence and every halfpenny ought to be saved, in order to lighten, as much as possible, the burdens of the people. There might, perhaps, be a popular delusion upon this subject; but even that was an argument, at a crisis like the present, for agreeing to this bill. He did not conceive, however, that a bill of so much importance should be decided upon in so thin a house, and he should therefore move, that the debate be adjourned till to-morrow.

" The Earl of Lauderdale again referred to his majesty's speech at the close of the last session, his majesty's speech at the opening of the present session, and to the votes of the house of commons, containing the Resolution on which the present bill was founded; and contended that his majesty's speeches contained a full approval of this measure.

" Lord Viscount Melville again contended that his majesty's speeches only contained an approval of the general object of the Committee of Finance.

" The Earl of Selkirk approved of the bill, upon the principle that it was to be considered as the forerunner of other great and important measures.

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"LORD BORINGDON expressed his regret "at differing from many noble lords with "whom he usually acted; but when he "considered that this bill had been sup- "ported by ministers, had passed the other "house, and had been received with nearly "an unanimous consent, added to the cir- "cumstances of the present moment, he "felt it his duty to vote for it."——After this, the noble Lords *divided*, as it is called, nine noble Lords voting for Lord Holland's motion, and sixteen noble Lords against it; so that the bill, by a subsequent division, was thrown out.

It will not be necessary, Gentlemen, to say much to you upon this subject. You will have perceived, that, out of about *three hundred* noble Lords, there were only 25 noble Lords present upon this occasion. The Morning Chronicle has given a list of the places, which are held by the noble Lords, who voted against this bill; but I shall give no such list, nor any list at all of the majority, or the minority; for, as to *motives*, I believe every noble Lord of them is animated by such as are equally pure and upright, however the said noble Lords may, "under existing circumstances," entertain, or act upon, sentiments widely different. It is, however, worthy of notice, that the fear of depriving the *successor of the king* of all *influence* from the granting of places, was openly avowed; and, I have heard, that this was the principal, if not the *only motive*, from which the late ministers introduced the bill; though, it must be observed, that this does not very well agree with the idea of *economy*, as connected with the bill for preventing grants in reversion. The truth is, that, if economy had been the object, the bill would have been of a different description. It would have enacted, that such and such places, when the present holders died, *should be abolished*, and the expences of them put an end to. This would have been doing something; but, if we are still to be taxed to pay the holders of these places, what is it to you or me, whether the holders of them are appointed by the present king, or by his successor? Lord Holland, after Lord Grosvenor, regarded the bill as the *forerunner of a series of reforms*. Such reforms would have been, I imagine, of but very little service to us. They would, in fact, have been injurious; for, while they would have afforded us no *real* relief, they would have served to amuse ignorant people, and would have afforded the sycophants of office grounds whereon to defend their patrons. "Here," would they have said, "don't you see, that they have *begun* to re- "form?" And with this they would have deceived thousands upon thousands of well-meaning men.

Lord Melville compared the place-holders to *Admirals* and *Generals*, who have merited great rewards from their country, and whose descendants are generally provided for. The provision, in such cases is just, because, what gratification could it be to a man to be made great and rich himself, if his sons were, upon his death, to be, at once hurled down from the rank, in which their father had lived. And, the same reasoning will apply to men who have rendered great services to the country in any other way. But, how stands the *fact*, with respect to the holders of the places in question? Have *they* rendered great services to their country? I will give you a list of a *few* of them and their holders, and, then, leave you to answer me:

Earl of Liverpool, Collector of *Customs* inwards	£1,800 a year.
Lord Hawkesbury, Warden of the Cinque Ports	4,100
Earl of Chichester, Surveyor Gen. of customs	1,400
Earl of Guildford, Comptroller of customs	1,300
Lord Stawell, Surveyor of Petty customs	1,200
Duke of Manchester, Collector of customs outwards	1,000
Thomas Taylor, Comptroller General. Granted in reversion to Lord Frederick Montague.	1,000

The above are custom-house officers for the *port of London* alone. What a *noble* thing is this *commerce!* But, more of that hereafter. Let us proceed with our list:

Wm. H. Cooper and Frederick Grey Cooper (*one* of the auditors of land revenue) To fall to the survivor.	£2,100
Lieut. Gen. Fox, Paymaster of widows' pensions	£1,067
To have fallen to the Hon. *Charles James Fox*, if he had survived his brother.	
Lt. Gen. Fox, Receiver of issues, &c. fees not stated. This place was enjoyed by the *Hon. C. James Fox* for his life.	70 and
Lord Arden (Mr. Perceval's brother) Registrer of the Admiralty and ecclesiastical courts	8,910
George Rose, Clerk of the Parliaments. Granted in reversion to his son, George Henry Rose.	3,700
Marquis of Buckingham, Earl Camden, Lord Thurlow, Earl Bathurst (Tellers of the Exchequer)	

The fees of these are not stated; but the amount of the salary and fees of the first is estimated at about £30,000 a year; each of the others at about £20,000 a year; and, as *one*

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place was granted in reversion, it fell, when Lord Thurlow died, to a *son of Lord Auckland*, the name of which son is W. F. E. Eden.

Thomas Steele! King's Remembrancer..... £870

Duke of St. Alban's, Master of the Hawks..... 1,342

This is a grant in *perpetuity*, that is to say, *for ever*.

I take these from an account laid before the Honourable House, in 1802. I have not the *Scotch* list immediately at hand, or I would give you some account of the places and reversions of the *Dundases* and *Melvilles*. This little specimen will, however, afford you the means of judging as to how far the holders of the places, which we have been talking of, ought to be compared with *Admirals* and *Generals*, who have rendered important services to their country.

Since the bill was thrown out by the noble Lords, the Hon. House of Commons have come to a resolution to address the king not to grant any places in reversion, until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament. It is pity the two houses should have any *disagreement*; it would be quite *useless*; it would answer no purpose; but, I am satisfied, that whatever *seeming* disagreement there might be between them, we, the people, should remain convinced, that they were both animated by motives equally pure and upright.

I have observed, that cases may arise, when it is just and proper to entail rewards upon the families of others than soldiers or seamen; but these cases must be rare; for, let it be remembered, that, in the civil offices, the *salaries* are very great compared to the pay of the officers in the army and the navy. In these latter services, too, *a whole life* is devoted, besides the first purchase of the commission. In fact, the cases are altogether different, and will bear no comparison.

Having thus endeavoured clearly to lay before you the nature of the offices in question and the tendency of the bill which has been thrown out by the noble Lords, I shall leave you to ruminate upon the matter, and to come to such a conclusion as your good sense shall dictate. I cannot help, however, requesting you to bear in mind, that I have now proved to you, that Mr. Fox was a sine-cure placeman all his life long; and that he asserted, in parliament, that the *property*, or ownership, of such places was as sacred, as untouchable by act of parliament, *as any man's property in house or land!* In short, that the parliament, which, as respecting all other earthly purposes, has been called "*omnipotent*," that the parliament which has been described as having *a right* to do every thing, which it is able to do, every thing which is not *naturally* impossible; that this parliament has no right to take from any man the present or reversionary enjoyment of one of these places! This was the doctrine of the man, whom, for so many years, *you* elected as one of your representatives! And, what is still more provoking, for the *loss* of whom you are called upon to weep! Nay, upon the ground of having been a friend and supporter of whom, Mr. Sheridan had the conscience to claim your votes; and, what is worse, some of you had the patience to hear him, and even the folly to applaud him.

In my next letter, which will probably be inserted in the same sheet with this, I propose to address you upon a subject of a very different nature. In the mean while, I remain,

Gentlemen,
Your faithful friend,
and obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Botley, Aug. 12, 1807.

TO THE

INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER XXI.

Gentlemen,

The subject, upon which I have now to address you, is, the dispute between England and the American States, of which, doubtless, all of you have heard much; but, as it is probable, that many of you have not the leisure to examine very minutely into the origin and grounds of the dispute, or to reflect maturely upon the consequences, to which it may lead, I trust you will not think it impertinent in me to offer you such observations as occur to me, relating to a matter with respect to which the people ought to be well-informed.

It has long been a complaint, on the part of England, that the American ships, in all parts of the world, serve as a place of refuge for deserters from the British navy. We claim a right to take our deserters wherever we find them, upon the seas; and this right, though not, in my opinion, rigorously enough, we have exercised. We claim also a right to take our *seamen*, whether deserters or not, from on board the ships of any other nation, when we find such ships at sea, having, as, I hope, we shall maintain, a right of

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dominion over the sea as far as we may judge it necessary to exercise that dominion, for the preservation of our independence as a people. The Americans, in order to evade these our claims, have fallen upon a device, quite novel in the affairs of nations. They have enacted, that any man, be he born where he may, becomes *a citizen of the United States* from the moment that he gets what they call a *certificate of citizenship* from some one or other of their magistrates; and, having asserted this to be the law of nations, they represent as an outrage our taking of our men in spite of these miserable bits of paper. Endless disputes have arisen from this source; and, when we consider how difficult it is, in some cases, to distinguish between an American and an Englishman, we cannot wonder at such disputes; but, as I shall endeavour to prove to you, the right of searching cannot, on our part, be given up without giving up that superiority at sea, which alone can give us, under any set of rulers at home, even a chance of remaining an independent people.

The immediate cause of quarrel, however, is of a nature somewhat different. A ship of war, of ours, lying near Norfolk, in Virginia, had occasion to send some of her men on shore. These men desert. The officers are forbidden, by the civil authority, to take them. Some of them enter on board an American 44 gun frigate, called the *Chesapeak*. Admiral Berkeley, our chief naval commander upon the station, gives his several captains an order to demand the men from the Chesapeak, as soon as she shall be out at sea, and, if refused, to search for them by force. The *Leopard*, a 50 gun ship, commanded by Captain *Humphreys*, makes the demand. It is refused by Captain *Barron*, the American commander. Some shots of mere menace are fired a-head by the Leopard; these are returned in battle by the Chesapeak; this brings a broadside from the Leopard, which the Chesapeak returns with some shots badly fired; but, a second broadside from the Leopard brings down the American flag; the frigate is searched, the men are taken out, the Leopard keeps the sea, and the Chesapeak, with several men killed and wounded, returns to port. The American President issues a proclamation forbidding our ships of war all communication with the land (which is, observe, a violation of our treaty with America), and in this proclamation he asserts, that the men claimed by us had been proved to be Americans, and not British subjects.

Thus the matter stands at present. The English-hating party in America raging with fury against us, evidently not so much on account of any injustice on our part, as on account of the severe rebuke which their arrogance has received in its being made known to the world, that, after all their boasting, they are unable to stand a moment against British ships of war. At first they asserted, that the Chesapeak was quite *unprepared* for action; that her cables were lying across her guns; that her decks were covered with stores; and that her powder was out *to dry*, having somehow or other, got damp. All this was quite incredible; but, the Americans themselves, in their rage against poor Captain Barron, have told the truth. They have now said, that every thing was in perfect readiness for action, and that the guns were *loaded*, before the Chesapeak left the port. The fact is, that it was want of *skill* and *discipline*, and want of the confidence, which those give, which prevented Captain Barron from making such resistance as a British commander, under similar circumstances, would have made. The commander of a British vessel, so acting, would have been shot; but, it does not follow, that Captain Barron, though a great boaster, was a coward; and, if the truth were known, I dare say it would appear, that, with such a crew, no man could have fought the ship for ten minutes.

Having thus, Gentlemen, given you a brief history of the dispute, I shall now offer you my observations upon it, which, I think, cannot be done so well in any other way as in answering an article, which has been published in an excellent weekly paper, called the *Independent Whig*, which article I shal first insert for your perusal, premising only, that I presume that you love your country better than any other country, and that because the grubs and muck-worms injure your corn, you would not, for that reason, let down the fences and invite the hogs and the cattle to trample it under foot, or devour it:

"We, who profess to have no political "attachments but what emanate from the "true spirit of liberty and a love of truth, "cannot forbear expressing the surprize "which we felt upon reading in Mr. Cobbett's Register of Saturday, the 1st of "Aug. under the head 'American States', "an avowal on the part of that writer, that "he was very sorry to hear Mr. Perceval "say in the House of Commons what seemed to indicate a decided disposition to yield; "and to add that, if they do yield, if they "follow the advice of the Morning Chronicle, our navy will not be long-lived.

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"We have neither leisure nor room in our present number to enter into this dicussion with Mr. Cobbett; but, as in our last number we in a manner, under the head 'Summary of Politics,' maintained nearly the same ground upon this subject, which we consider was soundly and properly conveyed through the Morning Chronicle of Tuesday week last, (much as we generally execrate that Journal, we must agree with it in truth,) we deem ourselves bound at least to enter our decided protest both against the propriety of the rebuke thus conveyed in this paragraph by Mr. Cobbett, and the general principle he contends for. We unequivocally declare, that, in our judgments, nothing can authorise such conduct as that which is reported to have been the conduct of the commander of the Leopard, but a spirit of usurpation, and a gross despotic stride of power. '*Equity revolts against such a species of tyranny being assumed by any single state over that of any other*; and, as to the law of nations, no such power has been ever conceded. With respect to the argument, attempted by Mr. Cobbett, "that, if we permit the Americans to inveigle and detain our seamen, we cannot have a navy; the Americans would in fact recruit for France, and England would be beaten by our own seamen." The absurdity of this doctrine is almost beneath a comment, and in charity we would fain hope that Mr. Cobbett must have been but half awake when he wrote it. *Where one British seaman will be found on board an American, we believe* FIFTY AMERICANS (to say nothing of Swedes, Danes, Portuguese, and almost every other country) are to be found on board British ships of war; and, if this great tenacity is really necessary for the maintenance of the dignity of England, *why*, we would ask Mr. Cobbett, *may not every power that is left in Europe, and which remains neuter, feel the same tenacity and claim the same privilege?* We cannot, in EQUITY, see the distinction; *therefore, we repel the doctrine.*—With respect to the insinuation about the British seamen, we consider it *an outrageous imputation upon their* LOYALTY *that nothing can justify*; and, if symptoms of an evil so tremendous were ever to occur, the remedy would always be in the hands of the ministry, seasonably to remonstrate, but not with the fire of broadsides. We will not here attempt a refutation of what we conceive the *unmerited abuse* Mr. Cobbett has heaped upon the people of America, in saying, "the Americans are like the worst set of women; they will set up a terrible outcry, they will beat Adm. Berkeley in lungs; but, if we keep a firm foot, they will soon listen to reason:" or the remainder of his coarse invective applied to Captain Barron and his frigate, whom he elegantly and classically terms a 'swaggering blade,' &c.; we consider it quite sufficient, unless we are farther called upon, to mark this kind of language with the expression of our decided contempt, whether we read it in Mr. Cobbett's Register or Mr. Perry's Chronicle. We deprecate the propriety of reflections upon the courage of a people, whose bravery, *when struggling for their rights and independence, has already been proved invincible*; and as to the right of *insulting* their flag with impunity, and forcibly to demand the privilege of searching their ships of war, *even under the certainty* of their containing British seamen, *we insist upon it to be a right unsupported by any principle of equity*, and that can only be maintained in argument by the same species of violence that it has been attempted to be enforced by the commander of the Leopard, viz. by a thundering assertion or a thundering broadside. If *these are the principles of liberty* Mr. Cobbett would teach the British people, he must excuse us from becoming his disciples. *Our ideas of liberty are to tolerate that in others, we claim as a right ourselves, and to repel every species of assumption of power not founded in equity and justice as derogatory to humanity and inimical to the natural rights of civilized society.*——As to Captain Barron, he seems to have done only his duty, and, under the circumstances in which he was placed, to have acted with exemplary moderation and humanity; how far the epithet of 'swaggering blade,' therefore, justly applies to him, it remains for the calmer reasoning powers of Mr. Cobbett to substantiate. We like not coarse and harsh epithets at any time, still less when there does not exist any thing in the shape of provocation to justify them. National prejudices are at all times unbecoming the true friend of liberty; he looks to principles and not to men, and scorns to justify the perpetration of that by one government he would condemn the practice of in another. *Americans, Frenchmen, and all other countries, have an equal right to liberty with Englishmen; and it is high time despotism*

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" *was banished the world.*——Mr. Cobbett " has invariably professed a friendship for " Mr. Windham, whom we have as invaria- " bly considered as the very champion of " despotism; as no man but he, whose " heart was steeled against every noble ebul- " lition of patriotism and overflowing with " rancor and revenge, could have recom- " mended *a vigour beyond the law*, and brand- " ed honest men, liberated from a state of " persecution, with the epithet of *acquitted* " *felons!*——These are inconsistencies for " Mr. Cobbett to reconcile with his ardent " professed love of liberty; to us they " are irreconcileable.——These observa- " tions, extorted from us by Mr. Cobbett, " necessarily lead to the following few re- " marks upon the question of right attempt- " ed to be claimed by the advocates of such " a power belonging exclusively to the En- " glish government.—The engagement be- " tween the British and the American " frigate off the Chesapeak has been stated " to have arisen from a demand of the Bri- " tish Captain to search the American for de- " serters, which was refused on the part of " the American, who was reduced to submis- " sion at the mouth of the cannon.——The " visiting by force the ship of a neutral and " friendly power, for the purpose of search- " ing for deserters, is a case which does not " seem to have been, at any time, in the " contemplation of writers on the Law of " Nations; for, neither Grotius, Puffen- " dorff, nor Vattel, give an opinion on the " question: and we scarcely imagine that " Civilians will be able to produce any au- " thority for the exercise of a power wholly " inconsistent with the sovereignty and in- " dependence of the State who submits to " it. The right of searching ships for goods " contraband of war has its limits, and has " not yet been extended to ships bearing " the flag of an independent State; nor can " we discover any instance where such a " ship has been subjected to search at all, " much less for deserters, which has never " yet become the subject of Treaties settling " the contraband of war.—*If the principle* " *be once admitted, it will follow as a* " *natural consequence that the Americans* " *or the Danes will possess an EQUAL* " *RIGHT of searching our ships on the* " *same pretence, and shall we argue that* " *we prevent its exercise by our naval su-* " *periority, and call this equal justice?*—— " In the case of the Swedish convoy, there " was no claim made to visit and search the " ship of war, our claim was to search " the ships under convoy. The Swedes con- " tended that even the presence of their ship " of war ought to be taken for a security " that the convoy carried no contraband; " what would they then have said, if we " had also insisted on a right to search the " ship of war as well as the convoy? And all the " learning displayed on this question by the " eminent Civilians, Schlegel and Dr. " Croke, does not even hint at this right as " likely to become a matter of discussion. " Indeed, what can be a more direct in- " vasion of the right of sovereignty, or a more " flagrant attack on the honor of an inde- " pendent nation, than to insist, as a mat- " ter of right, upon visiting a ship of war and " searching for deserters? As a matter of " right, we can find no acknowledged law, " no case, no treaty, that will support such " a demand.—And, if we view the conduct " of the British Captain as a matter of pru- " dence, we are equally at a loss for argu- " ments to justify his proceedings. *At a* " *time when all the ports of the European* " *Continent are shut against our commerce,* " *we do not expect to find one man* " *hardy enough to assert that it would* " *be prudent to cause the ports of the* " *American Continent to be shut against us* " *also. When our trade on this side the At-* " *lantic is sensibly diminishing, it cannot be* " *prudent to destroy the opportunity of ex-* " *tending it beyond the Atlantic; and yet* " *this must be the mildest effect of a rupture* " *with America.*——Since, then, the pro- " ceedings of the British captain can neither " be justified by the law of nations nor pal- " liated as a prudent exercise of that discre- " tion which every naval commander must " possess, if reparation be not made for the " insult offered to the American flag, it will " be evident that this occasion was purpose- " ly embraced to provoke hostilities with " the United States. Had we been treated " in the same manner, our complaints might " have been louder and more effectual than " their's, but they would not therefore have " been more just.——We have penned " these remarks with regret, inasmuch as " they may be liable to involve us in a con- " troversy with Mr. Cobbett, and for a mo- " ment even to create a disunion between " the avowed friends of liberty; but Mr. " Cobbett left us no alternative but either " an ignominious connivance at what ap- " peared to us to be nothing less than a most " outrageous slander of the people of Ame- " rica, or an exposition of the calumny. Our " consciences, we trust, will never let us " compromise our public duty."

Now, Gentlemen, though I do not wish to call in question the sincerity of this writer in his expressions of good-will towards me

I must confess, that I cannot see what occasion there was for his dragging in here my constantly professed friendship for Mr. Windham, and that gentleman's old phrases of "*a vigour beyond the Law*," and of "*acquitted felons*." My friendship for Mr. Windham, Gentlemen (though I am far from certain that he sets any value upon it), is founded in my knowledge, that he is an upright and honourable man; that, in all the many opportunities that he has had, he has never added to his fortune (though very moderate) at the public expence; that, according to my conviction, no man can charge him with ever having been concerned in a job; and that, whether his opinions be right or wrong, he always openly and strongly avows them. As to the two expressions imputed to him, the first arose from a threat, on the opposite side, that *the law would be set at defiance*; "if "so", said he, "we must have recourse to "a vigour beyond the law to enforce obedi-"ence to the law". From a writer, who professes so pure an attachment to the *love of truth*, one might have expected something better than a selection of odious words, making part of a speech, which, taken all together, render those words not only not odious, but perfectly proper. And, as to "*acquitted felons*", though Mr. Windham might be wrong in his opinion, that the persons acquitted *were* felons, will you deny, that guilty men may be sometimes acquitted? Is there *no man*, can this writer think of no man, which has been *tried and acquitted*, whom he considers *as guilty?* Nay, has not this writer asserted in terms as plain as he dared to use (and I wish he had dared to use plainer terms), that guilty men have been tried and acquitted? And, has he not continued to speak of such men as being still as guilty as if they had never been tried at all? Where, then, let me ask him, was his "spi-"rit of *equal liberty*", when he was endeavouring to perpetuate against Mr. Windham a charge of remorseless cruelty for having done no more than what he himself daily does; namely, represented those as guilty, whom the law has acquitted? He will, doubtless, say, that *the cases were different*; that those whom he persists in accusing of guilt, though acquitted, were *really guilty*, whereas the others were perfectly innocent. This is, indeed, the point; and though *I* should believe him, he would, in order to substantiate his charge of injustice against Mr. Windham, be compelled to show that *he thought* those innocent, whom he denominated "acquitted felons", a task, which, for want of positive evidence, he must begin by giving us some one instance, at least, in which that gentleman has been known to use disguise or to discover insincerity, an instance, which, I am satisfied, he would be very much puzzled to produce.

In considering this writer's complaint against me, with regard to the dispute with America, I will first notice what relates to the particular case in question, and then trouble you with a few observations as to the general principle, upon which his reasoning proceeds.

As to the particular case, we, Gentlemen, have a treaty of amity and commerce with the Americans, in which treaty we grant them great benefits and indulgences, and, almost the only stipulation in our favour, is, that our ships shall have free entry into their ports and harbours, there to water, victual, and refit (if necessary) without let or molestation of any sort. But, if this stipulation does not include the liberty of having command over our ships' *crews* upon such occasions, of what use is it to us? Or, rather, is not the stipulation, in such case, a despicable fraud? To inveigle away any part of our ship's crew, under such circumstances; or, to secret them, or withhold them, from their officers, is a gross violation of this article of the treaty; is an act of hostility, the most hostile act, that the party is *able* to commit against us; and, therefore, if Capt. Humphreys had proceeded, at once to attack the Chesapeak, without any previous application for the men, he would have done no more than strict justice would have warranted. Suppose that the whole of a ship's crew were, while lying at Norfolk, to run the ship aground, and insist upon keeping her in that situation. Will this writer contend, that we should not have a right to treat it as an act of *hostility*, if the American people, or government, were to receive these men, and prevent us, no matter by what law, from seizing them? If *some* of the men may be received and withheld from us, why not the *whole*; and, why not in one case as well as in another case? So that, at this rate, a treaty of amity would mean, a thing whereby one nation is inveigled into the arms of another, for the purpose of that other doing it all the mischief in its power. This writer chooses to *begin* with what he calls the *insult* given to the American flag; he talks about the right of searching American flag-ships for deserters; just as if nothing *previous* had occurred. If it had suited him to notice, that, by taking the deserters on board, the Americans had committed an act of hostility against us, his conclusion, or, at least, the conclusion of his readers, must have been very different from that which he has drawn.—If, in-

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deed, the deserters were not British subjects, but really Americans born; if this was *proved* to the reasonable satisfaction of our minister in America, or to our commander upon station, that alters the case; but, if that proof was not given, and, it is my decided opinion, that it will appear that it was not given, Admiral Berkeley, in giving orders for the search, and Captain Humphreys in so manfully executing those orders, deserve the praises of their country.

But, Gentlemen, I contend for the right of searching for deserters, upon the general principle, that the seas are *the dominion* of those who are able to maintain a mastery over all that swims upon them. The waters, within *cannon shot*, of a coast, are held, by civilians, to belong to those who dwell upon the coast. But, what *right* have they to the exclusive use and enjoyment of these, any more than we have to the dominion of the whole of the seas, whereon we are able to maintain a superiority of force? ——The writer before us, has said a great deal about *equity* and *equal justice* and *equal liberty*. But, with submission, I must express my belief, that he has not taken time, duly to discriminate between the rights and liberties of individuals and the rights and liberties of nations. Individuals enter into a compact, express or tacit, to enjoy each of them such and such rights and liberties; or, rather, they all consent to surrender a part of their liberties; to put their natural rights into a common stock, whence, in well regulated states, each draws an equal share and enjoys it upon conditions common to all. But, it is impossible, that any such compact should exist amongst nations, who have no common stock of rights or liberties, who have no common government, who have no general head, who acknowledge no sovereign, who appeal to no arbiter but the sword, and with whom *conquest* confers the best possible right of dominion. But, while this last mentioned right, with respect to the *land*, is regarded as indubitable by all the Dutch and German and French writers upon what is called the *law of nations*, they all seem to deny, that there can be any rightful dominion upon the *waters*; except, indeed, as I have before mentioned, as far out from the shore as a *cannon ball* will reach; which, you will observe, amounts exactly to this, that they have a right to shoot at us, whenever we go within cannon shot of their shores without their permission, but that we can by no means obtain any right of dominion in the other waters where they want to go. It is a favourite doctrine, in America, that the sea is the *high way* of nations; but, why is it so any more than the land? I can see no other reason than this: that, because upon the land, nations are *able to prevent* their country from being common to all; and, if we are *able to prevent* this upon the sea, is not our right quite as good as theirs? This writer says, that if the right of searching for deserters, be once admitted, it will follow, as a natural consequence, that the Americans will possess an *equal* right of searching our ships upon the same pretence; "and "shall we argue, that we have the superio- "rity, and call this *equal* justice." No: we will not mind the *equal*; but we will call it *justice*; because, will we say, "you sail "upon these seas only *by our permission*, "only by our forbearance and indulgence; "and, as to the question of *moral* justice, "while the exercise of the right of search "is not at all necessary to your existence, "it is absolutely necessary to ours." This, be assured, gentlemen, is the doctrine we must now maintain at the cannon's mouth, if our enemies, no matter how they have been stirred up, shall refuse to listen to any other voice.

"Americans," says this writer, "Frenchmen, and all others, have an equal right "to *liberty* with Englishmen; and it is "high time despotism was banished from "the world." With all my heart. But, what has this to do with the right of search, or with dominion upon the seas? I want not to take away any of the liberties of the Americans, I only want to see my country assert her rights of dominion, *where she has dominion*; and, if this writer will have it to be a question of liberty or of despotism, where has he found a justification for the distinction, which, in imitation of the Morning Chronicle, he makes between American merchantships and American ships of war? Is not *liberty* violated in the searching of the former as well as in the searching of the latter?

Gentlemen, the notions of *universal* equality, upon which this writer proceeds, are chimerical, and never can be brought into practice, as long as it shall please God to continue the world divided into nations and tongues. They are, too, mischievous as well as chimerical; because they lead to a laxity of feeling towards one's own country, which, upon every account, we are as much bound to prefer before all other countries, as we are bound to prefer our own brethren before all the rest of our countrymen. Guard your hearts, too, I beseech you, against abetting the cause of the Americans, or any other nation, upon the ground of their be-

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ing *friends to liberty*; for, be assured, that, if they could destroy the navy of England they would; and, though it is possible that they might love liberty themselves, *if they could get it*, they would not stir one inch to save us from dungeons and chains; but, on the contrary, when they saw us manacled, would laugh at our folly. This tender feeling, Gentlemen, for the interests and honour of foreign nations, is a feeling of modern date in the English patriot's breast. The motto, which I have taken for this paper, contains the sentiments of one of those, who assisted in overturning the kingly government of England. His were not notions of universal equality amongst nations. The men of that day understood what liberty was, full as well as my friend of the Independent Whig. They were no court sycophants. They spared not their blood in the cause of liberty at home; but, never did it enter into their minds, that all nations were entitled to equal rights upon the seas. They gave up none, no not one, of the rights or the honours of England; but, they restored, re established, and confirmed those rights and honours, which the preceding pusillanimous kings had suffered to wither and decay.

There are some other important points, upon which I shall, in my next letter, trouble you with some observations, such, for instance, as the danger, which this writer apprehends, from the *closing of the American ports against us*, in which he happens most harmoniously to coincide in expression with those whom, I hope, he most despises. The *character* of the Americans, too, and especially that of their sea-faring people, he has adventurously taken upon him to vindicate. The *probable number of our seamen* on board of American ships I shall be able to state with a little more accuracy than he has done. In the meanwhile, suffer me to exhort you, not to let your resentment against our calumniators carry you one inch towards an indifference with respect to the fate of our country from without; for, be assured, that if a conqueror were to take possession of it, *we* should be the principal sufferers, and not *they*, who would readily enlist in his service, and who would be gladly received, as ready-made instruments in his works of rapacity and plunder.

I am,
Gentlemen,
Your faithful friend,
and obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 13th Aug. 1807.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR. —— *Eightieth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

(Concluded from page 224.)

The Emperor of Russia remained three weeks at Tilsitt with the King of Prussia. On receiving advice of the battle of Friedland, they both left the place with the utmost haste.

No. I.

The General in Chief Benningsen, to his Excellency the Prince Bagrathion.

After the torrents of blood which have lately flowed in battles as sanguinary as frequently repeated, I could wish to assuage the evils of this destructive war by proposing an armistice, before we enter into a conflict, into a new war, perhaps still more terrible than the former. I request you, Prince, to make known to the chiefs of the French army this intention on my part, of which the consequence may have effects more salutary, as a general congress has already been proposed, and may prevent a useless effusion of human blood. You will afterwards transmit to me the result of your proceedings, and believe me to be with the most distinguished consideration, your Excellency's most humble and most obedient servant—— B. BENNINGSEN.

No. II.

His Excellency the Prince Bagrathion to the General in Chief Benningsen.

General,—The General Commander in Chief has addressed to me a letter relative to the orders which his Excellency has received from his Majesty the Emperor, directing me to communicate its contents: I think I cannot better comply with his intentions than by transmitting to you the original. I request you, at the same time, to send me your answer; and accept the assurance of the high consideration with which I am, General, your most humble and most obedient servant,—— BAGRATHION.——*June 6-18th.*

81st Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Tilsit, June 21.——At the affair at Heilsberg, the Grand Duke of Berg passed along the line of the 3d division of cuirassiers, at the moment when the 6th regiment had just made a charge. Col. d'Avary, commander of the regiment, his sabre dyed in blood, said, "Prince, review my regiment, and you will find that there is not a soldier whose sword is not like mine."—— Col. Borde Soult was wounded; Guihenene, Aid-de-Camp to Marshal Lannes, was wounded.

(To be continued.)

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PUBLIC PAPERS.

DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.——*Proclamation by Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States of America. Given at the City of Washington, July 2, 1807.*

During the wars which, for some time, have unhappily prevailed among the powers of Europe, the United States of America, firm in their principles of peace, have endeavoured, by justice, by a regular discharge of all their national and social duties, and by every friendly office their situation has admitted, to maintain, with all the belligerents, their accustomed relations of friendship, hospitality, and commercial intercourse. Taking no part in the questions which animate these powers against each other, nor permitting themselves to entertain a wish but for the restoration of general peace, they have observed with good faith the neutrality they assumed, and they believe that no instance of a departure from its duties can be justly imputed to them by any nation. A free use of their harbours and waters, the means of refitting and of refreshment, of succour to their sick and suffering, have, at all times, and on equal principles, been extended to all, and this too amidst a constant recurrence of acts of insubordination to the laws, of violence to the persons, and of trespasses on the property of our citizens, committed by officers of one of the belligerent parties received among us. In truth these abuses of the laws of hospitality have, with few exceptions, become habitual to the commanders of the British armed vessels hovering on our coasts, and frequenting our harbours. They have been the subject of repeated representations to their government. Assurances have been given that proper orders should restrain them within the limit of the rights and of the respect due to a friendly nation: but those orders and assurances have been without effect; no instance of punishment for past wrongs has taken place. At length, a deed, transcending all we have hitherto seen or suffered, brings the public sensibility to a serious crisis, and our forbearance to a necessary pause. A frigate of the United States, trusting to a state of peace, and leaving her harbour on a distant service, has been surprised and attacked by a British vessel of superior force, one of a squadron then lying in our waters, and hovering the transaction, and has been disabled from service, with the loss of a number of men killed and wounded. This enormity was not only without provocation or justifiable cause, but was committed with the avowed purpose of taking by force, from a ship of war, belonging to the United States, a part of her crew, and that no circumstance might be wanting to mark its character, it had been previously ascertained, that the seamen demanded were native citizens of the United States. Having effected his purpose, he returned to anchor with his squadron within our jurisdiction. Hospitality, under such circumstances, ceases to be a duty; and a continuance of it, with such uncontrouled abuses, would tend only, by multiplying injuries and irritations, to bring on a rupture between the two nations. This extreme resort is equally opposed to the interests of both, as it is to assurances of the most friendly dispositions on the part of the British government, in the midst of which this outrage has been committed. In this light the subject cannot but present itself to that government, and strengthen the motives to an honourable reparation of the wrong which has been done, and to that effectual controul of its naval commanders, which alone can justify the government of the United States, in the exercise of those hospitalities it is now constrained to discontinue.—In consideration of these circumstances, and of the right of every nation to regulate its own police, to provide for its peace, and for the safety of its citizens, and consequently to refuse the admission of armed vessels into its harbours or waters, either in such numbers or of such descriptions as are inconsistent with these, or with the maintenance of the authority of the laws, I have thought proper, in pursuance of the authorities specially given by law, to issue this my proclamation, hereby requiring all armed vessels bearing commission under the government of Great Britain, now within the waters or harbours of the United States, immediately and without any delay to depart from the same, and interdicting the entrance of all the said harbours and waters to the said armed vessels, and to all others bearing commissions under the authority of the British government.——And if the said vessels, or any of them, shall fail to depart as aforesaid, or if they, or any others, so interdicted, shall hereafter enter the harbours or waters aforesaid, I do, in that case, forbid all intercourse with them, or any of them, their officers or crews, and do prohibit all supplies and aid from being furnished to them or any of them.—And I do declare and make known, that if any person from, or within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, shall afford any aid to any such vessel, contrary to the prohibition contained in this proclamation, either in repairing any such vessel, or in furnishing her, her officers, or crew, with supplies of any kind, or in any manner whatsoever, or if any pilot shall assist in navigating any of the said armed ves-

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sels, unless it be for the purpose of carrying them in the first instance, beyond the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, or unless it be in the case of a vessel forced by distress, or charged with public dispatches, as hereinafter provided for, such person or persons shall, on conviction, suffer all the pains and penalties by the laws provided for such offences.—And I do hereby enjoin and require all persons bearing office, civil or military, within or under the authority of the United States, and all others, citizens or inhabitants thereof, or being within the same, with vigilance and promptitude to exert their respective authorities, and to be aiding and assisting to the carrying this proclamation, and every part thereof, into full effect.—— Provided nevertheless, that if any such vessel shall be forced into the harbours or waters of the United States, by distress, by the dangers of the sea, or by the pursuit of an enemy, or shall enter them charged with dispatches or business from their government, or shall be a public packet for the conveyance of letters and dispatches, the commanding officer immediately reporting his vessel to the collector of the district, stating the object or causes of entering the said harbours or waters, and conforming himself to the regulations in that case prescribed under the authority of the laws, shall be allowed the benefit of such regulations respecting repairs, supplies, stay, intercourse and departure, as shall be permitted under the same authority.——In testimony whereof I have caused the Seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same.——Given at the City of Washington, the 2d day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1807, and of the sovereignty and independence of the United States the thirty-first;— THOMAS JEFFERSON, By the President.—— JAMES MADISON, Secretary of State.

TREATY BETWEEN FRANCE AND RUSSIA.— *Treaty of Peace between his Majesty the Emperor of the French, the King of Italy, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias. Done at Tilsit, July 7, 1807.*

His Majesty, the Emperor of France, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, animated with the same interest in putting an end to the devastations of war, have, for this purpose, nominated and furnished with full power on the part of his Majesty the Emperor of France and King of Italy, Charles Maurice Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento, his Great Chamberlain, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, Knight of the Prussian Order of the Black and of the Red Eagle of the Order of St. Hubert.—His Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, has, on his part, appointed Prince Kourakin, his actual Privy Counsellor; Member of the Council of State, and of the Senate; Chancellor of all the Orders in the Empire; Ambassador Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary of his Majesty of all the Russias to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria; Knight of the Russian Order of St. Andrew; of St. Alexander; of St. Aube; of the first class of the Order of St. Wolodimir, and of the second class of the Prussian Orders of the Black and Red Eagle; of the Bavarian Order of St. Hubert; of the Danish Order of Dannebrog, and the Perfect Union, and Bailiff and Grand Cross of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem; and Prince Demety Labanoff Van Rostoff, Lieut. General of the Armies of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; Knight of the first class of the Order of St. Anne, of the Military Order of St. Joris, and of the third class of the order of Wolodimir.— The abovementioned, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:——Art. I. From the day of exchanging the ratification of the present treaties, there shall be perfect peace and amity between his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias.—Art. II. Hostilities shall immediately cease at all points by sea or land, as soon as the intelligence of the present treaty shall be officially received. In the mean while, the high contracting parties shall dispatch couriers extraordinary to their respective generals and commanders.—Art. III All ships of war or other vessels, belonging to the high contracting parties or their subjects, which may be captured after the signing of this treaty, shall be restored. In case of these vessels being sold, the value shall be returned.—— Art. IV. Out of esteem for his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and to afford to him a proof of his sincere desire to unite both nations in the bands of immutable confidence and friendship, the Emperor Napoleon wishes that all the countries, towns, and territory, conquered from the King of Prussia, the ally of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, should be restored, namely, that part of the Duchy of Magdeburg, situated on the right bank of the Rhine, the Mark of Prignitz; the Ucker Mark; the Middle and New Mark of Brandenburg, with the exception of the Circle of Kotbus, in Lower Alsace; the Duchy of Pomerania; Upper, Lower, and New Silesia, and the County of Glatz; that part of the District of the Netze, which is situated to the northward of the road of Driesen and Schneidemuhl, and to the northward of a line drawn

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from Schneidemuhl through Waldau to the Vistula, and extending along the frontier of the circle of Bromberg, and the navigation of the river Netze, and of the canal of Bromberg, from Driesen to the Vistula and back, must remain open and free of all tolls; Pomerelia; the island of Nogat; the country on the right bank of the Vistula and of the Nogat to the West of Old Prussia, and to the Northward of the circle of Calm; Ermeland. Lastly, the kingdom of Prussia, as it was on the 1st of January, 1772, together with the fortresses of Spandau, Stettin, Custrin, Glogau, Breslau, Schweidnitz, Neisse, Brieg, Kosel, and Glatz, and in general all fortresses, citadels, castles, and strong holds of the countries above-named, in the same condition in which those fortresses, citadels, castles, and strong holds may be at present; also, in addition to the above, the city and citadel of Graudentz.—Art. V. Those provinces which, on the 1st of January, 1772, formed a part of the kingdom of Poland, and have since, at different times, been subjected to Prussia (with the exception of the countries named or alluded to in the preceding article, and of those which are described below the 9th article), shall become the possession of his Majesty the King of Saxony, with power of possession and sovereignty, under the title of the Duchy of Warsaw, and shall be governed according to a regulation, which will insure the liberties and privileges of the people of the said Duchy, and be consistent with the security of the neighbouring states.——Art. VI. The City of Dantzic, with a territory of two leagues round the same, is restored to her former independence, under the protection of his Majesty the King of Prussia, and his Majesty the King of Saxony; to be governed according to the laws by which she was governed at the time when she ceased to be her own mistress.——Art. VII. For a communication betwixt the kingdom of Saxony and the Duchy of Warsaw, his Majesty the King of Saxony is to have the free use of a military road through the states of his Majesty the King of Prussia. This road, the number of troops which are allowed to pass at once, and the resting places, shall be fixed by a particular agreement between the two sovereigns, under the mediation of France.—Art. VIII. Neither his Majesty the King of Prussia, his Majesty the King of Saxony, nor the city of Dantzic, shall oppose any obstacles whatever to the free navigation of the Vistula under the name of tolls, rights, or duties.—Art. IX. In order as far as possible to establish a natural boundary between Russia and the Duchy of Warsaw, the territory between the present confines of Russia, from the Bug to the mouth of the Lassona, shall extend in a line from the mouth of the Lassona along the towing path of the said river; and that of the Bobra, up to its mouth; that of the Narew from the mouth of that river as far as Suradiz; from Lissa to its source near the village of Mien; from this village to Nuzeck, and from Nutzeck to the mouth of that river beyond Nurr; and finally, along the towing path of the Bug upwards, to extend as far as the present frontiers of Russia. This territory is for ever united to the Empire of Russia.—Art. X. No person of any rank or quality whatever, whose residence or property may be within the limits stated in the above-mentioned article, nor any inhabitant in those provinces of the ancient kingdom of Poland, which may be given up to his Majesty the King of Prussia, or any person possessing estates, revenues, pensions, or any other kind of income, shall be molested in his person, or in any way whatever, on account of his rank, quality, estates, revenues, pensions, income, or otherwise, or in consequence of any part, political or military, which he may have taken in the events of the present war.—Art. XI. All contracts and engagements between his Majesty the King of Prussia and the ancient possessors, relative to the general imposts, the ecclesiastical, the military or civil benefices, of the creditors or pensioners of the old Prussian government, are to be settled between the Emperor of all the Russias and his Majesty the King of Saxony; and to be regulated by their said Majesties, in proportion to their acquisitions, according to articles V. and IX.——Art. XII. Their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Saxe Cobourg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburgh Schwerin, shall each of them be restored to the complete and quiet possession of their estates; but the ports in the Duchies of Oldenburgh and Mecklenburgh shall remain in the possession of French garrisons till the definitive treaty shall be signed between France and England.—Art. XIII. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon accepts of the mediation of the Emperor of all the Russias, in order to negociate and conclude a definitive treaty of peace between France and England; however only upon condition that this mediation shall be accepted by England in one month after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.—Art. XIV. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias being desirous on his part to manifest how ardently he desires to establish the most intimate and lasting relations between the two Empires, acknowledges his Majesty

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Joseph Napoleon, King of Naples, and his Majesty Louis Napoleon, King of Holland.—Art. XV. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, acknowledges the Confederation of the Rhine, the present state of the possessions of the princes belonging to it, and the titles of those which were conferred upon them by the act of confederation, or by the subsequent treaties of accession. His said Majesty also promises, information being communicated to him on the part of the Emperor Napoleon, to acknowledge those sovereigns who may hereafter become members of the confederation, according to their rank specified in the act of confederation.—Art. XVI. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias cedes all his property in the right of sovereignty to the Lordship of Jever, in East Friesland, to his Majesty the King of Holland.—Art. XVII. The present treaty of peace shall be mutually binding, and in force for his Majesty the King of Naples, Joseph Napoleon; his Majesty Louis Napoleon, King of Holland, and the Sovereigns of the Confederation of the Rhine, in alliance with the Emperor Napoleon.—Art. XVIII. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias also acknowledges his Imperial Highness, Prince Jerome Napoleon, as King of Westphalia.——Art. XIX. The Kingdom of Westphalia shall consist of the provinces ceded by the King of Prussia on the left bank of the Elbe, and other states at present in the possession of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.——Art. XX. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias engages to recognize the limits which shall be determined by his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, in pursuance of the foregoing XIXth article, and the cessions of his Majesty the King of Prussia (which shall be notified to his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias), together with the state of possession resulting therefrom to the sovereigns for whose behoof they shall have been established.—Art. XXI. All hostilities shall immediately cease between the troops of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and those of the Grand Seignior, at all points, wherever official intelligence shall arrive of the signing of the present treaty. The high contracting parties shall, without delay, dispatch couriers extraordinary to convey the intelligence, with the utmost possible expedition, to the respective generals and commanders.—Art. XXII. The Prussian troops shall be withdrawn from the Provinces of Moldavia, but the said provinces may not be occupied by the troops of the Grand Seignior, till after the exchange of the ratifications of the future definitive treaty of peace between Russia and the Ottoman Porte.——Art. XXIII. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias accepts the mediation of his Majesty the Emperor of France and King of Italy, for the purpose of negociating a peace advantageous and honourable to the two powers, and of concluding the same. The respective plenipotentiaries shall repair to that place which will be agreed upon by the two powers concerned, there to open the negociations, and to proceed therewith.——Art. XXIV. The periods, within which the high contracting parties shall withdraw their troops from the places which they are to evacuate pursuant to the above stipulations, as also the manner in which the different stipulations contained in the present treaty, shall be executed, will be settled by a special agreement.—Art. XXV. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, mutually ensure to each other the integrity of their possessions, and of those of the powers included in this present treaty, in the state in which they are now settled, or further to be settled, pursuant to the above stipulations.—Art. XXVI. The prisoners made by the contracting parties, or those included in the present treaty, shall be restored in a mass, and without any cartel of exchange on both sides.—Art. XXVII. The commercial relations between the French Empire, the Kingdom of Italy, the Kingdoms of Naples and Holland, and the Confederated States of the Rhine, on one side; and the Empire of Russia on the other, shall be replaced on the same footing as before the war.——Art. XXVIII. The ceremonial between the two courts of the Thuilleries and Petersburgh, with respect to each other, and also their respective ambassadors, ministers, and envoys, mutually accredited to each other, shall be placed on the footing of complete equality and reciprocity.—Art. XXIX. The present treaty shall be ratified by his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; the ratifications shall be exchanged in this city within the space of four days.—— Done at Tilsit, 7th July, (25th June), 1807. ——(Signed) C. MAURICE TALLEYRAND, Pr. of Benevento.——Prince ALEXANDER KOURAKIN.——Prince DIMITRY LABANOFF VAN ROSTOFF.——A true Copy. (Signed) C. M. TALLEYRAND, Prince of Benevento.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 8.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1807. [PRICE 10D

"But it is, nevertheless, to be feared, that the immediate wants of the ministers, the immediate pressure "of the times, may induce them to concede now, with the hope, perhaps, of undoing their concession "hereafter, upon the ground of its having been extorted from them. A vain hope, indeed! for the very "effect of the concession will be to prevent them from ever undoing the deed; and, moreover, as long as the "present system remains, the country would, by such concession (supposing it to extend to a relinquish- "ment of any part of our right of search), be disabled for the resisting of further encroachment. This, "one would think, they must plainly perceive; yet, if they should be persuaded, that a refusal to concede "will produce a diminution in the source of the taxes, I am greatly afraid, that, acting here, as they have "done every where else, upon the Pitt system of temporary expediency, they will concede.—Such are "my fears. If the event shall prove them groundless, no one will more heartily rejoice than myself, and "no one will be more ready to give praise unto those by whom the unjust demands of the American States "may have been resisted; but, in case of the realizing of these my fears, I shall not be backward in say- "ing all that I dare, under our present laws, to say, against every one, who may have participated in pluck- "ing this other, and almost the last, feather from the wings of my country. Under any circumstances, "however, under any laws, that do, or that may exist, I shall still have the power, and I am sure I shall "have the will, to bestow on them my hatred, and to treasure up in my heart the hope of seeing the day, "when the rest of my countrymen will think upon the subject as I do, and will have the power as well as "the inclination to act accordingly. The man who makes any part of his happiness to consist in promoting "the welfare of his country, should never give way to feelings of despair or of disgust; or, at any rate, he "should never permit those feelings so far to prevail as to deprive him of hope, or to check the operations "of his zeal. The man whose mind is fashioned for taking a share in those enterprizes, no matter of what "sort, that are connected with the fate of his country, will suffer no disappointments, no rebuffs, no acts "of folly or of wickedness, whether in the rulers or the people, to turn him aside from his pursuits. Such "a man, if, with all his exertions, he be unable to prevent evil from being done, instead of despairing will "see new hope of good even from the excess of evil; and, applying these observations to the case before "us, if, unhappily, our ministers, acting from the influence before described, were now to yield the most "valuable of our rights to the American States, we ought still not to despair, but to labour with more "assiduity than ever in the producing of a state of things, which would enable our country to recover those "rights, and to hold them without the chance of their being again surrendered by such men and from "such motives; we should labour with more eagerness and resolution than ever in the producing of a state "of things, which would, for a long time, at least, prevent the possibility of the recurrence of such a "surrender."——POLITICAL REGISTER, 20 Dec. 1806, Vol. X. p. 979.

TO THE

INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER XXII.

Gentlemen,

In resuming the subject of my last letter to you, I beg leave to remind you, that my reasons for using this mode of communicating my sentiments to the public, are, 1st, that, when addressing a body of persons of whose sound understanding one has an experimental proof, one is more likely to be cautious in stating, and correct in deducing; 2nd, that, having seen such striking proofs of your public-spirit, and having seen so little of that spirit elsewhere, I deem it a mark of respect justly your due, to appeal to you more particularly than to any other part of the nation; and, 3d, that I am fully persuaded, that, first or last, the opinions which *you* adopt and act upon, as to all matters whether foreign or domestic, will be adopted and acted upon by the whole of the people of this kingdom.

The writer of the Independent Whig, whose talents and whose undaunted courage is quite worthy of all the admiration they have excited, is, notwithstanding his talents, mistaken, as he very well may be, with respect to what he calls the *impolicy* of the conduct of our commanders upon the American station. He says, that it is absurd to apprehend any serious injury to our maritime power from permitting the Americans to inveigle away and detain our seamen; and, he asserts, that, for one British sailor that there is on board the ships of America, there are fifty Americans, and *others*, on board of British ships. This is an assertion calculated to give us a higher opinion of this writer's boldness than of his information upon the subject on which he is writing; for, the seamen on board the American ships amount to about 70,000, and, upon divers occasions, when I was in America, it was stated, and generally acknowledged, that one *fourth* part of the seamen on board of American ships, were subjects born of this country; and, as to foreigners on board of our ships, the number is comparatively trifling, and must be so, be-

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cause our officers have so great a dislike to them. It is hinted, that desertion from our ships might be prevented by avoiding to impress men on board, and by treating the seamen better when on board. Now, though, upon any of the principles of a free government, the impressing of seamen cannot be fully defended, still it is a thing which has *always* existed in England; and, it follows, of course, that, when a man, or boy, first enters a coal or any other merchant ship, he is well aware of the *condition*, namely, that when the greater service of the country requires him, he is liable to be taken into that service. When a practice has existed for so many ages, under all descriptions of kings and queens, and under all political revolutions, it requires much thought upon the matter before it be held up to public execration. I will draw no comparison between the impressing of seamen and the ballot for the militia, the latter being evidently partial in the last degree; but, those who are the most strenuous advocates for the liberties of the people, are ready to acknowledge, and, indeed, to insist, that every *landsman*, capable of bearing arms, is, and ought to be, liable to be called forth in defence of the country, if need require; and, if this be just, what injustice is there in calling forth *seamen*, in cases of similar need? Nor will it, I think, be objected, that, in the latter case, the call operates *partially*; it applies to *all* seamen; and, observe, that, from all calls in defence by land, seamen are exempted; to which may be added this circumstance, that seamen, when impressed, are not taken from their homes, and put into a new and strange state of life; but are taken from one ship to be put into another, have the same sort of labour to perform, and the same sort of life to lead; whereas the landsman, called forth to bear arms, is taken from his home and his business, is exposed to hardships unfamiliar to him, and returns, in all probability, injured in his mind, body, or estate. As to the treatment of our sailors when on board, my belief is, that much improvement might be made; but, Gentlemen, be you assured, that, as long as confinement shall be irksome to man; as long as change of scene shall be delightful to him; as long as a hankering after recreation and an indulgence of his desires shall form the leading propensities of his mind, so long will seamen, to whatever country belonging, and however treated while on board, continue, occasionally, to desert, and especially when they can do it with certain impunity. Numerous, therefore, as the ships of America are; met with as they are in all the ports of the world, how could we possibly keep our seamen, unless we maintained and exercised the right of searching for them? *Theirs* we might have in return; but, theirs we do not want. We want to keep our own; we want to avoid confusion, a mixture of nations. Ships of *war*, indeed, the Americans have not many; but, if we admit the principle, that the *national flag* is to cover every thing, I will warrant it, that we shall soon see enough of the American national flags; and, as I before stated, we should see our own seamen, collected by the Americans, transferred to the service of France, by whom special care would be taken, that they should not again desert. This would, unquestionably, be the greatest evil that we could possibly experience; and this evil, unless we submitted to all the demands of America, however extravagant in themselves and however insolently urged, we should very soon have to encounter.

But, Gentlemen, this writer, feels, or, at least, he expresses, great alarm, lest the Americans should *shut their ports against our goods*, in which feeling he has for rivals those disinterested patriots and profound politicians, the merchants trading with America, whose Proclamation I will here insert for your perusal. It is dated from the American "CHAMBER OF COMMERCE" at Liverpool, August 11th, 1807. "At a general "and very numerous meeting of the members of this *association* held this day, it "was resolved unanimously, that the following circular letter, prefixed by this "resolution, be printed, and that the vice-"president (in the absence of the president) be requested to sign the same, on "behalf of the American Chamber of "Commerce in Liverpool, and to transmit a "copy thereof to Philip Sansom, Esq. Chairman of the Committee of American Merchants in London.—Resolved, that the "secretary do also furnish the several members of this association with copies, to be "transmitted, as they in their discretion may "deem expedient, to their respective correspondents in Great Britain and Ireland.

"(CIRCULAR.)—Sir,—A Meeting of "the Members of the American Chamber of Commerce, at this port, has been "convened this day, for the purpose of "*taking into consideration* the present serious and critical state of affairs, as relating to the intercourse between the British Empire and the United States of America.—When it is considered *how essentially the vital interests* of both the "countries are concerned in a maintainance of the relations of amity and com-

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" merce, and particularly at the present " juncture, it must be the wish of every " sincere friend to his country, whether " Briton or American, that these relations " should not be interrupted, unless such " interruption be rendered inevitable by " some imperious and *irresistible* necessity, " arising from that regard which it is in- " cumbent on every country to pay to its " honour and its interest.—If *the manu- " facturers and merchants of this kingdom " shall be convinced* that the conduct of the " British government towards the United " States of America has been and continues, " *such as becomes a government desirous of " preserving the relations of peace and ami- " ty*; and if it should now be found that " these relations cannot longer be pre- " served, without compromising the honour, " and thereby *sacrificing the best interests* " of the British empire, it is hoped there " are no sacrifices or privations to which the " manufacturers and merchants will not " cheerfully submit, in order to prevent " such consequences.——If, on the contra- " ry, the manufacturers and merchants of " this kingdom shall be convinced that the " intercourse, which has now subsisted for " more than twenty years, between the " British Empire and the United States of " America, with so many, and *such pro- " gressively increasing advantages* to each, is " in danger of being interrupted by an as- " sertion to claims, *incompatible with a due " regard to the* EQUAL RIGHTS of both " countries, or by unjust conduct on the " part either of the British government, or " of any persons acting under its authority, " it then becomes a duty to exercise that " invaluable privilege,—the essential bul- " wark of the British constitution,—of re- " spectfully making such representations to " the government as the circumstances of " the case may require.——And as these " circumstances may be such as to render it " highly important that the persons making " such representations should act *with " promptness, and in concert*;—I am re- " quested to inform you that, if such cir- " cumstances should arise, the Members of " the American Chamber of Commerce in " Liverpool hold themselves in readiness " *to correspond* and *co-operate* with the ma- " nufacturers and merchants of Great Bri- " tain and Ireland, for the attainment of " the important objects herein-mentioned. " I have the honour to be, Sir, your obe- " dient servant,—JOHN RICHARDSON, Vice " President."

Now, Gentlemen, though I do not deny, that Mr. John Richardson and the *Corresponding Society*, of which he is Vice President, have a perfect right to assemble and to invite others to "co-operate" with them in order to act with "*promptitude*;" in endeavouring to obtain, *though contrary to the will of government*, the objects which they have in view; though I by no means deny them this right, I greatly fear, that, if *you* were to form a Corresponding Society, for the purpose of effecting, "by *promptness* and *concert*," an abolition of useless places and pensions, and for a restoration of the act passed in the reign of king William III. "for the better securing of the rights and liberties of the people;" if you were to form a Corresponding Society for this purpose, and were to do me the honour to make me "*Vice President*" of it, I greatly fear, that John Richardson and his Society would, to a man, vote for my being hanged, and your being transported; and yet, it is, I think, evident, that our right, in the case supposed, would be as clear as that of the "Chamber of Commerce" now is.

But, leaving this worst of all aristocracies to enjoy its day, and waiting patiently for the arrival of our day, let us examine a little, Gentlemen, into the grounds of the alarm, expressed by the Independent Whig and the Chamber of Commerce, at the probability of seeing the American ports *shut against our goods*.

Gentlemen, part of the wool (one article is enough, for the same reasoning applies to all), which grows upon the backs of sheep, which feed upon the grass, which grows upon the land of England, is made into cloth of various denominations, which cloth is made by English labour, and is afterwards sent to clothe the Americans. Now, does it appear to you, that it would do us any great injury, if the Americans were to refuse to wear this cloth; if they were to refuse to receive the benefit of so much of the produce of the soil and of the labour of our country? *They* must go naked and absolutely perish without this cloth; but, that I lay aside, for the present, as of no account. What injury would it *do us*, if they were to be able to prevent our woollens from entering their ports? Why, my assailant of the Independent Whig will say, perhaps, that such prevention would be the ruin of thousands; that it would break up our cloth manufactories, and produce starvation amongst the cloth makers. This sweeping way of describing is always resorted to in such cases; but, Gentlemen, though we actually clothe the Americans, they do not take off one *tenth* part of our cloth. And, supposing it possible for them effectually to put a stop to this

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outlet, how would it injure us? The consequence would be, that cloth would be cheaper in England; the consequence of that would be, that wool would be cheaper; the consequence of that would be, that sheep would be less valuable; the consequence of that would be, that less of them would be raised. But, the feed which now goes to the keeping of part of our sheep, would go to the keeping of something else, and the labour now bestowed upon part of our woollen cloths, would be bestowed upon something else; in all probability upon the land, which *always* calls for labour, and which never fails to yield a grateful return.

There is, Gentlemen, as it were by preconcert, by regular system, a loud cry, upon all occasions, set up about our *loss of commerce*. Wars have been made, over and over again, for the sake of commerce; and, when the rights and honour of the nation are to be sacrificed by a peace, the regaining or preserving of commerce is invariably the plea. To hear these merchants and their ignorant partizans talk, one would almost suppose, that, if sincere in their expressions of alarm, they must look upon commerce as the sole source of our food and raiment, and even of the elements which are necessary to man's existence. Commerce, they tells us, is "essential to the *vital* interests" of the country. Who would not suppose, that commerce brought us our bread and our water. Gentlemen, to support commerce, the wars in Egypt were undertaken; the wars in India are carried on without ceasing; the war in South America, and in Africa are now undertaken. Oh! What English blood and English labour and English happiness and English honour has not this commerce cost! But, "without commerce "how are we to defray the expences "of government, and the interest of the "national debt?" This is a question that every frightened female puts to one; and, really, notwithstanding it is well known that England has been upon the decline of power ever since she became *decidedly* commercial, and that France has grown in power in the same proportion as her commerce has declined, till, at last, having lost *all* her commerce, she is become absolute mistress of the whole of the continent of Europe; notwithstanding this, the [illegible] be, with Pitt at their head, [illegible] impudently assumed, [illegible] "supports the na[illegible] to be wondered at, [illegible] foolish enough to have [illegible] would be alarmed, lest he should see his dividends with the loss of commerce. The merchants would fain persuade us (perhaps they may really think so) that their goods and their ships pay the greater part of the taxes. "Look, here!" say they, pointing to their imports and exports. That is very fine, for a few hundreds of them; but what is it *to the whole of the nation?* "But," say they, "look "at the Custom-House duties." Yes, and *who pay* those duties? It is *we*, Gentlemen, who pay those duties. The payment comes out of *our labour*, and from no other source whatever. The people of America have been cajoled by this sort of doctrine. "We pay *no taxes*," says one of their boasting citizens, "*except* such as are imposed "upon *foreign* commodities." That is to say, except such as are imposed upon *Rum*, which is to them what beer is to us; *Sugar* and *Coffee*, of which, in part, the breakfast of every human creature in the country is composed; *Woollens and Linens and Cottons*, without which the people must go naked by day and be frost-bitten by night. But, what is the difference, Gentlemen, whether they pay a tax upon their coats, or whether they pay it upon their candles?

But, Gentlemen, bearing in mind, however, that *we* pay the custom-house duties, let us see what proportion those duties bear to the whole of the taxes raised upon us. The whole of the taxes, collected last year, amount to about 50 millions; the custom-house duties, exclusive of *coals*, and goods carried from one part of the kingdom to another, to about 5 millions! Supposing, therefore, that, if we did not pay these 5 millions in this way, we should not possess them, to pay in any other way, if called upon; supposing this, is there here any falling off to be alarmed at? Why, Gentlemen, the *Barley* alone of England, pays, in malt and in beer, more clear money into the Exchequer than all the shipping and all the foreign commerce put together; and, as to the revenue arising from the trade with America, it is less than what arises from the porter which you drink in the City of Westminster alone. The fact is, Gentlemen, that the means of supporting fleets and armies, the means of meeting all the squanderings that we witness, the means of paying the dividends at the bank, come out of the land of the country and the labour of its people. These are the sources, from which all those means proceed; and all that the merchants, and ministers like merchants, tell us about the resources of commerce, means merely this, that while we are sweating at every pore to pay the taxes, we

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ought to believe, that the taxes are paid by others. I will tell you, Gentlemen, who would be injured by the shutting of the American ports against our goods. A *few great merchants and manufacturers*; and, observe it well, some hundreds of men, and some of those very great men, *who have their money in the American funds*. These, and these *alone*, be you well assured, would suffer any serious inconveniences from the shutting of the American ports; and these men are amongst the very worst enemies that the people of England have to overcome.

Nothing is more convenient for the purpose of a squandering, jobbing, corrupting, bribing minister, than a persuasion amongst the people, that it is from the *commerce*, and not from *their labour*, that the taxes come; and, it has long been a fashionable way of thinking, that, it is no matter how great the expenses are, so that the commerce does but keep pace with them in increase. Nothing can better suit such a minister and his minions than the propagation of opinions like these. But, Gentlemen, you have seen the commerce trippled since the fatal day, when Pitt became minister; and have you found, that *your* taxes have *not been increased?* The commerce has been trippled, and so have the *parish paupers*. Away, then, I beseech you, with this destructive delusion! See the thing in its true light. Look upon *all* the taxes as arising out of the land and the labour, and distrust either the head or the heart of the man who would cajole you with a notion of their arising from any other source.

But, Gentlemen, the much-talked-of and often-threatened non-importation act of America is a bug-bear fit only to frighten children and men of childish minds. Such an act was *passed* nearly two years ago; but, observe, it contained a tail clause, empowering the President to *suspend* its execution. The Congress has met twice since; the act has been *renewed*, but, still the *suspending* clause, that magic rag in the tooth of the serpent, has prevented its execution. Nay, in one case, by mistake, the term of suspension appears to have expired; but, though the act was for a few days *in force*, it was *not executed*; and had no more effect upon the importation of English goods, than if it had been one of the old ballads, of which you see such an abundance hung upon the walls at Hyde Park corner. Nor let it be imagined, that this arises from a reluctance to quarrel with us. I have before assigned the true cause. I have, in Volume X., page 971, &c. shewn *why* it is morally impossible, that, for any length of time, such an act should be executed in America, our goods, besides being *indispensably necessary* to the people of that country, being the source of much more than one half of the whole of its revenues. I then said, and I have since said, that, whether at war or at peace with us, they will have our goods and we shall have theirs; that, talk about the non-importation act as long as they please for the purpose of forming a combination amongst our merchants and manufacturers favourable to them, they can never put such an act in execution for any length of time; and that, therefore, our ministers would be amongst the most criminal of men, if, in yielding to such combinations, they gave up a single particle of our maritime rights.

The "Chamber of Commerce," this mercantile club, this new Corresponding Society, forces me back, for a moment, to the subject of *maritime rights*. These gentry, too, without any other learning than what they have picked up, in mere scraps, from the newspapers, talk about the "EQUAL "rights of *both countries*," thereby assuming, as a principle *admitted*, that America is equal with England as to all manner of rights upon the sea. It is truly said, Gentlemen, that, where the *treasure is*, there will the heart be also; but, as, comparatively speaking, very few Englishmen have treasure in America, so, I trust, that there will be very few of them who will be found to adopt the sentiments of the "Chamber "of Commerce," which, indeed, calls itself *American*, and which is, probably, composed of men, whose fortunes are principally lodged in that country. Men with *English* hearts, of whatever opinions respecting domestic matters, have never, until lately, suffered, in silence, any one to deny to their country a right of *sea dominion*. The dominion of the seas, even to the *opposite shores*, has, until of late, been distinctly claimed by all the kings and queens and rulers of England ever since our country has borne that name; and, our history shews, that those who have been most distinguished for their attachment to our domestic liberties, have been the most zealous in maintaining this sea-dominion. They were not frightened with the threats of France and of Holland (then great in maritime force) combined. They heard the solemn German quack authors and the flippant Frenchmen talk about the *law of nations*, and, as far as these related to the forms of treaties and the like, they paid attention to them. But, they scouted the idea,

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that conquest constituted right of dominion upon land, where Englishmen could scarcely gain any conquests, and that there could be no such thing as dominion at sea, where alone, in all human probability, England could make conquests. They were told, I dare say, that their claim of sea-dominion was making might constitute right; but, they would readily answer, that experience and reason joined had taught them, that, *as to the affairs of nations*, it was might alone, in fact, that did constitute right; and, this they would avow without any fear of being thought the advocates of despotism. Upon various occasions, when I, for my part, have had to speak of the conquests of Buonaparté, I have always said, that he had, in all cases where not prohibited by a previous positive compact, to which he was a party, a right to make what conquests he pleased; and, that it was perfect childishness in us to rail against him for his conquering. He has now conquered the land of Europe. We have, long ago, conquered the seas. He may maintain his dominion, and we shall, I hope, always be able to maintain ours.

My friend of the Independent Whig, "if he will allow me to call him so" (as the people at St. Stephen's say), just as if he anticipated a sinecure office in over-setting every thing that I should be able to say upon the subject of our paramount rights upon the seas, has voluntarily undertaken a defence of the people of America against what he calls my "unmerited abuse of *the* "*whole* of them." I *abused* none of them; and it never entered into my heart to speak even slightingly of them as *a whole*. Upon all occasions, when I have spoken ill of the Americans, I have excepted, first and more particularly, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, who, after all my experience, and I have now had not a little, I believe to be the, take the whole of their character and manners together, the best people in the world. Of the people in general, descending from the old settlers, to the Northward, I have always spoken with respect; and, if, generally speaking, I have had, and have, a very bad opinion of those to the Southward, I have always observed, that there were many exceptions there also. But, I have said, and this I say again, that, owing to the emigration of rogues and fraudulent debtors and sharping adventurers, from all parts of the world; and owing to the introduction of a system of impunity for moral offences, working in conjunction with about 300 news-papers, supported by advertisements and by the passions of those who feed upon falshood, America is, upon the whole, in my opinion, become the most unprincipled country in the world. I have said, that, as to affairs *between men and their families*, there is no shame or reproach attendant upon a breach of fidelity, on the part of man or of wife; and I have *proved* the frequency of elopements to be such, that the printers of even provincial papers, keep, cut in type-metal, the figures of a wife escaping from her husband's house, just as the printers of commercial papers keep the figures of ships, to place at the head of their ship advertisements. As to their *juries*, he who knows the *jurors* and the *parties*, must be very little gifted, if he be at a loss to know what will be the result. I have said, that, while I was in America, a *judge* was caught thieving in a shop; and, I have asked, what the people of England would say, if a similar act, on the part of a judge, was to pass with impunity here. I have said, that, in such a state of morals, there can be *no real public liberty*; and, that the fact is, that though the *name* is in great vogue, I would, if *compelled* to choose, rather be a subject of Napoleon than a citizen of America. My adversary (for, I am afraid, he wishes not to have me for a friend) says, that the Americans showed invincible courage, in a war for their liberties. I deny that the war was undertaken for their liberties; but, that, though the designs *here* might be unjust and tyrannical, the war there principally arose from the easy means which it offered to American debtors to cheat their English creditors. I never denied them *courage*. They are, I believe, as brave as any people in the world; but, as to their *justice* in that war, their battles were fought by those, who were paid in a paper called *certificates*. These certificates, for want of a law to give them value, were little, scarcely nothing, worth; but, when the speculators, who were also the leaders, had bought up the certificates at, perhaps, sixpence in the pound, these leaders made a law to tax the people, and to make the certificates worth 20 shillings in the pound! A whole tract of country I have known to be sold, by an act of assembly; the money received, and the law rescinded without any compensation to the purchasers. I have known a lottery made in virtue of an act of assembly, the act being published by authority in order to induce people to purchase the tickets, the tickets sold, the lottery drawn, and the holders of the money keep it and laugh at the holders of the prize tickets. Lest this should not be enough, I will give my friend

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of the Independent Whig one specimen of the American *liberty of the press*, and that, too, not, as he will, probably, anticipate, in my own person, but in that of a man, who, about eleven years ago, left Scotland, in order to enjoy the liberty of a free press in America. This man published in Scotland a pamphlet called the *political progress of Britain*, for which he was obliged to flee, and which he re-published in America. While he wrote against his own *country* as well as its rulers, he was wonderfully caressed; but, it took him in the head to write against the rulers there also. What was the consequence? An action? No. An indictment? No. A criminal information? No. But, as a mere *prelude* to these, a warrant, under a tortured construction of a statute of Edward III. (for the American rulers preserve all these handy things by them) to take him up, *to bind him to keep the peace and be of good behaviour*, under a heavy bail; so that, this bond might have been kept over his head for years, without any conviction, or even any trial. The man remonstrated against this act of injustice; he refused to give bail; he was committed to prison, and in prison *he died*, a tolerably striking instance of the effect of the liberty of the press, as enjoyed in America.

Were I to proceed to the extent of my own bare recollection, this letter would surpass in bulk that of a letter *e*. Lord Wellesley, who, quite unconcernedly, refers the court of Directors, in one letter, to the 73th paragraph of another letter, which he sends them by the same conveyance. I had no desire to say what I have said; but, when I see the persons, interested in the American commerce, combining together for the avowed object of forcing the government (which, if I am to judge from the past, is but too much inclined that way) to abandon the great protecting rights of our country; and when I see the views of this combination, aided by a public writer, who (for want of information, without doubt) holds forth America in false colours, and bespeaks your partiality towards her upon the score of her being the patroness and the guardian of liberty and of public virtue, I think, that to refrain from speaking would be a shameful neglect of my duty.

In conclusion, suffer me, Gentlemen, once more to press upon your minds the important distinction between the rights of *nations*, as considered with respect to other nations, and *individuals*, as considered with respect to other individuals of the same nation. In the latter case all ought to be upon a perfect level in the eye of the law. The law comes in to the aid of natural weakness. It says to the strong man, "you shall have "all the advantages which your own "strength can give you, as far as the em-"ployment of that strength does in nowise, "bear down those who are weaker than "you are." But, nations acknowledge *no law*; and, though there are men, who have written upon what they call *the law of nations*, their writings are merely the *opinions* of individuals, and the history of what this and that nation has, at different times, done. The fact is, that, in the concerns of nations, from the very nature of the thing, it must be, that power, in the end, under whatever shew of law or usage, will have its way. It does not hence follow, that it is just for a strong nation to oppress a weak one. The moral considerations of right and wrong are not to be left aside; but, the only check that can possibly be found to national ambition, accompanied with power wherewith to gratify it, is, the combination which, first or last, will naturally be formed against any nation, which uses its power for the purpose of oppressing other nations. The only question, therefore, for us to determine, in the present case, is, whether the exercise of those powers, which our real mastership of the seas enables us to exercise, be now exercised for the purposes of oppression, or of self-defence. I contend, that, in the particular case, which has given rise to this discussion, they have been exercised for the purposes of self-defence. There may return a state of things, when we may safely forego that exercise; and then it will be proper to do it; but, at the present time, all men, I should think, must be convinced, that, if England be not to become an appendage of France, she must maintain, with more rigour than ever, her rights of dominion upon the sea. For you, Gentlemen, to give your sanction to the abandonment of those rights, upon any ground, would be to falsify that patriotic character which you have so justly acquired; and, for you to do this upon the ground of favour due to those nations, who are set up as the *friends of liberty*, would expose your understandings to the contempt of the world. Much of our liberties, as Englishmen, has been lost. Let us, by all the lawful means within our power, continue our efforts to recover those liberties; and, if we resolutely and wisely and patiently proceed, recover them we shall, in spite of the swarms of prostituted hirelings and of public robbers, against whom we have to contend. But, Gentlemen, it is *English* liberty that we want. It is not

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French liberty nor American liberty. It is such liberty as our forefathers fought for and obtained. It is *freedom from oppression*, whether from tyrants great or petty; and this is such liberty as neither Frenchmen nor Americans have yet tasted of. It would behove you well to stand forward, at the present moment, and to make your voice heard, and through that voice the voice of the people of England, against the selfish mercantile combinations that are now forming for the purpose of sacrificing the honour and the security of our country to their paltry private interests. No small portion of the fruits of your labour has gone, and still goes, to the furnishing forth of armaments, the sole, and even the avowed object, of which is, to *support commerce*, that is to say, as, I think, I have proved to you, to furnish the means, whereby a few hundreds of men are made immensely rich, without adding, in any way whatever, to the national resources of security. And now, when a part, when one class of these men, perceive that their interests are likely to receive some injury by the assertion of our rights of sea-dominion, or superiority, they begin to combine, in order to force the, probably, too willing government, to abandon those rights, and, as a natural consequence, to punish the officers who have had the spirit to assert them. Against such a combination as this, it behoves you to raise your independent voice. *You* have no interests but those which are inseparable from the welfare of your country. These men have; and, amongst all those, whose aggrandizement have tended to oppress you, this description of persons stand pre-eminent, upon which ground alone, it appears to me, that they claim a right of dictating to the government. You should always bear in mind, that it was the commercial interest, that placed Pitt upon his throne of power, and enabled him to do all those things, of which you but too sorely feel the effects. Through all his career, they clang to him. He talked of no greatness but commercial greatness; he sacrificed every thing to the interests and the whimsies of commercial men; he was made for a counting-house himself, and he delighted in the society of merchants. His followers are in power, and there is but too much reason for us to expect, that they will tread in his steps; but, it is for *us* to put in our protest against this mercantile combination, and thereby to deprive the ministers of the pretence of having sacrificed our security in obedience to the voice of the people. I am, Gentlemen, your faithful friend, and obedient Servant,

Botley, 20th August. WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER XXIII.

GENTLEMEN,

Thinking it proper to offer to the public some observations upon the question of PEACE, which is, at present much agitated, I have, for the reasons stated at the out-set of the preceding letter, thought it right to address those observations more particularly to you.

First, Gentlemen, let me beg of you to come to the consideration of questions of this sort with your minds divested, for the moment at least, of reflections upon the internal corruptions, of which we complain, and which, sooner or later, we shall be able to eradicate and annihilate, without exposing our country to subjugation, and ourselves and our children to the just contempt of the world. As I observed to you before, Gentlemen, the corruptors and the corrupted are not those, who would most suffer by the conquering of our country. They would easily accommodate themselves to the business of raising contributions upon us. Sycophants, be assured, are not nice, as you may probably have perceived, in the objects of their subserviency. The toasts, songs, and sentiments, which they have now in use, would suit very well, in a new state of things, with a mere change of names. It is the *profits* that they love, and not the patrons. They would, you would soon see, find many and most admirable reasons for throwing us into prison, or hanging us, if we expressed our discontent at the exactions of Napoleon. When a country is conquered, individual safety depends upon readiness in submission; and, it were folly in the extreme for us to suppose, that, in a race of slavery, the base wretches, whom we now hate, would not out-strip us. No, Gentlemen, a remedy for our evils is not to come from without. That, as well as the defence of our country, lie solely in our own hands.

The question of Peace has been much dwelt upon by the editor of the Morning Chronicle, in an article, which I shall presently insert for your perusal. But, I would first beg leave to observe, that, though, for the reasons, which I shall hereafter submit to you, I am of opinion, that, *at present*, there is no chance of our deriving benefit, of any sort, from peace, I am by no means an advocate for a war, grounded merely upon a hatred of Napoleon, and, above all, for a war carried on *now* for what has been called

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the deliverance of Europe, and which "deliverance" Europe itself has not seemed to wish for, having, as I verily believe, very little reason to entertain such a wish. We should also guard our minds against the conclusion, that, because the wars, in which we have been recently engaged, have been conducted in so foolish a manner, and have produced such fatal consequences to all those, who became our allies; we must guard our minds against concluding, that war continued *now*, would be productive of similar effects; and, that peace would put an end to the evils which have arisen amongst us during war. Would peace put an end to, would it at all lessen, any of the abuses or corruptions, of which we complain? You must be satisfied that it would not now, any more than it did in 1802. On the contrary, finding our attention diverted, for a while, from these corruptions, the corruptors would take advantage thereof, and do against us that which they otherwise would not have attempted. Was the march of the heralds of peace and the illuminations and the drawing of Lauriston and the feasting of Otto; were these followed by any benefit *to us?* No; but the hirelings gathered new strength, and stoutly put forward "the *blessings* of peace" as the justifiable grounds of fresh plunder. Be assured, Gentlemen, that every thing tends to deception, which would make you believe, that a remedy for the evils of England is to be found any where else than in an annihilation of the various sources of corruption.

The *pacific* article, in the Morning Chronicle, of which I have spoken above, and which I find in that paper of the 15th instant, is, as you will perceive, a commentary upon the king's speech, delivered, last week, to the Houses of Parliament. —— "Parliament was yesterday prorogued, and the "Speech delivered by the Commissioners "in his Majesty's name, will be found in "another part of our paper.——It was expected that the Speech would have made "some allusion to the proffered mediation "of Russia, but there is nothing except the "customary general paragraph, taken from "the file, about readiness to treat with ho"nour and security. It says—"And while "his Majesty commands us to repeat the "assurances of his constant readiness to entertain any proposals that may lead to a "secure and honourable peace, he com"mands us at the same time to express his "confidence that his parliament and his "people will feel with him the necessity of "persevering in those vigorous efforts which "alone can give the character of honour to "any negociation, or the prospect of security or permanency to any peace."—— "There is one paragraph which appears to "admit the probability rather of a hostile "confederacy than of a negociation. His "Majesty trusts that his parliament will be "ready to support him "to maintain "against any undue pretensions, and against "any hostile confederacy, those just rights "which his Majesty is always desirous to "exercise with temper and moderation; "but which, as essential to the honour of "his crown, and true interests of his peo"ple, he is determined never to surrender." "This paragraph goes farther than anything "we have yet seen or heard, to accredit the "rumour that the Emperor of Russia was "likely to join Buonaparté in the assertion "of claims, inconsistent with the Naval "Code which this country has always as"serted as the true doctrine of the Law of "Nations. It may be supposed to refer to "America, perhaps, but in that case the "phrase of a hostile confederacy would not "apply. It is more probable, therefore, "that ministers have received information "which leads them to believe that the Em"peror of Russia may support the new prin"ciples which Buonaparté endeavours to "introduce. There is no particular allusion "to the state of our relations with Ameri"ca.——Upon the whole, this Speech does "not hold forth any thing VERY ENCOU"RAGING to the country. The generality in which the desire of peace is couched, leaves no room to doubt that ministers "persist in the extravagant opinions of those "who *represent negociation as disgrace, and "peace as destruction.* Those, indeed, who "consider *peace as an evil*, naturally consider "negociation as disgraceful; because it "must be presumed, that they who would "make war if they could, only talk of peace "because they cannot. The sentiments of "most of the present ministers have been "*so often expressed on this subject*, that if "they are reduced to negociation, it is a "confession that they are practically con"vinced that the war has no rational object, "and no chance of success. Those who "have held such lofty language on the sub"ject of peace, indeed, can be supposed to "look to peace either as necessary to the "country, or must be suspected of resorting "to negociation only as an expedient to pro"cure new arguments and resources for "carrying on the war. We therefore can"not consider the paragraph alluding to "peace as conveying any assurance even of "the disposition of ministers to negociate. "But far less do we consider it any pledge

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" that they have abandoned those frantic ex-
" pectations, so inconsistent with the state
" of the world, which, while they prevail,
" must render the attainment of peace im-
" possible. War may be necessary, if we
" cannot get out of it upon suitable terms,
" and in that case it must be carried on
" with courage and fortitude. But minis-
" ters seem to consider it as itself an active
" remedy, instead of an evil to be endured,
" and think it calculated to improve our si-
" tuation. In that view of it we cannot
" concur. *The most we can gain by its con-*
" *tinuance is, that after much exertion and*
" *vast expence, we are not swallowed up.*
" To reduce the power of our enemy by a
" maritime war, is now the most hopeless
" of projects, and after so much experience,
" those who still think it reasonable, are in-
" capable of being taught, either by argu-
" ments or by facts. Then what is gained
" by a protracted war, in which, let it be
" granted that we *keep all we have?* Is
" France, in her present situation, likely to
" be sooner or more exhausted by a length-
" ened war, than England? Is the ruler of
" that country likely to be affected by com-
" mercial pressure, could we inflict it in its
" utmost extremity; or even by an univer-
" sal blockade, were it practicable? He
" cares for none of these things, and will
" never yield upon such considerations as
" are calculated only to influence those who
" see all things through the medium of
" trade. We apprehend, therefore, that af-
" ter the lapse of several years, and the fa-
" vourable supposition of keeping all we
" have, we shall have, in the comparison,
" lost much more than France; and that
" even during the interval, we are not likely
" to bear with patience *the privations and*
" *burdens which the war must occasion.* A
" defensive war, therefore, is the worst of
" evils, because it does not even promise,
" what is the greatest incentive to military
" effort, as well as the greatest consolation
" in passive suffering, that at the expiration
" of any given time, or after any series of
" exertions, we shall be better than we are at
" this moment. Time may inspire us with that
" moderation of temper, and with that re-
" signation in that unfortunate order of
" things which Europe is destined to endure
" for a season; but it were better that
" wisdom should now *save us the distress*
" of being schooled by adversity. The pow-
" er and predominance of Bonaparte
" are, unquestionably, a great evil; and it
" is impossible that England should not,
" though herself unsubdued, feel some
" share of the calamity which has spread
" all around her. To that, however, she
" must submit.—She has not the means of
" *redressing the injustice of fortune, and*
" *of building up the ruins of prostrate na-*
" *tions.* She aims at something far beyond
" her real means. When circumstances
" are so changed, she seems to act as if
" France were that very France with which
" we used to negociate, with a certain
" consciousness of superiority.—That feel-
" ing, the people in a situation new and
" extraordinary, are desirous to cultivate
" and to act upon, however unseasonable
" it must appear. After the enormous
" success of France, and while she still
" possesses the resources and abilities with
" which that success was obtained, it is
" not reasonable for us to suppose that our
" success, comparatively limited in its
" nature and unimportant in its effects,
" can counterbalance the enormous aggran-
" disement of our rival. We do not say
" that we are subdued or humbled by
" France, but we say that France has ob-
" tained, for a time at least, the ascendant
" in the affairs of Europe; and we say too,
" that all the efforts of England cannot in
" the least impair that ascendant—and
" therefore it is our policy to *yield to that*
" *turn of affairs which we cannot change.*
" It rarely has happened that an intire equa-
" lity among the Nations of Europe has
" existed. The house of Austria, Spain,
" France, in former times, and likewise
" England, have had a decisive and admitted
" superiority. It is in vain to struggle
" against the occasional fortune, ability,
" and success of particular nations, found-
" ed on various accidents in their internal
" situation. It is laudable to resist the ten-
" dency towards inequality, and to reduce
" the pretension, in any shape, to univer-
" sal monarchy. But that resistance must
" be bounded by reason and by prudence.
" In the present case France has obtained
" a decisive superiority in Europe, and
" experience has shewn how vain it is at
" this time to attempt by force of arms *to*
" *reduce her* to what it is desirable she
" should be. We ought, therefore, *with*
" *the rest of the world,* to acquiesce in the
" decision obtained by an appeal to arms,
" which there is no probability of our be-
" ing able to reverse. France must have
" great advantages, in consequence of her
" success, but that is no argument against
" peace when war is not likely to *deprive her*
" *of those advantages.* We may negociate on
" the footing of equality with France; but
" however unpalatable the admission is, we
" must admit, *that France is relatively grea-*

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" ter, and England, *relatively less, than* " *perhaps upon any former occasion when* " *they negociate.* It is foolish to deny " this, and more foolish still to act as if it " were not so. As this elevation of France " has risen from a concurrence of singular " events, it may not be permanent, but at " any rate we cannot by our single efforts " overturn the results of such long, and " bloody, and decisive wars on the conti- " nent. Then what do we fight for, when " *in all probability* every thing which *rea-* " *sonable men* can hope for, in the present " *disordered state of the world,* may be at- " tained by peace? We answer, that we " fight, first because our pride is unwilling " to acknowledge France, in her present " state of aggrandisement, or to recognize " the detested Bonaparte and his innovations; " secondly, our mercantile men are afraid that " our trade may suffer by a peace, particularly " they think it is quite easy at once to fight us " with all the world, and at the same time " serve them with goods, thus making them " pay us for beating them; thirdly, there " is a vague apprehension, that Bonaparte " only wishes to make peace in order to " devour us. Upon these and similar " grounds ministers and their partisans re- " present peace as an evil to be deprecated, " and therefore deem it true policy to use " every means not to promote, but to pre- " vent it. But the evils of peace form a " copious subject of discussion which we " have not time at present to pursue."

You will perceive, Gentleman, that the chief object of this writer is, not to obtain peace, but to persuade his readers, that the faction in power are pre-determined against peace, thereby hoping to produce such a feeling against them as may tend to the ousting of them, and the placing of his own faction in their stead. The burthen of his observations always is, the unfortunate, or perverse, or foolish, or mad, or wicked disposition of his opponents, or, rather, the opponents of his patrons. Of a writer who betrays such evident marks of mere party, mere factious, motives, we should always entertain great suspicions.

As to the question of peace, what may be the disposition of the present ministers I cannot positively assert; but, I should suppose, that the first consideration with them, as it was with Pitt and the Addingtons and the Whigs, will be to keep their places; and that, if they find peace likely to tend to that purpose, peace they will make, and, as the Addingtons did, call upon us for blessings upon their heads for the boon. But, this I know, that, whatever views they may have in carrying on the war, they cannot be more barefacedly regardless of the interests of England, than were the openly-avowed views of the Whigs, when they set us to war with Prussia for the purpose of *obtaining the restoration of Hanover.* This writer asks what we can now continue the war for; but, reserving our answer to that question, let me ask him how it is possible for the present ministers to entertain views more unworthy of Englishmen, than those openly avowed by Mr. Fox, when he declared, in parliament, that he never felt so much pleasure at any moment of his life, as when the king commanded him to write the dispatch, in which it was declared, *that the king would never make any peace, which should not stipulate for the complete restoration of Hanover to him.* This was the Whig object, not for carrying on a war, but for beginning a new war, which war, you will remember, was the chief immediate cause of all that followed upon the continent of Europe.

It is the way of those, who wish to mislead, to assume, that those who differ from them must necessarily entertain the views, which it suits their arguments to impute to them. Accordingly, those who, like me, can see no benefit that we should derive from a peace, made at this time, are by this writer, represented as aiming, by a maritime war, at " building up the ruined fortunes of the " nations of Europe;" at " reducing the " power of France" by land; objects at which no man in his senses would, at this time, aim, nor do I know that it would be desirable to accomplish those objects, even if the accomplishment were completely in our power; for, I have an ugly lurking in my mind, that, if the Prussians and Russians had beaten Napoleon, things would not have been the better for such people as you and I, which lurking has, I must confess, operated as a consolation to me, when I have read of the battles in Prussia and in Poland.

But, though I am very willing to leave the Germans (aye, *all* of them) to the rule of the Emperor of France and his brethren, I can discover a very sufficient object in continuing the war, at present, especially as it may now be a war attended with, comparatively, very little expence, taking it for granted, that no more continental expeditions or subsidies can now be thought of. The Morning Chronicle anticipates, as I anticipated months and months ago; that a *maritime confederacy* is forming against us in the North of Europe. How does he think, that this confedracy is to be got rid of? or, does he wish us to " yield to the turn of affairs," and, " with the rest of the world, acquiesce"

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(good gentleman !) "in the decision obtain-"ed by an appeal to arms?" How, otherwise, I ask him, is this confederacy to be got rid of, except by a prosecution of the war? Would he really counsel us to yield to terms settled upon the principle of what is called the "*liberty of the Seas?*" Pitt and Addington gave up, as far as they conld give up, the honour of the flag, which honour had been maintained by England from the time that flags were first seen upon the European seas; and, would this gentleman advise us, not only to ratify that shameful abandonment, but also bind ourselves not to exercise the right of search, a right, which, it must, I think, be evident to all men, upon the exercise of which our maritime superiority depends?

Here, then, is of itself, a quite sufficient object; but, I am of opinion, that a war even now properly managed, would, in a great measure, deprive France of the advantages, she expects from her conquests; and, would effectually deprive her of the advantages, which she would, without war, employ for the subjugation of this country. Without a considerable maritime force, she never can effect that object, an object which, I think, every one is persuaded her ruler has in view; and, by war, judiciously conducted, upon the avowed principle of maritime dominion, we have it in our power to destroy, for half a century, the means of his obtaining that force. Not a ship, belonging to any power, should be suffered to pass but upon conditions prescribed by us. Every sail upon the sea should, as in former times, be obedient to the Admiralty of England. The continent Napoleon might rule at his pleasure; but, the moment any one quitted the land, he should be under the dominion of England. These principles I would openly avow as the only principles upon which I would settle terms of peace; and the right of sea-dominion I would exercise in peace as well as in war, or I would make no peace with the ruler of the land of Europe. Now, is this object to be attained, without a further continuation of the war? Will Napoleon listen to such terms of peace? How, then, are we to obtain peace without; how are we to "obtain every thing which we can "hope for, in the present disordered state "of the world?"

But, "are we *never* to have peace?" To which I answer, you must put that question to France. It is not our fault if we have not peace, any more than it is the fault of the man who is assaulted, that he is engaged in a scuffle. France openly avows the design of conquering our country, and her preparations keep due pace with her avowal. It is, then, unreasonable in the extreme to put a question, conveying a reproach upon us, that we do not seem disposed to put an end to the war. I would, at all times, be ready to negociate. I would discover no hatred of Napoleon or his brethren. I would readily give up all the islands and colonies that I had conquered. But, I would distinctly maintain the right of dominion upon the sea; and that right I would so exercise, in peace as well as in war, as to be able, at all times, to say to the people, "there are not, in all Europe, the "means of sending forth a fleet against "you."

These being my opinions, I cannot but approve of the expedition, which is said to have been undertaken in order to seize upon the Danish fleet and arsenals, which, if not actually taken possession of by the conqueror, are, as all the world knows, within a few days' march of his reach. It is a vile mockery, it is hypocrisy, or it is mere party cavilling, to pretend, that Denmark can remain, at the present time, in a state of *neutrality*. Her naval force and means, whatever they may be, must be employed against, if not seized upon by us; and, it must, I think, be evident, that the only means of reducing the conqueror to listen to such terms of peace, as would give us security from his arms, are the seizing upon or the destroying of all the maritime resources within his reach, and the preventing of those resources from being recruited. It is painful to have recourse to such violent means; but, between that and subjugation we have no choice; and, when this is the case, I am persuaded, that there are very few Englishmen who would not prefer the former.

But, gentlemen, I do greatly fear, that this appearance of vigour is but for a day; and, I should not be surprized, if it should finally appear, that *Hanover* will be thought a sufficient compensation for the expense of these expeditions and for England's maritime dominion into the bargain. My fears may be groundless, and I hope they are; but, I cannot help entertaining them; and, certain I am, that such sentiments as those now inculcated by the Morning Chronicle, are admirably calculated to prepare a justification for such a peace. In fact, gentlemen, there is nothing that the ministers, if their views are such as I fear they are, could desire more to their purpose than the humble, despairing tone of the Morning Chronicle. It was upon the language of this very paper, that the Addington's justified their peace. They threw the blame

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upon *the people*; and, lest the present ministers should do the same, the people should make them know, that they desire no peace without security.

That you, the independent electors of Westminster, may, above all other men, reflect seriously and conclude rightly upon these important subjects is almost the first wish of

Your faithful friend,
and obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Botley, Aug. 20, 1807.

ENGLAND'S RIGHT OF SEARCH.

SIR,——I cannot resist expressing to you the pleasure I felt as an Englishman, in reading your last paper upon the subject of the present dispute with America.——You have argued the case well, and I perceive intirely from your own excellent understanding; but give me leave to inform you, Sir, of what you need not be ashamed to be ignorant, that the very case now before us has happened over and over again in our history: that it has been argued and most solemnly argued by great lawyers and statesmen, and that cases precisely in point have been decided in a formal and judicial manner upon grave argument and great consideration; and that the decision has always been as you contend it ought to be. The orders to our admirals, from the earliest period of our maritime greatness, have been in conformity to this our ever asserted right, and the orders in the time of Oliver Cromwell, from a book of whose time, you have most appropriately taken your last motto, are stronger in point of expression, as they were more determined in point of action, than the orders in any other period of our history.——Sir, if the councils of this nation had among them a mind like his, whom I have just mentioned, with the same regard to our internal prosperity, and to our foreign and naval greatness, we might laugh at the dangers with which we are threatened, and even at Buonaparté himself, who is become, as you feared and predicted, *Hannibal* again —" His Martello " Towers are his allies—Crowns and Sceptters are the pallisadoes of his intrench-" ments, and Kings are his centinels."—— Go on, Sir, and fearlessly maintain the glory and greatness of this our country abroad, and as fearlessly expose her shameful, but thank God, curable sickliness at home.

A TRUE ENGLISHMAN.

London, August 17, 1807.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

The Committee for conducting the late unparalleled Election for Westminster, having determined to present to Sir Francis Burdett the Car, Banners, and Flags, used during the Election and Procession, the following Letter was transmitted to him; dated Committee Room, Britannia Coffee House, July 4, 1807.

SIR;——After the almost unexampled victory obtained by the Electors of Westminster in favour of the people, they can no where so properly deposit the memorials of their triumph as in your hands. The committee have, therefore, to request that you will accept them.——The Car and Banners used at the celebration of an event of so much importance to the country, the memory of which will descend to our posterity, cannot fail to remind you of the great public principles by which it was produced.—The Factions which have been so long contending for the government had both been tried. Each, in its turn, had oppressed, plundered, and disgusted, the people. The virtues, both private and public, for which your character was revered, pointed out to the Electors of Westminster the man whom they should call to their aid. The name of " Burdett" was pronounced, and " Burdett and our Country" resounded from every part of this great city. " 5134" Electors came forward, and secured, by an unparalleled " majority," " the triumph of Westminster" over the associated panders of venality and tools of corruption. " You were called from the retirement you had chosen," and returned with the utmost " Purity of Election," to advocate the cause of your country, as their representative in the senate.—You are sent to express " the Sense of the People," and to lend your best assistance to restore to them those inestimable blessings of " the Constitution," of which they have been deprived by a long series of fraud and hypocrisy: to restore to them " a full, fair, and free, representation in Parliament," and the use of trial by jury in all cases whatever. In short, to assist in restoring to them that constitution which their ancestors did not think dearly purchased with their blood.—The Car and Banners must remind you, at all times, of those great public principles, to support which you stand pledged to the country. They will animate you to your duty. You will perform it. And if the perishable materials, of which they are composed, permit them to be preserved beyond the period of your own existence, your children will look upon them with reverence and affection, as the highest honour they derive from t'

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ancestor. But were you to fail, they would remain a constant reproach upon your conduct, and your children would justly consider them the greatest blot in their escutcheon.——By order of the Committee,—— (Signed) SAMUEL BROOKS, Chairman.—*To Sir F. Burdett, Bart. M. P. for Westminster.*

ANSWER.

Wimbledon, July 7, 1807.

SIR,——I shall receive with pleasure and gratitude those memorials of the patriotism, spirit, and independence, of the Electors of Westminster, which the Committee propose to deposit in my hands. Amongst them, your excellent letter will not, in my humble opinion, be the least useful or the least esteemed. They will, I hope, not only serve to remind me and my children of the great duties all men owe their country, but also help to revive the ancient love of liberty in the heart of every Englishman, his children, and latest posterity.——I remain, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,——FRANCIS BURDETT.

Mr. Samuel Brooks.

The following ACCOUNT of the EXPENCES of the late Election for Westminster, is taken from a small pamphlet just published, by order of the Committee, entitled "An Exposition of the Circumstances which gave rise to the Election of Sir F. Burdett, Bart. for the City of Westminster."

ACCOUNT OF DISBURSEMENTS AND RECEIPTS.

Expences of the Election, up to the final close of the Poll, 23d May:

Advertisements, Printing, and Bill-Stickers	£317	12	6		
Stationary, Check Clerks, and Messengers	156	1	0		
Committee Rooms, Clerks, and Candles	180	6	6		
Flags, Drums, Fifes, Bugles, and other Music	75	19	1		
Coach Hire, and Incidental Expences	22	9	6		
High Constable's Charges, & extra Constables	77	5	9		
				780	14 4
Expenses after the close of the Poll.					
Procession, &c. on 23d May	69	17	8		
Printing 10,000 Resolutions of the Committee, dated 23d May, and delivering a Copy to each Elector ("5134") who voted for Sir Francis Burdett, and other printing	48	12	0		
				118	9 8
Expenses of Chairing Sir F. Burdett, and celebrating the Triumph of Westminster, 29th June.					
Advertisements, Printing, & Bill Stickers	55	11	0		
Carried over				£899	4 0

Brought over				£899	4 0
Messengers since the Election to this day	6	9	6		
Committee Rooms, Candles and Stationary	13	3	5		
Flags, Banners, Music, Flag-bearers and Constables	121	14	0		
The Car, Horses, Grooms, Attendants and Dresses	122	6	6		
Ribbons for the Horses, Attendants, Flagbearers and Musicians	20	11	4		
Incidental Expenses attending Procession and Dinner	20	2	3		
				305	18 0
Fees and Gratuities paid at the House of Commons, preparatory to Sir Francis Burdett taking his seat	6	0	6		
Repairing the Car, and Expenses on presenting it and the Colours to Sir F. Burdett	25	0	0		
				31	0 6
Total Expenditure				£1296	2 6
Amount of Subscriptions received by the Treasurer to the 7th August				1215	14 3
Balance due to the Treasurer				£ 80	8 3

SAMUEL BROOKS, Treasurer.

Audited, W. ADAMS. FRANCIS PLACE.

FIRST REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE. *Presented to the House of Commons, July 22d.* 1807.

PAY-OFFICE.

THE COMMITTEE, appointed to examine and consider what Regulations and Checks have been established, in order to control the several branches of THE PUBLIC EXPENDITURE in Great Britain and Ireland; and how far the same have been effectual; and what further Measures can be adopted for reducing any part of the said expenditure, or diminishing the Amount of Salaries and Emoluments, without Detriment to THE PUBLIC SERVICE;

Having had referred to their consideration the proceedings of the committee which was instituted for the same purposes in the last parliament, began their inquiries, by prosecuting the examination of a subject, in which considerable progress had been made, but upon which they have delayed making an earlier report, judging it proper to suspend any statement of facts, until they could at the same time recommend the best mode, according to their judgement, of preventing similar abuses in future. The evidence received during the last session, contains an account of two transactions in the Pay Office, of a most irregular, and improper kind, which were disclosed on the examination of

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Mr. Thomas, accountant in that office; by whom it was stated, that a draft for £7,000, payable to the right honourable Thomas Steele, (at that time one of the Joint Paymasters) or Bearer, had been drawn by the cashier on the 11th May 1799, under the head of Extraordinaries of the Army, and entered in the cash account of the office, with Mr. Steele's receipt as a voucher; and that another sum of £12,800 was drawn for, precisely in the same manner, and a receipt given in the same terms, on the 3d of July 1800. Of these two sums, the first was not repaid until the 3d of February 1807; nor the latter until the 8th of April, with interest upon both sums, from the date of their issue to that of their repayment, amounting to £7,390. 13*s*. The correspondence between Mr. Steele and Mr. Thomas; letters of Earl Temple, (one of the Joint Paymasters in 1807) addressed to Lord Grenville, Mr. Steele, Mr. Rose, and Lord Harrowby; three minutes of the Lords of the Treasury, directing what steps should be taken for securing the sum remaining due (for the first sum had been repaid previous to any proceedings of the Board of Treasury); Minutes of the Paymaster General entered in the book of the office; and several other papers, are inserted at length in the Appendix, though not perhaps absolutely necessary for understanding the subject, that no circumstance which has reference to this business, may be withheld from observation. But the part to which the committee think it most material to direct the attention of the house, is the account given by Mr. Steele himself, when he desired to attend the former committee on the 26th of March 1807, and made his own statement of the circumstances relating to these transactions. He said, "the two sums mentioned by Mr. Thomas were issued by my direction, and I have no hesitation in stating that they were not issued for public service; I thought, as others did at the time, that I had full authority to direct those issues. I was urged to do so by private considerations of a very peculiar nature, which operated at that time upon my mind; and I thought that by directing them to be issued to myself, and making myself responsible for them, I could not by possibility incur the suspicion of concealment, or fraud. It was my intention that they should have been replaced in a very short time, but it was not in my power to accomplish it; they remained charged against me in the Pay Office Book till the beginning of the present year, when the former of the two sums was repaid; and the whole subject having been brought lately under the consideration of the Board of Treasury, they have directed me to repay the remaining sum, with the interest due upon both sums, by instalments at stated periods, which I have engaged to do. I cannot take upon myself to defend my conduct in this instance, which I must admit to have been incorrect, but I console myself with thinking that the public will have suffered no loss." And being asked, whether he knew of any other transaction of the same kind, during the time he was in the Pay Office? He said, "I do not." And being asked, whether he knew of any arrear of the like nature arising from the transaction of any former Paymaster? He said, "I certainly do not." And being asked, whether any notice was taken of this transaction by the Treasury, previous to the beginning of this year? He said, "I apprehend it was not ever known to the Treasury, previous to this year." And being asked, whether any notice was taken by any other Public Office? He said, "Not to my knowledge." — On the 13th April, Mr. Steele again attended the committee; and a part of Lord Temple's letters being read to him (Appendix, No. 3,), and he being asked, whether he had any explanation to give in reference to this letter? he said, "This being a statement of what passed in different conversations at different times, of which, I made no memorandum myself, I certainly am not disposed to dispute the accuracy with which it is reported. I beg the committee at the same time to understand that I never have attempted to justify the issue of the two sums in question, upon the ground that they were applied directly or indirectly to public service; but that in my former evidence I acknowledged that they were not issued with any reference to public service, but I alone was responsible and accountable for them; and that I have, in fact repaid them both, principal and interest." And a part of Mr. Steele's former examination, and an extract from his letter to Mr. Thomas, being shown to him, he further said, "The persons to whom I alluded in that letter and in my examination, were the principal officers of the Pay Office, who had long been established there, and who uniformly contended that the power of the Pay-Master General to direct the issues of money from the Bank remained unlimited by any of the provisions of the Act for regulating the Office of Paymaster General." And being asked, "Did you consult any other person as to the operation of that Act, upon the issue of money to the Pay-

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master?" he said, "I did not." And being asked, Whether in point of fact, in any part of this transaction, he acted upon the opinions of any other persons, conjointly with his own, or consulted any other person on the subject? he said, "No."—The conduct of Mr. Rose, who succeeded Mr. Steele in the Pay Office, being observed upon, in a minute of the Paymaster, dated 27th February 1807, Mr. Rose attended the committee, for the purpose of explaining the knowledge he had of this transaction; and he stated, that the facts relating to the two sums issued to Mr. Steele were communicated to him on the 10th February, 1806, by Mr. Bradshaw, in the presence of Mr. Harmood and Mr. Thomas; but that, as he considered himself completely out of office at that time, he could not interfere officially, nor apply any possible remedy; that he had, however, desired Mr. Thomas to write to Mr. Steele, that he might insure his seeing him, and to let him (Mr. Rose) know, whether any interposition of his, with Mr. Steele, would be necessary; that he had also a personal interview with Mr. Steele, and afterwards wrote a letter to him, enforcing what he had recommended in conversation; the answer to which led him to rest satisfied that the whole matter would be communicated, without delay, to Lord Grenville, or the Paymaster General.—As no entry was made of these two sums in the Extraordinaries of the Army presented to Parliament, it became an object of inquiry, for what reason they were not included; to which Mr. Wood, Deputy Cashier in the Pay Office, answered, that they were omitted by the express order of Mr. Steele; and upon being further examined, he said, that other sums had also been omitted in a former year (1797) by Mr. Steele's direction, which had been advanced to Mr. Carey, Pratburnon, and Bryan; adding, that without such particular direction he should have thought it his duty to include all those sums. In one of Mr. Steele's letters it is to be observed, that the reason which he assigns for this omission is, "that the sums so issued, being intended to "be replaced at an earlier period, could not "with propriety have formed part of the "army extraordinaries." If such has been the rule of that office in making up the account of extraordinaries, and if it has been also usual that all sums so issued, if replaced before the delivery of the accounts to the auditors, should not appear at all in those accounts, your committee judge both these practices highly improper to be continued, because they tend to keep back from the house, in the first instance, and finally from the auditors, the full knowledge of the disposal of the public money, and to facilitate the temporary application of sums to purposes of a different nature from those to which they are destined by the votes of parliament.—The money issued to Mr. Carey and the two others in 1797, was for the purpose of procuring a supply of specie for army services, from Hamburgh, at a time when there was great difficulty in obtaining it, owing to the restriction of payments in cash by the Bank. Mr. Boyd undertook to import a large sum, and the persons who received the money, which amounted to £100,000 by the Paymaster's drafts on the Bank, were nominated by Mr. Boyd, for the purpose of keeping the transaction secret, which he judged necessary for its success.—The service was not performed; and the principal sum so issued was repaid by Mr. Boyd, in the following year, by a similar sum which he received on account of another service, (the remitting of money to the Cape of Good Hope for the payment of troops) which he contracted with government to perform; in which he also failed. The question of interest upon the £100,000 was involved in the discussion of some claims preferred by Mr. Boyd, against government; and the repayment of the second sum is still in a course of legal proceeding, in consequence of the bankruptcy of the House of Messrs. Boyd and Co. when proper steps were immediately taken for recovering it, by direction from the Lords of the Treasury; and your committee are informed, that the principal difficulties which have prevented a satisfactory title from being made to purchasers (under this bankruptcy) are now nearly adjusted, and in the course of the next term, it is probable that the most considerable purchasers will be ready to complete their purchases, and to pay their purchase money into court.—Upon the important subject of recommending measures which may prevent similar abuses in future, your committee observe with great concern, that the most obvious, and perhaps the only effectual remedy, has been found by experience hitherto unattainable; but they think it necessary to represent as their deliberate opinion, that without an earlier examination, and auditing of accounts, irregularities can hardly be prevented; and that temptation will never be wanting to make use of public money, while there exists a great probability of its being for a long time uncalled for. After the accounts come before the commissioners for auditing, no attention is wanting in requiring proper warrants in discharge for every payment, and no sum is allowed with-

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out a voucher of that kind; but so slow has been the progress hitherto, that notwithstanding the observations made on the subject by the Committee of Finance in 1797 and 1798, not one account of any Paymaster General has been finally settled and declared, nor made ready for declaration, in the nine or ten years which have since elapsed.—Parts of the accounts and vouchers for the year 1782, were delivered to the auditors in 1788, 1789, 1791, and 1798; parts of those for 1783 were delivered to them in 1792 and 1798; part of those for 1784, in 1794; and part of those for 1785, in 1797. It appears also that a supplementary account of the Paymaster General, from 24 April to 24 December, 1782, and a supplementary account for 1783, were delivered into their office, together with the attested accounts for 1784 and 1785, no longer ago than on 9th February last.—A letter from the chairman of that board affords a reasonable expectation that the account of the Paymaster General for the year 1782 will be finally audited, and ready for declaration about Christmas next; and that, provided there be no delay in the delivery of the subsequent accounts, the present arrear of the Pay Office accounts may be cleared at the Auditor's Office in the course of five or six years. It will be the duty of your committee, should they be reappointed, in the ensuing session, to make an early inquiry into the progress which shall have been made during the recess, and to consider how far the provisions of the act of 46th Geo. III. c. 141, under which the present Board of Commissioners for auditing the public accounts was appointed, have contributed to the object they were intended to answer, by facilitating the due examination and more speedy settlement of the public accounts; and whether any and what further regulations may be devised, for the attainment of so important and desirable an end.——Although some effectual improvement in that system, would be the most radical and substantial remedy, there are other subordinate measures fit to be enforced immediately, for which the regulations of office may in a great degree be sufficient; and legislative provision may be added wherever it becomes necessary.——Much of the delay, which occurs in procuring the clearing and covering warrants from the War Office, without which the paymaster's accounts cannot be examined by the auditors, may be removed, by making the transactions between these two offices more simple and methodical. It would be desirable in all instances to issue warrants at once, instead of transacting so much of the ordinary business by letters, which has formed a constant subject of complaint on the part of the paymasters; and it appears, that if warrants on account were granted by the Secretary at War for regimental services not completed within the year, the paymaster's accounts might be delivered soon after the end of every year to the auditors for examination.—The issue of money being in fact made originally upon the authority of the letter only, no other inquiry seems to be made in granting the subsequent warrant, than whether it agrees with the letter; and therefore any additional signatures to the warrant, which bear the appearance of further check and examination, add in reality no sort of security to the public, while the responsibility (which can never be desirable) becomes divided between two offices.—Your committee see no sort of necessity for every individual warrant being signed by his Majesty, nor for its being countersigned by the Lords of the Treasury, except where money is issued by their orders. In all cases where the Treasury is not concerned, the money is now actually paid upon the requisition of the Secretary at War, and his name alone ought to stand as sufficient authority for the warrant, making him, in whose department it is, responsible for the service and the expenditure.—It would be sufficient for his Majesty, in whom all money is originally vested by grant of parliament, to sign a warrant for large sums from time to time, leaving the detail of the application of them, as is the practice with regard to monies issued on account of the navy, and the ordnance, to the department under whose directions the particular service is performed.—The delay occasioned by the warrants being taken up by army agents, instead of being directly returned to the Pay Office through their own officers, ought to be entirely obviated, as it seems already to have been in some degree, with regard to what are called clearing warrants for regimental services. No reason appears why they should pass at all into the agent's hands, who may have an indirect interest in withholding them, and for the passing of whose accounts they are in no degree requisite.——Another regulation proper to be adopted, is a different manner of making out the accounts of extraordinaries to be laid before parliament, which the present paymaster informed your committee that he had directed to be done

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in future; and that an account should be regularly kept in the office, classed under the same heads as those for which the grants of parliament are annually voted.——No sums which have been issued in the course of the year, ought ever to be left out of the account of extraordinaries annually laid before parliament, for they create a temporary deficiency in the balance of the paymaster's cash, even if they are to be repaid; they therefore should be noticed in the first account after the issue by a memorandum, as sums not ultimately to be charged upon the public; and credit should be taken for them in any subsequent account, when they are actually replaced at the Bank. It would also tend materially to the clearness of all these accounts, if no articles of expenditure were inserted, but such as relate strictly to the army; instead of which, it is to be observed, that issues of money for the purchase of corn, and various miscellaneous purposes not directly relating to that service, have not unfrequently been admitted into them, and intermixed with army services; which your committee conceive to belong more properly to the particulars of the distribution of any vote of credit which may be granted for the year in which such articles appear.—A greater regularity in bringing up the accounts in the office itself, is essential in various points of view; and the attention of the paymaster himself is particularly necessary for insuring the attendance, and application of all the officers who are under him, and for enforcing a more punctual and accurate discharge of their duty, than appears to have hitherto prevailed. Their books should be frequently balanced, and the cash book ought always to be made up to the latest period possible; to the neglect of which it is in some measure owing, that it has been impossible to conform to the provisions of the Statute 45th Geo III. c. 58; and the consequence has been, that ever since the passing of that act, the 5th sec. prescribing the mode in which the monthly memorials are to be presented to the Treasury; and the 8th clause in the Auditors Act, 46. Geo. III. c. 141. sec. 8. requiring all accountants to deliver in within three months after the end of each year, an account current of all sums received and paid by them within the year, have been totally disregarded.—It would have been necessary in this place, to observe upon the imperfect manner in which the entries of money paid by individuals to the paymaster's account, have been made by the clerks of the Bank in the cash-book of the office, if your committee had not received an assurance from the Governor of the Bank, that directions have been given to discontinue this practice, with regard to this, and all other public offices.—The practical inconvenience, to which the former mode was liable, appeared in a remarkable instance, in the course of the last year, when no less a sum than £291,348, remained, for about four months in the Bank, without any information of the payment being given to the paymaster; which, though he ought certainly to have received from the accountant in his office, who was employed in making the payment, yet no good reason can be assigned why the negligence of that officer was not corrected by a communication from the Bank. A larger issue of money from the Exchequer, to the amount of that sum, than would otherwise have been required, must have been the consequence, and the public were of course either unnecessarily increasing exchequer bills, and paying interest for a sum which ought to have been at their disposal; or services which were to be paid with this money must have been suffered to remain unsatisfied.—The Act 45 Geo. III. c. 58, having repealed that of 1783, is now the only subsisting act for regulating the business of this office; and it therefore became the duty of your committee to examine how far it had been complied with, or had been found effectual, in the remaining points which it attempts to regulate.—The time of making up the accounts, directed by sec. 21. has not been observed, any more than the clause in the Auditor's Act, 46 Geo. III. c. 141. sec. 8, above referred to. The clause with regard to regimental agents, sec. 23. has indeed been attended to in terms, but it has been found of little use in practice; because the paymaster, having no means of knowing the balance in the hands of agents, has no method of controverting the statements which they may think proper to deliver in, as to the aggregate balance of their accounts, it being always possible, that though an agent may be a debtor for one regiment (where he is concerned for several) he may be a creditor on account of another.—The books of the office have been brought up, subsequent to the inquiry of the former committee, to as late a date as the nature of the case admits of; but at that period, and when the present paymaster was appointed in April 1807, the fair cash-book was not brought up later than to the month of November 1806; nor were the accounts frequently, nor regularly balanced.—It would hardly have been deemed requisite to point out the propriety of appointing persons duly qualified by their knowledge of writing and arithmetic, and of a sufficient age,

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to discharge the duties of clerks in the office, if the present paymaster had not very lately found it necessary to discharge some of those who had been admitted into the office, on account of their insufficiency, and inexperience.—If your committee do not recommend any alteration in the power of drawing for money (to whatever amount,) which is at present vested in the paymaster, or in the cashier, it is not from any want of consideration bestowed upon this part of the subject; but they are at a loss to know, if it be withdrawn from those officers, in whom it can be lodged more properly, or with absolute security; for it is unquestionable, that in some department or other of government, it must necessarily be placed. If more signatures than one should be required to every draft, there is great risk of the public service being continually retarded, and the inconveniences will be much greater, if delays should be interposed in the first instance, of the same sort with those which now occur after the payments are made, and which tend only to obstruct the settlement of account, but not the service itself. It would inevitably follow, from any such division of responsibility, that, in the multiplicity of public business, credit would be given implicitly by one department of government to another, that the form of signing would soon become a matter of course, and that the paymaster would act under as little practical restraint as he does at present. If the paymaster and the cashier should be directed jointly to sign every draft, some sort of additional check may perhaps be laid upon the latter, but none will be felt by the head of the office: and it is obvious that if such had been the established practice of the office before the date of the two drafts, which have given occasion to this inquiry, the paymaster would not in the slightest degree have been precluded by it, from drawing for the money in the very mode he did, nor from detaining it, for as long a time, in his possession.—The whole business of the Pay Office is so intimately connected with that of the War Office, that it is hardly possible to report fully upon the former, without entering into an ample examination of the latter; but in the particulars which have been pointed out, their relative situation admits of alteration, with advantage to the public, as far at least as may be sufficient to prevent the paymaster's accounts from waiting for the auditing of those of army agents, and others, in which he has no concern, and over whom he has no control. To examine whether he has discharged his duty by issuing money upon regular vouchers, proceeding either from the War Office or the Treasury, cannot be a matter of intricacy, or delay; and if the Secretary at War should be authorized to grant warrants upon account for all services not completed within the year, and to grant upon his sole authority warrants for all other services, as more formal and regular documents than letters, for every payment, the same practice being also introduced into the Treasury, when any issues are directed by that board for army services; and if, further, the auditors should be empowered and required by an alteration of the act, (if necessary) to examine separately the accounts of the extraordinaries as soon as they are presented to them, and to compare every payment with the Bank cash book, there is every reason to expect, not only that every paymaster's account might be settled within a short period after the expiration of each year, but that a substantial check would be provided against all temptation to withdraw money from the service for which it is granted, when the detection of any such misapplication must immediately follow the examination of the annual accounts compared with the cash book of the bank. This opinion of your committee is fortified by that of the chairman of the board for auditing accounts, who stated his belief, that if the cash accounts required by the 46 Geo. III. 141. sec. 8. were delivered into the audit office, as well as the accounts of service also referred to in that section, and if the cash accounts were compared with the accountant's Bank book, it would not be possible for the paymaster general, or any other public accountant, to receive public money upon drafts made payable to himself, without that circumstance falling under the observation of the commissioners.—With regard to regimental accounts, and the difficulties which occur in expediting and settling them, some judicious suggestions have been received by your committee, which will deserve further consideration, whenever the mode of keeping and passing accounts in the War Office shall come under their examination. That the present system is defective, may be concluded from a long experience of its being found totally inadequate to obtain the two main objects, of perspicuity, and expedition; but whether it should be absolutely changed, or partially modified, your committee have not as yet received information sufficient to determine. The simplification of the branch connected with the Pay Office, in the manner they have suggested, they venture to recommend

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as unquestionably beneficial; and they trust that the same principle may be extended with success to every other department of the military expenditure.

Extract from the Appendix.
Examination of the right hon. Thomas Steele, March 26, 1807.

The two sums mentioned by Mr. Thomas were issued by my direction, and I have no hesitation in stating that they were not issued for public service. I thought as others did at the time, that I had full authority to direct those issues. I was urged to do so by private consideration of a very popular nature, which operated at that time upon my mind; and I thought that by directing them to be issued to myself, and making myself responsible for them, that I could not, by possibility, incur the suspicion of concealment or fraud. It was my intention that they should have been replaced in a very short time, but it was not in my power to accomplish it. They remain charged against me in the pay office books till the beginning of the present year, when the former of the two sums was repaid; and the whole subject having been brought lately under the consideration of the board of Treasury, they have directed me to repay the remaining sum, with the interest due upon both sums, by instalments at stated periods, which I engaged to do. I cannot take upon myself to defend my conduct in this instance, which I must admit to have been incorrect; but I console myself with thinking, that the public will have suffered no loss.—Do you know of any other transaction of the same kind, during the time you was in the Pay-Office? I do not.—Of any arrear of the like nature, arising from the transaction of any former paymaster? I certainly do not.—Was any notice taken of this transaction by the treasury, previous to the beginning of this year? I apprehend it was not known to the treasury ever previous to this year.—Was any notice taken by any other public office? Not to my knowledge.

Examination of the right hon. Thomas Steele, April 10, 1807.

[Read part of the letter from lord Temple to lord Grenville.] Have you any explanation to give in reference to this letter?—This being a statement of what passed in different conversations at different times, of which I made no memorandum myself, I certainly am not disposed to dispute the accuracy with which it is reported. I beg the committee at the same time to understand, that I never have attempted to justify the issue of the two sums in question, upon the ground that they were applied directly or indirectly to public service; but that in my former evidence I acknowledge that they were not issued with any reference to public service, but that I alone was responsible and accountable for them, and that I have, in fact, repaid them both, principal and interest.—[Read Mr. Steele's former examination, and extract of a letter from him to Mr. Thomas.]—Question repeated.—The persons to whom I allude in that letter, and in my examination, were the principal officers of the Pay Office, who had long been established there, and who uniformly contended, that the power of the Paymaster General to direct the issues of money from the Bank remained unlimited by any of the provisions of the act for regulating the office of Paymaster General.—Did you consult any other person as to the operation of that act upon the issue of money to the paymaster? I did not.—Whether, in point of fact, in any part of this transaction, you did act upon the opinions of any other persons conjointly with your own, or consult any other person on the subject? No.

Examination of the right hon. George Rose, April 13, 1807.

You are desired to state, when and in what manner you became acquainted with the transactions relating to Mr. Steele's two drafts. On Monday the 10th February, 1806, Mr. Thomas, with Mr. Harmood, and Mr. Bradshaw, two of the senior clerks of the Pay Office, came to my house; and, after some conversation on other subjects, when they were leaving the room, Mr. Bradshaw, under some apparent embarrassment, said he wished to apprize me of a circumstance of an extraordinary nature which had occurred in the time of my predecessors: that Mr. Steele had, in the year 1800, taken two sums of £7,000 and £12,000 out of the cash in the hands of the Paymaster General, on giving his own receipt for the same; which receipt was written by Mr. Wood, Deputy Cashier, without any authority having appeared for the same, either from the Treasury or the War office: at which statement I expressed great surprise, and to Mr. Thomas some resentment, at the same having been delayed till I was out of office, and could apply no possible remedy, observing, the transaction was on the face of it at least a most irregular one; but that, from my long knowledge of Mr. Steele, I was perfectly sure he would be able to explain it, so as to acquit himself of having done any thing more, than taking upon himself a serious responsibility; that he probably had a voucher in his possession, but that in any

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event, it had been his (Mr. Thomas's) indispensable duty to remind that gentleman of the transaction on his quitting office in 1804, in order, that if it had not been satisfactorily explained, he might then have stated it to me and my colleagues, on our appointment: to which Mr. Thomas answered, he had called two or three times at Mr. Steele's door, without finding him at home: such a justification appeared to render his conduct still less excusable; because if he thought it necessary to see Mr. Steele on the subject, he certainly should have apprized him of his wish to do so, that he might be sure of meeting with him. I therefore desired him to write to Mr. Steele, to insure his seeing him, and to let me know, on my return from Bugden, whether any interposition of mine with Mr. Steele would be necessary: on the 20th, Mr. Thomas came to me accordingly, when he told me that he had seen Mr. Steele, who said generally, that the sums before mentioned as received by him were for army services. Whether, subsequent to the communication made by Mr. Bradshaw in the presence of Mr. Thomas, you had any communication with Mr. Steele on the subject; and if so, what was the purport of it? I had a personal communication with Mr. Steele on the 21st February, which I considered as of a private nature, being out of office; but the particulars of which I am perfectly willing to give.—Mr. Rose being desired to proceed, stated, that Mr. Steele declined entering into particulars, not feeling himself at liberty to do it; that the advances were made to a person or persons, he was not sure which, for services of a secret nature; that the whole would be repaid, but he could not at that moment exactly fix the time, acknowledging that he had no warrant, or other authority for the issue: the advice I gave him was, that, under such circumstances, I thought he should see either Lord Grenville, or the present pay-master general, and explain to his lordship, or them, so much of the transaction as should satisfy them,—the whole, certainly, if they should think it necessary; adding, that it was by all comparison better he should do that in the first instance from himself, than wait to give an explanation when he should be called upon to do so; especially, as the precedent in this case would shew to future paymasters general the possibility of their taking money placed in the bank on account of the public, for their own private accommodation, at any time when they should find themselves under a pressing urgency to do so, which was plainly against the spirit of the pay-office act. I wrote to him the same evening, enforcing the advice I had given to him in the morning; in answer to which I received a letter, dated 23d February, 1806:—"I will certainly follow your "advice, and take an early opportunity of "communicating to lord Grenville the cir- "cumstances which relate to the issue of "the two sums in question: you may "therefore, if you think proper, apprize "Mr. Thomas of my intention."—— Whether, on the same day that Mr. Bradshaw made the communication relating to Mr. Steele in the presence of Mr. Thomas, you, in the same conversation, expressed your willingness to enter in the Minute Book a minute, recommending to the notice of your successor an increase of salary to the six senior Clerks?—Of that, I have no recollection, as to its having passed on that day; but the measure having been agreed on by my colleague and myself previously thereto, it may have happened that upon that day I told them I would enter the minute. I have no recollection of the minute being ante-dated, but I think it probable it may have been so, as on the 10th I considered myself completely out of office.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, ON THE COMMERCIAL STATE OF THE WEST INDIA COLONIES. *Ordered to be printed, August* 8, 1807.

The Committee who were appointed to take into consideration the Commercial State of the West India Colonies, and to report their proceedings, from time to time, to the House of Commons; and who were empowered to report the minutes of evidence taken before them; and to whom all minutes of evidence which were taken before the Committee in the last Session of Parliament, on the West India Planters' Petitions, together with their proceedings, were referred; have, pursuant to the order of the House, examined the matters to them referred; and have agreed to the following Report:

Your committee have thought it their duty, in the first place, to inquire into the situation of the West India Planters at the present moment, and for several years preceding; and have examined various respectable witnesses, proprietors of estates, who have resided many years in the West Indies, and who have had the properties of several absentees under their management; and also many merchants intimately acquainted with the expenses and profits of a great variety of estates, and generally conversant

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with the West India Commerce. From their testimony it appears, that since the year 1799, there has taken place a progressive deterioration in the situation of the planters, resulting from a progressive diminution of the price of sugar, although at the same time the duty, and all the expences attending the cultivation, have been increasing, till at length the depression of the market has become such, that the prices obtained for the last year's crop will not pay the expence of cultivation, except upon estates on a very great scale, making sugar of a very superior quality, or enjoying other extraordinary advantages. Calculations have been laid before your committee, from the accounts of estates both in Jamaica and the other Islands, by which it appears, that the British supplies and Island expenses amount to 20s. 10d. in the former, and to 19s. 6d. in the latter, on the cwt. of sugar, after accounting and giving credit for the amount received for the sale of rum. As these calculations are formed upon an average of years and upon estates of the ordinary scale, and in no respects unusually circumstanced, it appears to your committee, that these sums per cwt. of sugar may be taken as the average expense of cultivation, Independent of interest upon the capital; and your committee are confirmed in this opinion by finding a similar calculation in the Report made by the Sugar Distillery Committee, in the last parliament. To this must be added an expense of from 13s 6d. to 16s. per cwt. necessarily incurred for freight, insurance and other mercantile charges, between the shipping the goods in the colonies, and their being offered to market in this kingdom, forming together an amount of from 35s. to 36s. which appears upon this evidence, to be the absolute cost to the planter per cwt. of sugar, before any return of capital can attach. Upon a reference to the average prices published in the Gazette, for the last eight months, which vary from 36s. to 31s. giving a mean price of 33s. 6d.; it appears evident, that the planters must have cultivated their estates at a loss.—The interest which has been stated to your Committee as what should be the fair profit upon a capital of such a nature as that of a Sugar estate, consisting not merely of land and Negroes, but of buildings of great extent and cost, necessary for the carrying on of such manufactures, and subject to various and peculiar risks and vicissitudes, is not less then 10 per cent.—During the period of prosperity previous to 1800, it is stated that in general the profits did not exceed that sum, and that, from that period, they have gradually diminished to 8 and 12 per cent, till at the present moment, there is no return of interest whatever.—It may perhaps be right to notice one exception, namely, of an estate most favourably circumstanced in every respect, where the profits are stated to have amounted during the four years 1795, 1796, 1797 and 1798, to 12 per cent; but they appear also to have declined ever since; in 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804, to have been reduced to about 6 per cent, and in 1805, to about 3 per cent, and subsequently to have suffered a still farther reduction.—In the course of their investigation of the situation of the planters, your Committee thought it right to ascertain whether it might not be in their own power, in many instances, to remedy the evils of their situation, by converting their sugar estates; to other more profitable cultivation; but the evidence on that point shews, that such a conversion must be attended with so great a sacrafice of capital, as to be out of the question as a measure of relief.—With a view to the prospect for the future, they have obtained a return of the quantity of sugar at present in the West India Docks; from which and from other evidence, it appears, that the quantity now on hand is unusually great for the time of year. The crop of last year is also on the point of coming into the market.—It should not be omitted further to state, that for many years past the islands have almost entirely escaped the natural calamities (of hurricanes, &c.) which have occasionally proved destructive to the property in those countries.—In investigating the causes of that depression of the market, from whence the whole of the planter's distress appears to originate, the first object which strikes your Committee, is, that extraordinary situation in which he is placed, which prevents him alone (in exception to every other similar case) from indemnifying himself for the increase of duty, and of other expenses attending his cultivation, by an equivalent increase of price to the consumer. For it appears, that since the year 1799, the duty on sugar has been raised from 20s. to 27s. and contingently to 30s. per cwt.; the expences of the estates are calculated to have risen in many articles 50, and in others above 100 per cent; and the price has fallen from 60s. to 33s. 6d. per cwt. the average of the last eight months. As it appears obvious, from the above statement, that the duty is heavier than the article can bear at its present price, it is suggested that it might be expedient, for the relief of the home market, to extend the principle which has been adopted on the contingent increase of duty from 27s. to 30s.; so that from the maximum of duty then fixed, on

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a gross price of 80s. affording 30s. duty and 50s. to the planter, the duty should be thrown back on a similar scale in proportion to the depression of the market, till the price arrives at 60s. gross, leaving 20s. (the original duty) to government, and 40s. to the planter; or, in other words, a reduction of 2s. gross price, from the average then fixed for 1s. of duty on a reduction of the imposition of the new duty, as far as 20s.——An increase of the bounty on the export has been also recommended; and your committee are of opinion, that it would afford great relief if given as an accompaniment to measures of restriction upon neturals, so as to render the expences on British and foreign produce equal in the foreign market.—A considerable depreciation in the price of rum having also taken place, it has been suggested, that the encouragement of the consumption of that article would be a considerable advantage to the Planter. Your committee are aware that such encouragement has been given, to a certain extent, but if it were found practicable to carry that assistance further, by an increased consumption in the army and navy, such a measure would, in their opinion, have very beneficial effects; or a reduction of duty on rum might afford essential relief to the planter, without loss to the revenue, which would be indemnified by an increased consumption of that spirit.—Great, however, as are the evils of the decrease of price and increase of charges, it does not appear to your committee, that they are the original causes of the distress of the planter, by applying to which alone any practicable remedy, he could be more than partially relieved; but that the main evil, and that to which these are ultimately to be referred, is the very unfavourable state of the foreign market, in which formerly the British merchant enjoyed nearly a monopoly, but where he cannot at present enter into competition with the planters, not only of the netural but of the hostile colonies. The result of all their enquiries on this most important part of the subject has brought before their eyes one grand and primary evil, from which all the others are easily to be deduced; namely, the facility of intercourse between the hostile colonies of Europe, under the American neutral flag, by means of which not only the whole of their produce is carried to a market, but at charges little exceeding those of peace; while a British planter is burdened with all the inconvenience, risk, and expence, resulting from a state of war.—The advantages which the hostile colonies derive from the relaxation of that principle, which prohibited any trade from being carried on with the enemy's colonies by neutrals during war, which the enemy himself did not permit to those neutrals during peace, may be in part estimated by reference to a statement of the imports into Amsterdam alone, from the United States of America, in the year 1806, amounting to 34,085 hhds. of coffee, and 45,097 hhds of sugar, conveyed in 211 vessels, hereunto annexed; and to a statement also annexed, of the amount of West-India produce, exported from the United States of America, between the 1st. October, 1805, and 30th September, 1806. In point of comparative expense, the advantages of the hostile colonies will be further illustrated by the evidence of Mr. Merryn, supported by satisfactory documents, which shew the charges of freight and insurance on sugar from the hostile colonies, through the United States of America, to the ports of Holland and Flanders, and to those of the Mediterranean, to be less by 8s. 1½d. to the former, and by 12s. 6d to the latter, than those charges on British sugars to the same ports.—Your committee cannot omit to state also another important advantage enjoyed by the French colonies, from the sale of nearly the whole French mercantile marine to neutrals, under the stipulation of each vessel being returned into French ports, in order to be navigated as French ships, within twelve months after peace, and with the enjoyment, during war, of the same privileges in the ports of France, as if they were actually French, for instance, to import sugar at a duty of 4s per cwt. less than the duty imposed on sugar imported in neutral vessels.—In order to counterbalance, in some degree, the advantages thus enjoyed by the hostile colonies, to the detriment of the British planter, it has been recommended, that a blockade of the ports of the enemy's settlements should be resorted to; such a measure, if it could be strictly enforced, would undoubtedly afford relief to our export trade.—But a measure of more permanent and certain advantage would be the enforcement of those restrictions on the trade between neutrals and the enemy's colonies, which were formerly maintained by Great Britain, and from the relaxation of which the enemy's colonies obtain indirectly, during war, all the advantages of peace; while our own colonies, in the intercourse with whom that system of monopoly which has been held essential to the commercial and military navy of this country, is rigorously enforced, are deprived of the advantages under which in former

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wars they carried their produce to the foreign markets, and which in the present war, by means of our decided naval superiority, would have amounted to the exclusive supply of the whole of Europe; and when those extraordinary measures are taken into consideration which have been adopted to exclude the British colonial produce from the European market, it appears to your committee to be a matter of evident and imperious necessity, to resort to such a system, as by impeding and restricting, and, as far as possible, preventing the export of the produce of the enemy's colonies from the places of its growth, shall compel the continent to have recourse to the only source of supply which, in that event, would be open to it.—As it may be apprehended that from the adoption of such measures, difficulties might arise in that intercourse, from which the West Indies at present derive a considerable proportion of some of their supplies, your committee have thought it their duty to make inquiry into the resources in that respect to which recourse might be had in such an event. During the only period which affords an example of the suspension of that intercourse, the evidence concurs as to the fact of a supply having been obtained (though not without temporary and occasional inconveniences) from a variety of sources which may reasonably be relied upon, in case of such necessity, at the present moment, to a greater amount than at the former period. From the examination of persons who, in consequence of their residence in the British North American settlements, or extensive commercial connections with them, possess the best information as to their present and future resources, there is ground to believe that some supply of the principal articles of lumber might be obtained from thence immediately, and to expect that, with due encouragement, the quantity of that supply might be increased to any extent.—The supply of flour which they could at present afford to the West India market would be small, and of inferior quality. They appear to be capable of affording a large supply of fish, and what deficiency might exist in other articles of salt provisions, might be made up by supplies from Europe.—Upon the whole, the impression which your committee have received, is, that the trade now carried on between the British West Indies and the United States of America, is very convenient and advantageous to the inhabitants of our colonies, and one which they could not relinquish without essential detriment, unless it were compensated by other advantages; but that it is not essential to their existence, or equivalent to the disadvantages of their situation, in those respects which your committee have already gone through in the present statement.—Your committee having briefly stated the distressed situation of the West-India Planter—the causes which have gradually produced his distress, which are beyond his reach to remedy, and which must continue to operate with increased effect—and having stated such measures of relief as have been suggested to them, and such as, from the best sources of information, appear most adequate to the end in view, have only to add, that if those remedies are liable to objections and difficulties, there is on the other hand the strongest concurrent testimony and proof, that unless some speedy and efficient measures of relief are adopted, the ruin of a great number of the planters, and of persons in this country, holding annuities, and otherwise dependent upon those properties for their income, must inevitably very soon take place, which must be followed by the loss of a vast capital, advanced on securities in those countries, and by the most fatal injury to the commercial, maritime, and financial interests of Great Britain.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

AUSTRIA.—*Note of Mr. Canning, English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to Prince Stahremberg, the Austrian Ambassador at London, dated London, April 25, 1807.*

The undersigned, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has laid before the King the Note delivered to him by Prince Stahremberg, Ambassador Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, in which his Imperial Majesty offers himself as the Mediator of a General Peace. The undersigned has received it in command from the King his Sovereign, to communicate to Prince Stahremberg the inclosed official answer to the Note of his Imperial Majesty. The king does complete justice to the motives that have induced his Imperial Majesty to propose a mode of negociation which, by embracing the interests of all parties, can alone lead to the restoration of a lasting peace, and the permanent tranquillity of Europe; and his Majesty, therefore, accepts the offer of his Imperial Majesty's mediation, so far as he is concerned; but with this provision that it shall also be accepted by all the other powers involved in the present war.

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NOTE.—His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, has received with due regard the communication of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and also justly appreciates the motives which have, upon this occasion, determined his Majesty to become the Mediator of a General Peace.—The King, who has never ceased to look to a secure and lasting peace as the only object of the war in which he is engaged, and who has never refused to listen to any proposal which offered the least probability of attaining his proposed object, cannot, for a moment, hesitate to give his full assent to the declared opinion of his Majesty the Emperor and King, and that such a peace is only to be obtained by a general negociation on the part of all the Powers engaged in the present war.—The King will have no difficulty in entering upon such a negociation, as soon as the consent of the other Powers interested therein shall have been received. His Majesty will, without delay, make the necessary communications in this respect to those Powers with which he is more especially united by the ties of friendship and confidence, in order to ascertain their views, and in the event of their being favourable to the proposition of his Imperial Majesty, to consult with them as to the mode in which the negociations shall commence, and, agreeably to his Imperial Majesty's proposition, to come to an understanding as to the principles which should equally form the ground and basis of discussion and of a general arrangement.—As to what concerns the choice of a place to become the seat of negociation, any place will be equally acceptable to his majesty, provided (exclusive of the indispensible condition which is also expressed in the Note of his Imperial Majesty, that it shall be free from all immediate influence of the events of the war) that it affords to his Britannic Majesty, in the same degree as to the other Powers, the means of a speedy and uninterrupted communication with the Plenipotentiaries whom his Majesty should send to this Congress.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

RUSSIA.—*Note from his Imperial Majesty to the general of Infantry, Minister of the Land Forces, Chief Commandant at St. Petersburgh, and Knight Sergei Kosmitch Wastmitinow.—Tauroggin, June 28, 1807.*

Sergei Kosmitsch, the obstinate and sanguinary war between Russia and France, every step and every enterprize whereof, has been marked with unshaken fortitude and bravery of the Russian troops, has been terminated, thank God, by a peace which was ratified on the 27th of this month a beneficial tranquillity has been restored; the integrity and security of the Russian frontiers are secured by an increase of territory, and Russia is indebted for this solely to the heroic exploits, and to the unremitting exertions and zeal with which her valiant sons have undauntedly stepped forward and braved every danger even to death itself.—I hasten to inform you of this happy event, in order that general publicity may be given to it.—ALEXANDER.

PRUSSIA.—*Proclamation addressed by the King of Prussia to the Subjects of the ceded provinces. Dated Memel, July 24, 1807.*

You are acquainted, beloved inhabitants of faithful provinces, territories, and towns, with my sentiments, and with the events of last year. My arms succumbed under the pressure of misfortunes; the exertions of the last remains of my army proved fruitless; forced back to the outermost borders of the Empire, and even my powerful Ally having judged it necessary to conclude an armistice and peace, nothing remained with me but the wish to restore tranquillity to my country; after the calamites of war, peace was concluded, as circumstances dictated; the most painful sacrifices were required of myself and my House; what ages and worthy ancestors, conventions, love, and confidence, had united, was to be severed; my efforts, the exertions of all who belonged to me, were used in vain. Fate ordains a Father to part with his children; I release you from all your allegiance to my person and to my House. My most ardent wishes for your prosperity attend you to your new Sovereign; be to him what you were to me; no fate, no power, can efface from my bosom and from the mind of my family, the remembrance of you.—FREDERICK WILLIAM.

COMMERCE WITH RUSSIA.—*Ukase, issued by Order of the Emperor of Russia: dated July, 1807.*

The senate having taken into consideration the representation of Count Romantzoff, in which he sets forth, "that the College of Commerce has demanded of him, from what date are English merchants, trading here, to reckon the term of six months allowed to itinerant merchants—whether from the date of the Imperial Manifesto, that is, from the 1st of January of this year, or from the date on which the English Treaty of Commerce expired?". He, the Minister of Commerce, following the exact interpretation of the appellation of itinerant merchant, in the Imperial Manifesto, does not see any sufficient reason, for the College of

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Commerce having put this question; but, combining the circumstances of the times, and judging by that security which the foreign merchants on their own account have hitherto enjoyed, concludes that they, being perhaps in hopes of some change of the Manifesto in their favour, and not having yet obtained their wish, defer fulfilling the object of the measures which have been adopted by the Manifesto, and endeavour to lay hold of the appellation of itinerant merchants, for the purpose of remaining six months longer in an undeterminate state. The term of time for foreign merchants is very clearly set down in the Manifesto, and the English treaty of commerce can have no place there, which expired on the 25th of March, N. S. With respect to foreigners inscribing themselves as itinerant merchants, the 10th article of the Manifesto again clearly orders that the term granted to the itinerant merchants is to be reckoned from the day of the arrival of the foreign trader in Russia, consequently foreigners inscribed into Guilds who have paid their yearly tax for this year, or such as have houses (which is not allowed to the class of itinerant merchants); or such as have lived a long while in Russia, for purposes of trade, cannot become itinerant merchants, but must enter direct either into the state of subject, or into the class of foreign guests. For these reasons, the Minister of Commerce, on representing this subject to the senate, has applied for an Ukase, in confirmation of the same, as well for foreign merchants resident in Russia, as for those who may hereafter come into this empire; and in order not to impede commercial transactions by too sudden an alteration in the situation of the merchants, by which they would be obliged either to enter into new employments, or entirely to put a stop to them, "would not the senate think proper to allow the following arrangement to be made?" viz. That as soon as any petition is given in for admitting a foreigner as a guest, the Duma, or City Council, should give the petitioner a certificate, empowering him to carry on business in conformity with his future intended calling, and after that the Duma might collect from them the information necessary for their introduction into the rights and obligations attached to guests, as ordered by articles 5 and 12 of the Manifesto.—It is therefore ordered, that it be made known to the Minister of Commerce, that the senate, finding the representation which he has made in consequence of the question of the College of Commerce, relative to the term allowed by the Manifesto of the 1st of January of this year, to foreign itinerant merchants, and relative to those foreigners who are inscribed in Guilds, and have paid the yearly tax, or have houses, or have lived some time in the Russian empire for the purposes of trade, that they cannot become itinerant merchants, but must become subjects or foreign guests; and finding that representation just, and conformable to the meaning and intent of the Imperial Manifesto, leaves it to the Minister of Commerce to ratify and make known the same to those who already reside in Russia, as well as to those who may come hereafter, by publications in the Gazettes of Moscow and Petersburgh. And that this Ordinance should also be put in due execution, on the part of the administration of provinces, proper instructions are to be made out to them, that they, in conformity with the representation of the Minister of Commerce, and to avoid impeding the course of commercial affairs, by allowing too short a period, should instruct the city councils to proceed in the following manner, viz. As soon as any petitions for inscription, as foreign guests, are presented by foreigners, the city council receiving from them the necessary documents, as stipulated by articles 5 and 12 of the Manifesto, by which they can be introduced into the rights and obligations attached to guests, are at the same time to give the petitioners certificates, purporting that they are at liberty to prosecute their business as foreign guests, even before all the formalities necessary for their complete inscription are gone through. Whereof proper notice is to be given to all provincial courts and governors in Petersburgh and Moscow, to the Minister of the Interior, and to the Colleges of Commerce and Foreign Affairs.——July, 1807,—1st Department.

Ordonnance of the Bishop of the Diocese of Quimper, on the subject of the Conscription of 1808, and ordering the Priests to beg of God to put a stop to the Persecutions which the Catholic Church suffers in Ireland. From the Moniteur, dated July 13, 1807.

Pierre Vincent Dombidau de Crouseilhes, by the Grace of God, and authority of the Holy See, Bishop of Quimper, member of the Legion of Honour, to the clergy and faithful of his diocese, health and benediction:—My dear brethren,—A new conscription imposes upon you the sacred obligation of rallying under the standard of the hero who governs. We shall recal to you those principles which we have heretofore enforced under similar circumstances. We have seen, with the most lively consolation,

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that those who were at one time deaf to the voice of religion, and of their country, have hastened to make reparation for that moment of folly, by obeying their holy authority. Yes, my dear brethren, the divine religion which you profess imposes upon you the sacred duty of fighting for your country; your spiritual pastors call you to this without ceasing; they refuse to grant you absolution, to admit you to the Lord's table, so long as you persist in a resolution, as contrary to religion and justice, as to those sentiments of honour and bravery, which always distinguish the intrepid and religious inhabitants of these countries. Without doubt we pity your sacrifices, for no people of this vast empire are more attached to their paternal hearths; your manners, your language, render you almost strangers to all other countries. But if you leave your dearest friends, you will find, in your august Emperor, the most tender father. With what active solicitude does he watch so often the fatigues of his brave soldiers! And when the infirmities, to which they are all too often subject, or honourable wounds confine them in hospitals, what cares, what abundant and generous attentions, does he not bestow upon them! He has been seen, my beloved brethren, to honour their attachment and bravery, by dressing, with his own royal hands, those heroic and affecting victims of war. Can your sacrifices have a more sacred object? The end you have in view, is to free your country from the domineering ambition of that government (1), which places its only glory and happiness in the calamities of other nations. For many years, people the most interested to live in peace with France have been shedding their blood in unjust wars, conjured up by intrigue and corruption. But He who reigns on high in the Heavens, and who judges nations and kings, hath sufficiently proved to the astonished world, that he dissipates when he pleases, the most formidable leagues, and that "it is by Him that kings reign."——It is He, my beloved brethren, who inspires our august Emperor with that spirit of moderation, and of wisdom; which the most just resentments, and the most splendid trophies of victory, cannot alter. Of that intoxication of glory, from which the noblest minds have had the greatest difficulty to preserve themselves, his soul, more lofty still, has no knowledge. He calls to kings, tottering on their thrones, from whence he is well assured he can precipitate them, if he does but give the signal for combat: "What destiny your subjects! I put no value on a victory which must be purchased by the lives of many of my children (2)." And, when sovereign of their states, he could have imposed upon them burthensome conditions, he always proposes to them honourable terms. Alas, it is because he feels the value of his subjects' blood, and has exhausted the honours which common conquerors obtain! His genius points out to him a glory more mild, more dear to his heart, the glory of ameliorating every thing, of improving every thing in his vast empire, and of causing to spring out of this fertile earth, new sources of prosperity and of honour. When one sees him, my beloved brethren, divide all the fatigues and all the dangers of war—trace with the same hand, and under his tent, the plans of a campaign—prepare for new victories, and employ himself with solicitude in every thing which can contribute to the happiness of his subjects (3)—re-establish those sacred institutions, which ensure support and consolation to infirmity and misfortunes—assign to the poor such instruction as is necessary to their welfare—appropriate distinctions and recompence to the talents, the zeal, and the virtues of those venerable pastors (4), who think that they are unknown, says to God alone—honour with the most affecting sensibility, the memory of a bishop (5), who had become a kind of visible providence of that diocese, which was indebted to him for peace, and all the other blessings of which real charity and religion are the source, soften the regret of the whole Gallican church, and the profound grief of his own particular church; what Frenchman's heart is there, which does not bless with transport the Divine Providence, for having given him, as Emperor and King, to that splendid magnificent empire, which was almost buried under its own bloody ruins, the only man who could repair its sufferings, and cover with the veil of his own glory, those periods which had dishonoured it.—With what lively sentiments of love and gratitude will you learn, my beloved brethren, that far as he is separated from you, and in spite of the great events which he prepares, and which occupy his thoughts, you are always present to his heart. He regrets his not having yet been able to visit these countries;—"We regret not having yet visited them; but one of the first journies which we shall make, after our return to our own states, shall be to see with our own eyes so interesting a part of our own people (6)."——Yes, you shall see, my beloved brethren, that immortal deliverer, who has freed you from the horrors of anarchy and of civil discord—that instrument of Providence, who has re-opened our temples, and restored our altars. He shall hear the acclamations of your gratitude and of your

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love. They will prove to the eternal enemy (7) of the glory and prosperity of France, that all its perfidious efforts and intrigues will never be able to alienate from him your religious and faithful hearts. For a moment it had seduced you, at that unhappy epoch when anarchy ravaged this desolated land, and when its impious furies overturned your temples, and profaned your altars. It only affected concern for the re-establishment of our holy religion, in order to rend and ravage our country.—See the sufferings it (England) inflicts on that nation (8); Catholic like you, which is subject to its dominion. The three last ages present only the afflicting picture of a people, robbed of all its religious and civil rights. In vain the most enlightened men of that nation have protested against the tyrannical oppression. A new persecution has ravished from them even the hope of seeing an end to their calamities: an inflamed and misled people (9) dares applaud such injustice. It insults with sectarian fanaticism the Catholic religion, and its venerable chief; and it is that government, which knows not how to be just towards its own subjects, that dares to calumniate this, which has given us security and honour.—Whilst the Irish Catholics groan beneath laws so oppressive, our august Emperor does not confine himself to the protection and establishment of that religion in his own states; he demanded, in his treaty with Saxony, that it should there enjoy the same liberty as other modes of worship.—But the happiness, so dear to your hearts, my brethren, of being able to enjoy, with security, all the consolations of the religion of your fathers, will only render you more sensible of the miseries of that portion of the Catholic church (10): spread through all countries, it is always united by bonds of the same faith with the different churches; it partakes of their tribulations, and is interested in their prosperity. Faithful to these sentiments and principles, let us address the God of all vows and prayers to turn aside from the Irish Catholic church, this new storm with which it is menaced.—Impelled by these causes, we ordain as follows:—Art. I. Our present Ordonnance shall be read at the time of the sermon, in the public service, on Sunday the 7th of June, in the Cathedral, and in all the other Churches, on the Sunday after it is received.——Art. II. There shall be said, every day, in divine service, in order to pray God to put a stop to the persecution which the Catholic Church of Ireland suffers, the prayer "Against Persecutors of the Church," the "Secret," and the "Post Communion," as long as that persecution shall continue. Given at Quimper, June 1, 1807.—Pierre Vincent, Bishop of Quimper.—Le Clanche, Priest, Secretary.—By order of the Bishop.

(1) England.—(2) Letter of his Majesty the Emperor and King, to the King of Prussia, before the battle of Jena.—(3) The many decrees, which establish associations, bound by their vow to the service of hospitals, and the instruction of the poor.——(4) Decree of his Majesty, which raises, for their merit, the clergy of the second class to those of the first.—(5) Letter of his Majesty, to his Excellency the Minister of Divine Worship, ordering him to cause a statue of the Bishop of Vannes to be erected in that Cathedral.—(6) Letter of his Majesty, to his Excellency the Minister of Divine Worship. ——(7) England.—(8) Ireland.—(9) The English people.——(10) The Irish Catholic Church.

Continental War. —— *Eightieth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

(Concluded from page 248.)

[Here follow the names of some officers who signalized themselves.]——The sons of the senators, Perignon, Clement de Ris, and Garran Coulon, died with honour in the field of battle.——Marshal Ney proceeded to Gumbunnin, secured some of the enemy's parks of artillery, many wounded Russians, and took a great number of prisoners.

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824 *Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

Tilsit, June 22.——An armistice has been concluded upon the proposition of the Russian general. (Here follows the armistice.) The French army occupies all the Thalweg of the Niemen, so that there only remains to the King of Prussia the town and territories of Memel.

Proclamation of the Emperor and King to the Grand Army.

Soldiers,—On the 5th of June we were attacked in our cantonments by the Russian army. The enemy mistook the causes of our inactivity. He found too late that our repose was that of the lion—he regrets having disturbed it—In the affairs of Guttstadt, Heilsberg, and the ever memorable one of Friedland, in a ten days campaign, in short, we took 120 pieces of cannon, 7 standards; killed, wounded, or took 60,000 Russians, carried off all the enemy's magazines and hospitals. Konigsberg, the 300 vessels that were there, laden with all sorts of ammunition, 160,000 fusils sent by England to arm our enemies.—From the banks of the Vistula we have reached the borders of the Niemen with the rapidity of the eagle. You celebra-

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ted at Austerlitz the anniversary of the coronation; you celebrated this year, in an appropriate manner, the battle of Marengo, which put a period to the second coalition.—Frenchmen, you have been worthy of yourselves and of me. You will return to France covered with laurels; after having obtained a glorious peace, which carries with it the guarantee of its duration. It is time that our country should live at rest, secure from the malignant influence of England. My benefits shall prove to you my gratitude, and the full extent of the love I bear you.—At the Imperial Camp at Tilsit, June 22.

83d Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Tilsit, June 23.——Annexed is the capitulation of Neisse.——The garrison, 6000 strong in infantry and 300 in cavalry, defiled on the 16th before Prince Jerome. We found in the place 300,000 pounds of powder, and 300 pieces of cannon.

84th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Tilsit, June 24.——The Marshal of the Palace, Duroc, went on the 24th to the head-quarters of the Russian army, on the other side of the Niemen, to exchange the ratifications of the armistice, which had been ratified by the Emperor Alexander. On the 24th, Prince Labanoff having demanded an audience of the Emperor, was admitted on the same day at two in the afternoon; he remained a long time in the cabinet with his Majesty. Gen. Kalkreuth is expected at the head-quarters to sign the armistice with the King of Prussia.—On the 11th of June, at 4 o'clock in the morning, the Prussians attacked Druezewo in great force; Gen. Claparede sustained the enemy's fire; Marshal Massena rushed along the line, repulsed the enemy, and disconcerted their projects; the 17th regiment of light infantry maintained its regulation; Gen. Montbrun distinguished himself; a detachment of the 28th light infantry, and a picquet of the 25th dragoons, put the Cossacks to flight. All the enterprizes of the enemy against our posts, on the 11th and 12th inst. turned to their own confusion. It is already seen by the armistice, that the left wing of the French army supports itself on the Curisch Haff, at the mouth of the Niemen, from whence our line extends itself towards Grodno; the right, commanded by Marshal Massena, reaches to the confines of Russia, between the sources of the Narew and the Bug. The head-quarters are about to be removed to Konigsberg, where every day new discoveries are made of provisions, ammunition, and other effects, belonging to the enemy — A position so formidable is the result of successes the most brilliant; and while the enemy's army flies routed and destroyed, more than half the French army has not fired a musket.

85th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Tilsit, June 24.——To-morrow the two Emperors of France and Russia are to have an interview. For this purpose a pavilion has been erected in the middle of the Niemen, to which the two monarchs will repair from each of its banks.—Few sights will be more interesting. The two sides of the river will be lined by the two armies, while their chiefs confer on the means of re-establishing order, and giving repose to the existing generation. The Grand Marshal of the Palace, Duroc, went yesterday, at 3 in the afternoon, to compliment the Emperor Alexander. Marshal Count Kalkreuth was presented this day to the Emperor: he remained an hour in his Majesty's cabinet.—The corps of Marshal Lannes was reviewed this morning by the Emperor. He made several promotions, gave rewards to those who distinguished themselves by their bravery, and expressed his satisfaction to the Saxon cuirassiers.

86th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Tilsit, June 25 ——This day, at one, the Emperor, accompanied by the Duke of Berg, Prince Neufchatel, Marshal Bessieres, the Marshal of the Palace Duroc, and the Grand Equerry Caulaincourt, embarked on the banks of the Niemen, in a boat prepared for the purpose. They proceeded to the middle of the river, where Gen. Lariboissiere, commanding the artillery of the guard, had caused a raft to be placed, and a pavilion erected upon it. Close by it was another raft and pavilion for their Majesties' suite. At the same moment the Emperor Alexander set out from the right bank, accompanied by the Grand Duke Constantine, Gen. Bennigsen, Gen. Ouwaroff, Prince Labanoff, and his principal Aid-de-Camp Count Lieven.—The two boats arrived at the same instant, and the two Emperors embraced each other as soon as they sat foot on the raft. They entered together the saloon which was prepared for them, and remained there two hours. The conference having been concluded, the persons composing the suite of the two Emperors were introduced. The Emperor Alexander paid the handsomest compliments to the officers who accompanied the Emperor, who, on his part, had a long conversation with the Grand Duke Constantine and Gen. Bennigsen.——The

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conference having terminated, the two Emperors embarked each in his boat. It is supposed that the conference has had the happiest result. Shortly after, Prince Labanoff went to the French head-quarters. An agreement has taken place that one half of the town of Tilsit is to be rendered neutral. The apartments appointed there for the residence of the Emperor of Russia and his court have been fixed upon. The imperial Russian guard will pass the river, and be quartered in that part of the city destined to that purpose.—The vast number of persons belonging to each army, who flocked to both banks of the river to view this scene, rendered it the more interesting; as the spectators were brave men, who came from the extremities of the world.

General Orders.

Head-quarters at Stettin, July 10.—The corps of observation of the grand army must return an attack, and advance into Swedish Pomerania.—On the 18th of April an armistice was concluded at Schlatkow, which was to have continued until 10 days should have expired after notice had been given of the intention to resume hostilities. In consequence of some subsequent conferences between the commanding generals, the term of 10 days was extended to 30 days by an additional article, signed the 29th of the same month.—The latter arrangement experienced no kind of difficulties: but his Majesty the King of Sweden appeared in Pomerania, assumed the command of his army, and immediately declared his intention to acknowledge merely the first stipulation of a term of ten days. At the same time the Swedish navy, in spite of the armistice, committed hostilities before Colberg against the corps of French troops and their allies which besieged that place. In this state of affairs, an explanatory correspondence arose between the commanding general, and the King of Sweden proposed a conference to me, in order to put an end to the subsisting differences, which conference was to be held at Schlatkow, in the Swedish territory. Hopes were then entertained, that the opposition his Majesty experienced, arose merely from his wish to conduct the affairs himself, and that the conference proposed might perhaps lead to peaceful overtures, and some permanent arrangement.—On the 4th of June, I accordingly proceeded to Schlatkow, attended by 5 or 6 officers of the staff, and by as many orderly gens d'armes. The aid-de-camps of his Swedish Majesty had declared to me, that the King was at Schlatkow, almost without an escort, attended merely by a retinue by no means numerous.—On my arrival I found the house where the King was, without guards, but in the court a squadron of horse was drawn up in order of battle. Being alone admitted to the Prince, I represented to him the object of the conference, but he interrupted me almost immediately, and declared, that his determination in favour of the term of the first armistice was unalterable, and thus cut off all questions, which were to form the object of the conference. Europe will learn it with indignation, because the laws of nations, and the laws of honour, were violated; he dared to propose to the French general, to one of the first subjects of the Emperor Napoleon, to betray his sovereign and his country; to espouse the cause of the English under the disgraceful banner of a band of deserters, who feel neither for the happiness of their native country, nor share in its glory. Since that conference, the King caused the above hostilities before Colberg to be continued, and others to be continued at the mouth of the Trave. He has drawn from England both money and soldiers; he has collected as many fugitives and deserters as came within his reach, and full of confidence in his force, he gave on the 30th of this month notice, that at the expiration of ten days the armistice would be at an end; he gave that notice at the very moment when he could be informed of the change of dispositions on the part of Russia and Prussia.—The hostilities with Sweden recommence therefore on the 13th of this month. We might begin them sooner, because the king's conduct has been nothing but a series of violations and infringements; but it is a prominent feature in the character of our sovereign to be as great in magnanimity and moderation, as he is through his genius and heroic exploits. Europe will know how to appreciate such conduct, and discern those who wish to prolong the scourge of war.—The French troops will vie with those of the allies in discipline and valour; they will not forget that the Emperor Napoleon has his regards fixed on them, and feel confident that we shall all deserve his approbation by our attachment.—MARSHAL BRUNE.

87th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Konigsberg, July 12.—The Emperors of France and Russia, after 20 days residence at Tilsit, where the Imperial Palaces were in the same street, and at no great distance, took leave of each other with the greatest cordiality, at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th. The Journal which contains an account of what passed between them will be very interesting to both nations.—At half

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past four, the Emperor Napoleon having received a visit from the King of Prussia, who came to take his leave, set out for Konigsberg, where he arrived at 10 at night. The King of Prussia went to Memel.—Yesterday the Emperor Napoleon inspected the port of Konigsberg, in a boat manned by the imperial guard. To-day his Majesty will review Marshal Soult's corps, and at two o'clock to morrow, he will set out for Dresden.—The number of Russians killed in the battle of Friedland amounts to 17,500, the prisoners to 40,000; 18,000 of whom have already passed through Konigsberg, 7000 remain sick in the hospitals, and the rest have been conducted to Thorn and Warsaw. Orders have been issued to send them home to Russia, without delay; 7000 have already returned again to Konigsberg. Those in France are to be formed into provisional regiments. The Emperor has ordered them to be cloathed and armed.——The ratifications of the treaty of peace between France and Russia were exchanged at Tilsit, on the 9th. The ratification of the treaty of peace between France and Prussia, will be exchanged here this day.——The plenipotentiaries charged with these negociations were, on the part of France, the Prince of Benevento; Princes Kurakin and Labanoff, on the part of Russia; on the part of Prussia, Field Marshal Count Kalkreuth, and the Count de Goltz.—After such events as these, one cannot but smile when the great English expedition is mentioned, and at the new frenzy which animates the King of Sweden. Besides, we may remark that the army of observation, between the Elbe and the Oder, is 70,000 strong, exclusive of the grand army, without including the Spanish divisions, which are now upon the Oder also. It was, therefore, necessary for England to have brought her whole force together, her soldiers, her volunteers, fencibles, &c. in order to have made a diversion of any interest. But when we take into our account, that England, under the present circumstances, has sent 6000 men to Egypt only to be slaughtered by the Arabians, and 7000 men to the Spanish West Indies, we can alone feel sentiments of pity for the extravagant avarice with which that cabinet is tormented.——The peace of Tilsit puts an end to the operations of the army; notwithstanding this, all the Prussian coasts and ports will be shut against the English; and it is probable that the continental blockade will not prove a mere sound.——The Porte is included in the treaty. The revolution which lately occurred at Constantinople, was an antichristian revolution, which has nothing in common with the policy of Europe.—The Adjutant-Commandant Guilleminot is gone to Bessarabia, where he will communicate to the Grand Vizier the intelligence of the peace, and the liberty given to the Porte to take part in it, as well as of the conditions of the treaty in which the Porte is interested.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.——*Speech of the Lords Commissioners, on Proroguing Parliament, Friday, August 14, 1807.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,—We have it in command from his Majesty to express the satisfaction with which he finds himself enabled to give you that recess which, after the great and diligent exertions which you have made in the dispatch of public business, must at this advanced season of the year be so peculiarly desirable.—His Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct us to return you his thanks for the steady loyalty and attachment to his person and government, and the zealous devotion to the public service which have characterised all your deliberations, and most especially to thank you for the seasonable exertions, which you have enabled him to make for the augmentation of the military force of his kingdom.——Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—His Majesty has commanded us to return you his warmest thanks for the supplies which you have granted with so much cheerfulness for the current year; and when he considers the provision which you have made for those contingent and unforeseen services which the events of the war may render necessary, his Majesty has the great satisfaction of recognising the wisdom wherewith, in a time of extraordinary difficulties, you have anticipated the possible demands which those difficulties may occasion.—My Lords and Gentlemen,—His Majesty commands us to assure you, that he deeply deplores the unfortunate issue of the war upon the Continent. The immense extension of the power and influence of France, and the undisguised determination of the enemy to employ the means and resources of those countries which he possesses or controuls, for the purpose of effecting the ruin of his Majesty's kingdom, undoubtedly present a formidable view of the dangers and difficulties which the country has to encounter. But his Majesty trusts, that the loyal and brave people over whom he reigns are not to be daunted or disheartened. From the recollection of those difficulties under which his people have successfully struggled, and of those dangers which they have happily surmounted, his

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Majesty derives the consolation of believing, that the same spirit and perseverance which have hitherto remained unbroken will continue to be exerted with unabated vigour and success.—And while his Majesty commands us to repeat the assurances of his constant readiness to entertain any proposals which may lead to a secure and honourable peace, he commands us at the same time to express his confidence that his parliament and his people will feel with him, the necessity of persevering in those vigorous efforts which alone can give the character of honour to any negotiation, or the prospect of security or permanency to any peace. His Majesty, therefore, trusts that his parliament and his people will always be ready to support him in every measure which may be necessary to defeat the designs of his enemies against the independence of his Majesty's dominions, and to maintain against any undue pretensions, and against any hostile confederacy, those just rights which his Majesty is always desirous to exercise with temper and moderation, but which, as essential to the honour of his Crown and true interests of his people, he is determined never to surrender.—Then a commission for proroguing the parliament was read: after which the lord chancellor prorogued it to the 24th of September.

DISPUTE WITH AMERICA. —— *Admiral Berkeley's Order for Searching the American Frigate, the Chesapeak; dated Halifax, Nova Scotia, June 1, 1807, and addressed to the respective Captains and Commanders of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels on the North American Station.*

By the Hon. G. C. Berkeley, Vice-Admiral of the White, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels employed in the River St. Laurence, along the coast of Nova-Scotia, the Islands of St. John, and Cape Breton, the Bay of ——, and at and about the Island of Burmuda, or Summer Islands:—Whereas many seamen, subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and serving in his ships and vessels, as per margin*, while at anchor in the Chesapeak, deserted and entered on board the United States frigate, called the Chesapeak, and openly paraded the streets of Norfolk, in sight of their officers, under the American flag, protected by the magistrates of the town, and the recruiting officer belonging to the abovementioned American frigate, which magistrates and naval officer refused giving them up, although demanded by his Britannic Majesty's consul, as well as the captains of the ships from which the said men had deserted. The captains and commanders of his majesty's ships and vessels under my command, are therefore hereby required and directed, in case of meeting with the American frigate the Chesapeak, at sea, and without the limits of the United States, to shew to the captain of her this order, and to require to search his ship, for the deserters from the abovementioned ships, and to proceed and search for the same; and if a similar demand should be made by the American, he is to be permitted to search for any deserters from their service, according to the customs and usage of civilized nations, on terms of peace and amity with each other. ——G. C. Berkeley.

* Belleisle, Bellona, Triumph, Chichester, Halifax, and Zenobia cutter.

VOLUNTEERS.—*Circular Letter from Lord Hawkesbury, to the Lords Lieutenant of Counties, dated Whitehall, 5th Aug. 1807.*

I have the honour to acquaint you, that it has been deemed expedient by his Majesty's government, that such corps of volunteers, infantry and artillery, as have not completed their twenty-six days' exercise for the present year, should have the option of assembling upon permanent pay and duty, under the regulations which were in force in the year 1805 (by which the officers will be entitled to full pay, and the non commissioned officers, drummers, and privates, to one shilling per diem bounty money, for the days during which they may remain so assembled) and subject to the following restrictions.—The period for which these corps will be allowed to remain assembled must not exceed the number of days wanting to complete their twenty-six days drill for the present year, and must, in no case, be less than ten, or more than fourteen days: consequently this permission can be granted to such corps only as shall not have performed more than sixteen days exercise during the present year.—I take this opportunity of acquainting you, that no extra pay will be allowed for inspections, as it is conceived that they may take place on the days of drill, with little if any additional inconvenience to the corps ——I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, (Signed)

HAWKESBURY.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 9.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 29, 1807. [PRICE 1OD.

"FIVE HUNDRED GUINEAS will be presented to any person who can procure an appointment of *Barrack-Master* in Great Britain, or the *Paymastership* of a district."——COURIER Newspaper, 10th August, 1807.

"FOR SALE, the manor, or lordship, of Lampeter, with all its *political* and other *rights*. Lampeter is a contributory borough for returning a member to parliament for the town of Cardigan; and all persons admitted at the Lord's Court are entitled to vote for the return of such member. More upon this head appears unnecessary in this place."——COURIER Newspaper, 10th August, 1807.

TO THE

INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER XXIV.

GENTLEMEN,

Let us turn to other matters. Having taken a view of our affairs with regard to foreign countries, let us look a little into our situation at home; and see what is necessary to be done there.

When we complain, that, under the name and shew of public offices, our money is squandered away upon idlers and rogues and plunderers, we are reproached with Jacobinism. "It was thus," say John Bowles and his crew, "that the French revolutionists "began their works." And, the inference is, that, we wish to bring about here what was brought about in France. That we wish to destroy the nobility and to kill the king and his family; and that, the consequence of this would be, a military despotism under an English Buonaparté. Whether the *present state* of France, compared to its *former state*, be an example so terrific as John Bowles and his crew would make it appear, I shall not attempt to determine. But, what have our complaints to do with the French revolution, or with any revolution? If, however, it be insisted upon that the French revolution began in complaints like ours, would it not be advisable to remove the ground of our complaints? No: that is never thought of. To villify, and, if possible to oppress, if not kill, the complainants, is the mode which John and his crew recommend in order to prevent our complaints from producing effects similar to those produced in France. They accuse us of falsehood; and therefore, it is necessary, now and then, to state an undeniable fact. What would John say, I wonder, to the public advertisement for the purchase of an office, such as I have placed at the head of this sheet, and scores of which we daily see in the newspapers? What would he say to it? Why, Gentlemen, nothing at all; not a word *to it* or *about it*; he would instantly fall upon the person who noticed it, with a full-mouthed cry of Jacobinism and disloyalty and treason; and, when he sees this sheet, he would have me strangled if he *legally* could; for John is quite one of your legal men.

But, to you, Gentlemen, and to all those who have to pay such heavy taxes, without having the means of licking yourselves whole again by getting a share of those taxes; to you I put the question, whether it be not a scandalous thing, that offices, the salaries of which the public pay, should thus be bought and sold? It is well known to you, Gentlemen, that, where one estate, or one thing of any sort, is sold, or bought, in consequence of public advertisement, there are fifty sold, or bought, without such advertisement; and, if this be the case, in transactions where no desire of secrecy exists, or need to exist, how large a proportion of all the offices, is it reasonable to suppose, are bought and sold? And, as to *who are the sellers* of offices need not be pointed out; for, whether the villains be great or small, whether they be male or female, the wrong done to us is exactly the same; and, besides, though a little villain may be the actual vender, he has obtained his power to sell from some one above him.

When we complain of the enormous amount of the taxes, for the collection of which such rigorous laws have been passed, we are tauntingly asked, "if we would have "no army or navy." We must have both; but, we would not have Barrack masters and Paymasters upon an establishment, which will enable the officer to give five hundred pounds for his commission; for, reckon how we will, that money is so much of the taxes *wasted*. Besides; if the offices are sold, who is it that *chooses* and *appoints* offi-

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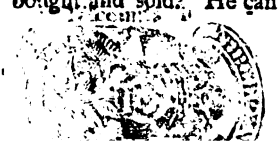
cers? This is one, out of many, of the ways of wasting the public money; and, my real opinion, is, that if all waste was as effectually prevented as it might be, the navy and the army might be maintained for less than one half of the present expence, while, at the same time, those who now live in idleness upon public plunder, would be compelled to labour for their bread, and thereby augment the resources of the country. This, however, according to the cant of the leeches, who are determined to hang on upon the carcass of the nation till they are absolutely cut off, is termed "Jacobin doctrine." To own this name of Jacobin, therefore, we must make up our minds; and wait patiently for the day when we can give the bloodsuckers a hearty squeeze, reminding them, at the same time, of their past abuse.

The second part of my motto, which was pointed out to me by a correspondent, whose letter you will find in another part of this sheet, relates to a subject, which cannot be brought too frequently under discussion. It is not, verily it is not astonishing, that offices should be bought and sold by public advertisement, when, by public advertisement, "the *political rights*" of the people are unequivocally offered for sale. When their votes at elections are tendered publicly as an object of purchase; and, when no scruple at all is made to treat them as the *property* of individuals.

In the midst of all this, Gentlemen, there are men base enough, wretches so impudent, so abandoned, so prostituted, as to represent *you* as the enemies of the *constitution* of England! When called upon to give our money, or to risk our lives, in support of the constitution, it is painted to us in colours the most delightful; it is arrayed in robes of purity, justice, and freedom. The election of members of parliament is, we are told, in the words of the law, "perfectly free;" and, when we complain, that seats in parliament are publicly advertised for sale, the infamous wretches, who are concerned in, or who connive at, such sale, have the audacity to accuse us of wanting *to destroy the constitution* Vengeance upon the heads of these unprincipled and audacious miscreants must come first or last, and it is little matter from what hand it comes.—Not one inch would I, for my part, stir to save their heads from a mill-stone falling from the clouds. John Bowles and his set are well aware of the laws respecting elections; and yet, John's piety, which is almost incredible, has never led him to descant upon the perjuries which *must* take place when seats in parliament are bought and sold. He can read these advertisements as well, or nearly as well, as you can; but, though he be a leader in the Vice-Suppression Society, not a single word does he say upon the subject of this enormous vice. John pretends to be in great tribulation, lest the two-penny hops and the gingerbread fairs should bring down the vengeance of heaven; but, the purchase and sale of seats in parliament, with all their indispensable perjuries, are beneath the notice of John, though John would, I dare say, have a beggar most heartily castigated, if he were to prevaricate in his worshipful presence.

Gentlemen, Pitt, *before he became minister*, spoke with horror of the sale of seats in parliament. At that time he was engaged, with Mr. Horne Tooke and others, in forming a plan for collecting, by a circular correspondence, the sense of the people, in their parishes, or smaller districts; which sense, when obtained, was to be pressed upon the House of Commons, for the purpose of obtaining a reform of that House, which reform he, Pitt, asserted openly in the House, to be absolutely necessary, in order to prevent the government of England from becoming, under the names and forms of freedom, a mere despotism in fact. But, in ten years afterwards, this same Pitt *being minister*, and having rendered a reform more necessary than ever, caused to be prosecuted, that same Mr. Horne Tooke and others for having endeavoured to bring about, by the very same means that Pitt had before recommended, that very same measure, which he had represented as absolutely necessary, in order to prevent the government of England from becoming a mere despotism in fact, under the names and forms of freedom. Now, Gentlemen, though some persons, from ignorance of the history of these matters, and others, from feelings of alarm which Pitt craftily raised, have attempted to justify this his pursuit of the life of Mr. Tooke and others, it is not, I hope, possible, that there can, at this time, be found, in all England, one man so impudently, so profligately unjust, as to continue such attempts. Yet, are we to pay for the raising of a monument to this man, as we have already been compelled to pay his debts.

The way, Gentlemen, to combat our revilers, who are almost all of them profound hypocrites, is to put this question to them: "Do you approve of the sale of seats in "parliament, and of the indispensable per-"jury thereon attendant?" They will always equivocate and evade and shuffle. They will tell you, that it always has been thus. They will instance something worse, if that



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be possible. They will (precious hypocrites!) lament the frailty of human nature, and the consequent imperfection of all human institutions; and will, very likely, conclude with a prayer that it may please God to remove these evils. But, be you not so cheated. Repeat your question. Stick fast to them. Insist upon a categorical answer; and, you will find their hypocrisy too profound for them to say that they approve of the sale of seats in parliament and of the indispensably accompanying perjury. Well, then, if they disapprove of these, they must next allow, that it would be desirable to put an end to them; and, it necessarily follows, that they must approve of the conduct of those who endeavour to effect that desirable object. But, no: they will not. Bring them to this point, and off they start again into their ejaculations and prayers, first, and, next, into their impudent accusations against those who would, if they could, accomplish what they themselves have acknowledged to be desirable. So that there is no hope of converting them. They are bent upon plunder, or upon the support of plunderers. They are resolved upon sucking the blood out of the carcase of the nation as long as they can; and, therefore, let us, on our parts, be resolved to pluck them off that wasted carcase as soon as possible.

In the meanwhile, Gentlemen, you have *real* representatives. The silly observations of the newspaper hacks, in which they affect to regard their predictions, about the *insignificancy* of Sir Francis Burdett, as being now accomplished, only betray their apprehensions for that part of the plunder which they enjoy; or, rather, receive; for, it is impossible, that such wretches can enjoy any thing. They well know, that it has, as yet, not been in the power of Sir Francis to attend in his place with any effect; that he could not, without risk of his life, have sit a night in the House of Commons. He himself has told you, that, without the aid of *the people*, he shall be able to do no good; but, one thing he will soon be able to do, and that is, to convince the people, that, without their acting, all of them, with the public spirit that has animated you, *nothing is to be done for their good by any body*. He will be able to make the people fully acquainted with many things, which they now understand but imperfectly. He will be able to expose to their full view things, which are now hidden from them. He will, you may be assured, take part with no place and pelf seeking faction; he will have a hand in no motion, calculated to amuse the foolish and somewhat base people, who are *yet* to be amused with what is called *debating* a question; he will be guilty of no act which shall give countenance to the impudent pretence respecting *decisions* in the House; he can, without even one man to co-operate with him, make the Honourable House itself show you what the Honourable House is and what the Honourable House is capable of doing. This he has perfectly in his own power, and this he will, if he lives, assuredly do; and, it is because he will do this, because they know he will do this, that the newspaper hirelings revile him. There is not a man amongst them, who is not convinced, in his own mind, of the falsehood of the assertions and insinuations, which he is daily pouring forth against Sir Francis Burdett. He *knows* they are utterly false; but, a considerable part of his daily bread depends upon his writing and publishing them; and, while this is the case, publish them he will. In one part of his paper, you will find the dangers of the country pourtrayed in horrid colours, and the necessity of an union of all men in its defence strenuously urged; but, he is sure to have, in another part, something or other to convince you, that he would much rather the country should be conquered, than that corruption and peculation should be destroyed. He and the plundering gang, the den of thieves, who support him, must not, however, expect our love, in return, but our steady and active hatred, and our vengeance, when we shall be able to inflict it. They have declared a war of extermination against us; and, I trust, I confidently trust, that we shall not sue for peace.

The motion of Lord Cochrane respecting places and pensions and fees and perquisites held or received by members of the Honourable House and their relations had done great good. He wanted to have a list of these *alone* published, that the public might judge of the state of the Honourable House; that the people might know how much of their money went into the pockets of those, who are said to be the guardians of the public treasure; who are said to "*hold the purse strings of the nation*," and who, in good earnest, do seem to hold them. The Honourable House did, however, not relish this. The Honourable House thought that a list of *all* places and pensions, &c. &c. &c held by all *manner of persons*, preferable to the nice little list pointed out by his lordship, and, then, you know, Gentlemen, we might, *if we could*, find out who were members of parliament and their relations, and who were not. Even this list, however, has not yet been

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produced, and the persons, to whom the making of it was referred, declared, that it was impossible for them to say what time, during the *next session* of parliament, they should be able to produce it. Never mind! The motion has had an excellent effect It has shown us the feeling of the Honourable House. It has furnished us with one proof more, and a most convincing proof too, of the nature of that feeling. These proofs, frequently repeated, are what we want. If any thing can do us good, these proofs, well packed upon one another, will do it. The plunderers have not accused Lord Cochrane of *treasonable* designs yet; but, they, in the superabundance of their charity, suspect him to be *mad* only. If a man be not a coward in the field, or a plunderer at home, or a partizan of one or the other, the miscreant writers are sure to represent him as a traitor or a madman. And, it is after this, that they expect us to love and cherish them!

In a future letter I purpose to give you an account of some curious *contracts*. In the meanwhile, I remain,

Gentlemen,
Your faithful friend,
and obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 26th Aug. 1807.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT (continued from page 181).——There are three subjects, which came before parliament, during the last session, upon which I think it may be useful to offer a few remarks: I *Poor Laws*; II. *Election Writs*; III. IRISH INSURRECTION BILL.——Mr. Whitbread had two or more bills prepared for altering and adding to the Poor Laws. There are only two of his intended provisions that it is my intention to notice, namely, the *giving to each parishioner a number of votes in the vestry proportioned to the amount of the rates paid by him*; and, *the taxing of the several parishes for the purpose of providing schools for the children of the poor*. I object to the whole of his plan, as calculated to do no good whatever, while it might, in many cases, tend to evil, by causing it to be believed, that the misery of the poor and the increase of paupers had their rise in causes other than those of taxation and the idleness of the innumerable swarms who live upon the taxes. From the accounts, laid before the Honourable House, it appears, that the increase in the number of paupers has kept an exact pace with the increase in the real amount of the taxes Yet, it never appears to have occurred to Mr. Whitbread, that the taxes were the cause of pauperism, notwithstanding the history of all countries might have aided in producing in his mind a conviction of this truth. In the American States there were no paupers previous to taxation; but, they are now found in tolerable abundance; and, we have heard of the soup-shops and other quackery of that sort, even in Philadelphia, where my poor rates amounted to a considerable sum annually. In New Brunswick, when I was there, there were no taxes, and there were no paupers. Am I told, that there would have been paupers, if there had been a law to relieve them? My answer is, that there is no such law in Ireland; but, that country, heavily taxed, has a population of one fourth paupers, while in England the paupers amount to about one seventh of the population.—— But, supposing him to have overlooked what was pointed out by experience, reason alone might have convinced him that taxation must produce paupers; and, if he himself had wanted the faculty of reasoning, a correspondent of mine has, long ago, reasoned the matter ready to his hand.——I object to the whole of his project, therefore, as totally inadequate to the purposes professed to be in view; but, as the project has been rejected, I shall, for the present, content myself with a remark or two upon the two intended provisions above-mentioned, and which, to me, are particularly objectionable.——The first would have changed the mode of voting at vestries. Every parishioner, who pays poor-rates, has now a right to vote, in these parochial assemblies, and the decision, upon all occasions, is by the majority of votes. Mr. Whitbread would have given to each parishioner a number of votes in proportion to the amount of his rates. So that a man of large property would have had ten or a dozen votes, while some of the parishioners would have had but one vote; and, in some parishes, a decided majority of the votes would have been in one single person. "Very true," will he say, "but, who should have the "votes but those who pay the rates, and who "are, of course, the persons solely interested?" If we were speaking of the concerns of a trading company, I should have no objection to this reasoning, though I should advise no one to take a *small* share even in such concerns. But, we are here speaking of an establishment where something else besides the mere interest of the persons paying rates is to be considered. There are here the interests of two parties to be taken care of, namely, those of the persons paying

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rates and *those of the poor*; and, in order to insure the best chance of a proper feeling prevailing upon all occasions, you must give to every parishioner, from the Esquire to the shoemaker and the little farmer, a right of voting. Many of those who pay rates are but a step or two from pauperism themselves; and, they are the most likely persons to consider duly the important duty of doing, in case of relief, what they would be done unto. "But," Mr. Whitbread will say, "is "it right for these persons to *give away the* "*money of others*." It is *not* the money of others, any more than the amount of tithes is the farmer's money. The maintenance of the poor is a charge upon the land, a charge duly considered in every purchase and in every lease. Besides, as the law now stands, though every parishioner has a vote in vestry, must it not be evident, to every man who reflects, that the man of large property and superior understanding will have weight in proportion? That he will, in fact, have *many votes*? If he play the tyrant, even little men will rise against him, and it is right they should have the power of so doing; but, while he conducts himself with moderation and humanity, while he behaves as he ought to do to those who are beneath him in point of property, there is no fear but he will have quite a sufficiency of weight at every vestry. The votes of the inferior persons in the parish are, in reality, dormant, unless in cases where some innovation, or some act of tyranny, is attempted. They are, like the sting of the bee, weapons merely of defence. If this proposition of Mr. Whitbread were adopted, why not upon the very same principle, change the mode of voting *for members of a county*? Why not give to the freeholders of ten thousand pounds a year *five thousand votes each*? Mr. Whitbread is, or rather, was, a parliamentary reformer; and this would be a reform with a vengeance! There needs nothing more, I think, to show, that Mr. Whitbread must have considered the subject very superficially.——The other intended provision, which was framed into a bill of itself, and which bill, after passing the Honourable House, was thrown out by the Lords, is, in my opinion, full as objectionable. I like not the ground, upon which it stood, namely, that the poverty of the people arises from their *vices*. This is first assumed, and then it is asserted, that *education*, as Mr. Whitbread calls it, would *prevent those vices*. It is very convenient for those, who, from whatever motive, are desirous of supporting the taxing system, to take it for granted, that the cause of the increasing wretchedness of the people lies with the people themselves. Government is continually represented as the guide, the guardian, the nursing parent of the people; and, therefore, it is maintained, that its powers ought to be great as they are. But, it is truly curious, that when the people, when these guided and guarded and nursed children, become half-starved and ragged and filthy, the fault is laid solely upon the children, and not upon the guide, guardian, and nurse. I do not say, that poverty and misery do not sometimes, and even very frequently, arise from vice. They are, indeed, the natural and just punishments of vice, in the lower as well as the higher orders of society. "The drunkard and glutton shall come to "poverty," is a judgment which applies to all ranks of men. Dishonesty, hypocrisy, laziness and insolence are followed by a loss of confidence and regard; these by a loss of employment and of profit; and these by poverty and misery. But, we have, in England and Wales, 1,200,000 parish paupers; and, that all these have become paupers from their vices is utterly incredible. These paupers are nearly, if not quite, three times as numerous as they were when Pitt, to whom we are to raise a monument, became minister; so that, at any rate, if increase of vice, and not increase of taxation be the cause, the people, under Pitt's sway, have become three times as vicious as they before were. The cruel malt and hop tax has, indeed, driven them from their homes to the public-house, where some increase of vice may have been engendered; but, one would have thought, that, though this terrible tax is a great gain to the brewers, the man, who was shocked at the increase of vice, would have proposed to *remove the cause*, or would have held his tongue. An increase of vice is not, however, the great cause of the increase of the number of paupers. The great cause, is, the system of taxation, which creates such a number of idle persons, which draws from labour so large a part of its fruits, which has an inevitable tendency to reduce the number of *proprietors*, and which, as inevitably, increases the number of paupers; for, when men see not the least chance of obtaining property, it soon becomes a matter of indifference with them, whether the means of their subsistence come to them in the shape of wages or of parish relief.—— But, supposing, for argument's sake, that the poverty and misery of the people have arisen from their vices; and, carrying our complaisance still further, supposing, that, some how or other, the people have, since Pitt became minister, become, all of a sudden, cursed with a vicious propensity how

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is this vicious propensity to be removed by sending the children to a parish-school? Let Mr. Whitbread search the records of Botany Bay, of the Hulks, of Newgate, of the County Jails, and he will find, I believe, that for one person incapable of reading and writing, he will there find recorded the names of fifty capable of reading and writing. But, the vice *has increased* of late years. That is distinctly asserted. Indeed that assertion is a necessary part of the ground-work of the proposition. Well, then, has a want of what Mr. Whitbread calls education *increased of late years?* Have schools become less numerous? Have books, pamphlets, reviews, magazines, newspapers, reading-rooms, circulating libraries, methodist and other meetings, declined in number? Mr. Whitbread well knows, that they have increased tenfold. How, then, can he expect to eradicate vice, and thereby reduce the number of paupers, by adding about twelve thousand to the number of schools already existing?——It is the lot of man, and most wisely has it so been ordained, that he shall live by the sweat of his brow. In one way or another every man must labour, or he must suffer for the failure in health or in estate. Some are to labour with the mind, others with the limbs; and, to suppose what is, by Mr. Whitbread, called education, necessary to those who labour with their limbs, is, in my opinion, as absurd as it would be, to suppose that the being able to mow and to reap are necessary to a minister of state or an astronomer The word *ignorance* is as much abused by some persons as the word *learning*; but, those who regard the latter as consisting *solely* in the acquirement of a knowledge of the meaning of words in various languages, which knowledge is to be derived only from books, will naturally regard the former as consisting *solely* of a want of the capacity to derive any knowledge at all from books. If the farmer understands well how to conduct the business of his farm, and if, from observation of the seasons and the soil, he knows how to draw from the latter as much profit as therefrom can be drawn; if the labourer be expert at ploughing, sowing, reaping, mowing, making of ricks and of fences, loading the waggon, threshing and winnowing the corn, and bestowing upon the cattle the various necessary cares; if this be the case, though neither of them can write or read, I call neither *an ignorant* man. The *education* of these men is a finished one, though neither may ever have looked into a book; and, I believe, Mr. Whitbread would be greatly puzzled to suggest even the most trifling probable benefit that either could derive from an acquaintance with the use of letters.——"But, "men, thus naturally gifted and disposed, "might have *risen* in life, if they had "been taught reading and writing." It is very likely, that they might have been, by such means, removed from the fields to the city; but, without allowing that that remove would have *raised* them in life, and positively denying that it would have added to their happiness, I think I may anticipate that Mr. Whitbread will concede, that *all* men cannot be so removed; and, then, let it be observed, that his system of education is intended for *general* effect. Would I, then, advise every parent to prevent his children from learning to read and write? No: but, I would leave each parent to his own taste and his own means co-operating with the disposition and capacity of the child. The general taste of parents, and their naturally high opinion of their children's capacities, are quite sufficient to furnish the schools, without the aid of another act of parliament *and another cursed tax*. It is natural to the fondness of parents, it is laudable emulation in them, to endeavour to raise their children in the consideration of the world; and, as no great degree of eminence is to be attained without the use of letters, it is laudable in them to make use thereof, when they can. But, some people must remain to labour; all men cannot attain to eminence in the world; and, therefore, that which is laudable in individuals, is, to say the best of it, foolish upon a national scale.——It is contended, that learning to read and write would *mend the morals* of the people. I have before observed, that the assumed increase of vice has taken place while schools and news-papers have been increasing ten-fold. By the help of Mr. Wilberforce, indeed, the word *religious* was to have been placed, in the bill, before *education*; and great care was to be taken to give the parson of the parish sufficient authority in the superintending of the school, without, however, making any provision to insure even a tolerable chance of there being a parson in the parish, except, perhaps, for a couple of hours of a Sunday. But, though Mr. Wilberforce would easily believe, that, with the help of a little new-light, the scholars would have no difficulty in solving those knotty points, arising from the text of the Scriptures, about which so many doctors have been quarrelling for so many centuries, each doctor condemning the other doctor to flames eternal, and that, too, not

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ignorantly, but in good decent Latin and Greek; yet, it does not appear to have occurred to him, that, when they had learnt to read the Bible, they might possibly read something else, and that Grub-street and the novel shops might furnish them with ideas exceedingly well calculated to add to, instead of diminishing, the fearful stock of vice assumed to be already existing. Is it, however, seriously urged; is there a man who will soberly assert, that the people of England, in any considerable number, can *possibly* be ignorant of their moral duties? Go to the top of any hill in the kingdom, and see how thickly the spires are scattered; consider how easy and how constant is the communication between all ranks of men; how scrupulous men are as to all matters relating to property; how frequent and how regular, and, generally speaking, how impartial, the administration of justice. Do this, Mr. Whitbread, and then say, if you can, that the people of England are *ignorant*, or can *possibly* be ignorant, of their moral duties; and that they want *reading* to teach them those duties.——"But, the *political* effects of this education!" Mr. Whitbread did not, that I know of, promise any benefit of this sort from his plan; but, the editor of the Morning Chronicle and others have affected to see a prospect of great advantage in "*enlightening*" the people in this way. I, however, can see none. For, what would the teaching of the people to read do? Enable them to read newspapers, those vehicles of falsehood, and of bad principles. That the press, *left to itself*, would enlighten men I allow; that discussion, if *free*, would end in favour of truth I know well. But, of the news-papers, and other periodical publications, and all books, or printed works, treating of politics, *five sixths*, at least, are, by one means or another, *bought*. The writers are, in fact, hired; and hired, too, to deceive the people; to spread falsehood instead of truth, darkness instead of light. Truth is a libel; and, what is the worst of it, fine and imprisonment is constantly dreaded on the one side, and perfect impunity as constantly relied on, on the other side. What information, what light are the people to receive from such a press? Do the people benefit from their reading of politics in France? Did they profit from it at Berlin? Do they profit from it in Russia or in Austria or in Holland? Yet there are news-papers in abundance there; and full as free, too, *in fact*, as the far greater part, as nine-tenths even, of our news papers. Of public men and measures, if you disapprove, you must speak very cautiously; but, if you please to praise them, no matter how bold, how exaggerated, how false your statements. There is no gainsaying this: that where *to publish what is true* may subject a man to fine and imprisonment and pillory, the press must be *an injury* to political freedom. Some truths, and valuable truths, get abroad through the means of the press; but these are infinitely out numbered by the falsehoods; and, if the people were left without any press at all, matters would be much better, because they would then judge and act from what they *saw* and what they *felt*, and not from what they *read*. The operations of the press have, every one must allow, increased greatly in their extent within the last twenty-three years. Has political freedom *gained* much during that time? Have men been more secure in their persons and their property than they formerly were? It is my decided opinion, and, I think, that most men of reflection will concur with me, that, without the aid of the press, Pitt never would have been able to do half what he did during his terrible administration. If I am reminded of the *Electors of Westminster*, I say, that their light has not been derived from the press, but from being upon the spot; from *hearing* and *seeing* and receiving conviction of, what the press disguises from other men; and, it is notorious, that, during the last election, they acted in direct opposition to the exhortations of nine parts out of ten of the press. It is not, therefore, because they read more than other electors read, that they have acted virtuously and courageously, but because their knowledge of the truth led them to despise what they read.——There was one argument of *experience*, brought forward in support of this project, which, by way of conclusion, I must take a little notice of,—*the example of the people of Scotland*. The Scotch are never backward in putting forward their claims of any sort, and many just claims they have; but, I am not amongst those who are ready to allow them a *monopoly* either of virtue or of talent; and, I deny that their lower classes afford any example worthy of the imitation of ours. I deny that they are more industrious, more moral, more virtuous in any respect, than the people of England are. I have seen colonies that have been settled by Englishmen, and some by Irishmen, where industry *alone* could have possibly succeeded; but, I never yet saw a country settled and cleared by the *labour* of Scotchmen. The boastings which have been heard about the wondrous *improvements* in Scotland are infinite; but, will any man pretend

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to say, that the labourers of that country are more moral, more orderly, their habitations more cleanly, their struggles against poverty more unremitted, their labour and their industry greater, than are those of the English labourers?' This notion about Scotch example seems to have come up amongst us with the juvenile œconomists, whom the late ministers drafted from the office of the Edinburgh Review, which is a sort of depôt for speculators in politics, who go off, each in his turn, as he can make shift to write himself into place. The late ministers seem to have been enamoured with the whole corps, and Lord Henry Petty, in his wisdom, is said to have freighted a Berwick Smack with no small portion of it. Some of these cadet statesmen were put into parliament, where (poor lads!) they were never heard of more. Others were made commissioners of divers descriptions. Others wrote pamphlets about the Slave Trade and the Finances and Tithes and Commerce and Agriculture and the Poor, in expectancy of those high offices, the anticipated possession of which, alas! they must now exchange for the gauging-rule and bottle at the button hole. To this importation of speculators, to their assurance, and to the imbecility of their patrons, we owe, I suspect, all the fine novel projects of Mr. Whitbread and his friends, who seemed desirous of changing every thing but the corruptions, against which they had before so bitterly inveighed. Mr. Whitbread's preambular compliment to the Scotch, containing so gross an insult to us, had certainly its rise in the importunities of this upstart set, who, I was long ago informed, had wriggled themselves into such a degree of influence over even Mr. Fox, as to obtain from him a *pledge* upon matters of great national importance; to them we certainly owe this almost metaphysical project about the poor, and particularly the compliment to Scotland at the expence of our own character. Had the compliment been *true*, I should, I hope have been amongst the last to find fault with it; but I deny its truth; I assert it to be false; and my assertions are full as good as the assertions of Mr. Whitbread. But, I wish the matter not to rest upon assertion. If you try a question by individual observation, there is no coming to a decision, because the assertion on one side is as good as that on the other. Let us appeal, in an instance or two, to acknowledged facts. In general the *resources* of countries, as ascertained by the amount of their taxes, compared with their population, is not a very certain way of coming at a criterion whereby to judge of their industry, either positive or relative. But, where there are two countries, under one and the same government, lying adjoining to each other, having both a due proportion of the offices and emoluments of the state, then the amount of the taxes raised in each, compared with their respective population, is a fair criterion whereby to judge of their relative industry, ingenuity, and enterprize. If this be so, and, I think, it would puzzle the whole corps of cadet statesmen to overset it, let us refer to the criterion here mentioned. The taxes, raised annually in Scotland, amount to something less than *one-seventeenth* of the taxes raised in Great Britain. The population of Scotland amounts to something less than one *seventh* of the population of Great Britain; so that each person in England (including Wales, observe), each of these lazy vicious English, pays to the state annually much more than double the sum that is paid by each of those industrious and moral Scotch, of whom our labourers, in their hard struggles against poverty and misery, are insultingly told to take an example. The Irish, with a population of four millions; that is to say, a population amounting to a *third* of Great Britain; the poor abused, despised, wretched Irish, pay *two seventeenths* of the expences of our army and navy, besides paying the whole of the interest upon their own national debt, and wholly maintaining their own expensive government, civil and military.——Let us not be put off with an assertion that the custom-house is chiefly in England; for the other taxes as well as customs bear the same proportion. Nor will any shuffle about *barren lands* avail the cadets; for, we take not, observe, extent of country, or nature of soil, but *population*, and the amount of the population is always the measure of the means of subsistence.—The other instance, which I shall take is grounded upon facts equally undeniable. It will, I think, be admitted, that when the people of a country are, in times of tranquillity and under no extraordinary circumstances, given to *emigrate*, that people cannot be very industrious, nor have, in any very high degree, the virtues, which we could wish to meet with in the lower orders of society. Savages, who never labour if they can avoid it, are always wandering from place to place. Sturdy beggars roam from town to town and from county to county. Change of place, change of profession, change of employers; "any thing rather "than work," is the motto of every lazy man in the world. Out of Scotland there have been more persons emigrated to America, within the last ten years, than out of

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England, in all probability, within the last hundred years, notwithstanding the great superiority in the population of the latter. "They emigrated for want of work:" a certain proof of a want of industry, of ingenuity, or of enterprize of the industrious sort. The people were *there* somehow or other. They could breed, it seems, though they could not live. A very pretty country this for England to take an *example* from! Nay, such influence have the Scotch had, and so foolish has been the government, that, upon a report made to parliament, that there was danger of a whole district of Scotland being depopulated *for want of work*, money, large sums of money, were, and still are, annually granted to set them to work in making canals and bridges and draining lakes in their own country; that is to say, to live in idleness upon, or, at the very best, to improve Scotland by, *the fruit of English labour*, the fruit of the labour of those, whom the cadet statesmen and their silly patrons, have the insolence to accuse of laziness and vice, and to whom they hold up the Scotch as *an example*.——We are a people that delight in quacks and pretenders of all sorts, otherwise it would have been impossible, that the parliament, however constituted, supposing a majority to be English, should, for a moment, have tolerated the false and insulting preamble, upon which I have been remarking; that they should have tolerated, in any shape, such an outrage upon the orderly and honest and laborious and ingenious and persevering and patient people of England. Where did any man, however far he may have travelled, see such cleanliness, such neatness, such attention to ornament as well as convenience, such care of their animals, such affection and tenderness for their parents and children, amongst the labouring part of the community, as are visible in the dress in the houses in the gardens and in the domestic life and manners of English labourers? There are more objects of this description in the county of Hampshire alone, though Lord Grenville lately told us that it ought to be no more dear to us than Hanover, for which we will remember him; there are more of these delightful objects in this one county, than there are, perhaps, in all the world besides, England excepted. And can I, when I daily see these objects, when I see and admire the dispositions of men, who, though pressed down with poverty, can, at their return from their daily labour, spend the twilight in works of neatness round their cottages; can I when I see this, refrain from feeling indignation at a set of upstart politicians, who know nothing of England but what they have seen from the deck of a smack or through the pane of a stage coach window, and who have the audacity to bid these English labourers look for an example to the gardenless and floor-less and chimney-less cabbins of Scotland, where the master of the mansion nestles in at night in company with his pig or his cow?

This subject has led me so much farther than I expected, that I must defer the other two till my next.

Botley, 27 Aug. 1807.

IRELAND'S INTERNAL SITUATION.

SIR,——I am well aware that your time is precious, and therefore I should be sorry to take up much of it without your deriving any advantage from what I might communicate; but, I am most anxious, now I find you have got rid of the Learned Languages, and probably of Sir H. Mildmay, to urge you to attend closely to the affairs of Ireland, to make yourself a perfect master of the real situation of that country, and not to fail repeatedly to lay the causes of its wretched state before the public. The grievances which the Irish complain of are numerous; amongst the rest, Tithes and the oppressive manner of collecting them; the heavy rents exacted from them by landlords and middlemen; and the Roman Catholics say, they ought to be allowed all the privileges in common, with the Protestants of the established church. With respect to the first of these points, it would be, indeed, well if any other method could be adopted, by which the clergy might be paid, than by tithes, as that mode must continue to create discontent, so long as the lands are held by people of such small capital, as the farmers of Ireland now are, and who at the same time, profess a different religion, from those for whom the tithes are exacted. As to the second point, there are many who assert (and I myself was once of the same opinion) that the misery the lower Irish endure is occasioned altogether by landlords and middlemen, and they go still farther, and say that the landlords have it completely in their power to relieve their tenantry. I most sincerely wish, Mr. Cobbett, that this was really the case; but you will find upon inquiry, that by no exertions of the landlords could the relief wanted be *effectually* given to the lower classes in Ireland. I beg now, Sir, to state some particulars, from which I think you will perceive that my assertion is founded in fact. In the first place, the traffic in lands (or what is called land jobbing) has been a practice in Ireland for centuries, insomuch that the landlord is frequently four

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or five removes from the actual cultivator, each of the intermediate persons deriving a profit, and perhaps, one or two of these *double* what the landlord himself obtains. The farm, instead of being held as at first taken, is almost invariably plotted out into portions much too small, had the farmers capital, to enable them to do justice to the country, or to themselves; but in few instances, have these people sufficient to accomplish any thing but with extreme difficulty, even upon these small spots; with extreme difficulty therefore, they accomplish the payment of their rents, nor could they pay one half of them, in most cases, were they to allow themselves and their families *better food than potatoes.* These farmers are altogether unable to pay for labour in money, they therefore procure the assistance they require during the year, by letting *at very high rents* a certain number of portions (measuring about an acre and a half English) according to the extent of their farms, to labourers who build their own mud cabbins, and cultivate potatoes for the sole subsistence of themselves and their families. The rents of their gardens as they are called, are scored off by day labour at a particular sum at first agreed upon.—Now, Sir, I beg here to observe, that as the Irish (unfortunately I think) have for a long period cultivated potatoes for the food of man, and as the farmers have continued all this time, to let out ground to be cropped with potatoes, instead of paying for labour, as in England in money, the labouring class have rapidly encreased, and still continue to increase, whilst the middle class remain nearly stationary. As the labouring class are, without doubt, infinitely the most numerous, I shall proceed to inform you first of their situation: it is indeed most melancholy, and likely to produce discontent in any country. In the first place, they rent land as yearly tenants, upon which they depend intirely for their subsistence, from people (the farmers, not the landlords, pray observe) who are not in any degree more humanized than themselves. Next, the farmers their *landlords*, raise their rents from time to time, so as to make the rent and the year's labour agree as near as possible together; they have, therefore, scarcely any of them, any thing to receive when they settle accounts; and, consequently, nothing to procure money to purchase fuel and cloaths, except those who happen to possess a pig, which (though it would be scarcely credited in England) is fed in the same manner, and housed in the same cabbin with their wives and children and themselves. Their potatoes are tithed, and they have a tax called hearth money to pay. Now, Sir, fuel being extremely scarce in most parts of Ireland, and in consequence of the lower classes being fed upon potatoes, and being obliged on that account to light fires every day in the year to cook them, is much more a necessary of life than it is in this country: not having scarce ever money to purchase it, they are *obliged to commit theft* to procure that article, and accordingly they cut down and burn every thing they can lay their hands upon. To add to all this, should the labourer die, his wife and children have neither parish nor other place to apply to for assistance, and not being able in all likelihood to work out the rent of a potatoe ground, are obliged to betake themselves to begging or stealing.——I shall now proceed to speak of the Farmers. I think I can with justice say, that they are frequently the oppressors of *their tenants* the labourers, and I may fairly call them middlemen, for they certainly hold both the situation of tenants and of landlords; and they are besides *landlords* to the *most numerous class in Ireland.* In addition to the great objection the farmers make to the payment of Tithes, they generally complain that they hold their lands at such high rents that they are always in distress, and they assert also, that many of them are perpetually in difficulties from being liable to the rents and profit rents of other persons, besides their immediate landlords, insomuch that it is not uncommon, but perpetually the case, for them to be distrained after the *whole rent due from the land by them is paid up.* This last is a most intolerable grievance—*that a man should have his stock and goods taken by force and sold for the payment of the debt of another.* However, the head landlord cannot afford the tenant any relief; if the middle man should have received his rent first, and withheld the profit, there is no other method for the *superior landlords* to pursue, but to distrain or bring ejectments. In order to apply a remedy for the sufferings of the Irish farmers on this account, it would be necessary for the head landlords to purchase out the intermediate tenants down to the cultivators. This however it would be impossible for them to accomplish to any extent, from the profit rents being frequently of more value than the head rents. But, suppose the landlords could purchase out *what are now called* the middlemen, still they would have to deal with middlemen, as the farmers themselves are *in every instance such*, as standing between the landlords and the labourers, having a numerous, wretched, ragged tenantry over whom the *head landlords or middle men have*

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no sort of controul, and over whom the farmers frequently exercise great tyranny. From what I have said, Sir, I presume you will think that the landlords are not so much to blame as has been continually asserted I presume also it is your opinion, that giving the Roman Catholics the privileges lately proposed, would not make the Irish richer or more happy. A regulation with respect to tithes is certainly much wanted; but regulate this matter as you will, it will certainly not wholly remove the discontents of the Irish. The landlords and middlemen would undoubtedly wish to have tithes completely abolished, as in all new lettings they would get so much the more for their land. The present mode of collecting tithes is particularly obnoxious to the people of Ireland. I think a better mode might be adopted. Suppose, for instance, a jury of persons of respectability was to be appointed to value the tithe of every farm separately in each parish, once in seven years, and that the amount of the value of the tithe was to be paid to the head landlord together with his rent, who should be answerable for it to the clergyman, this would obviate the necessity of employing tithe proctors, a set of people more detested by the lower orders in Ireland than any other, and in many instances deservedly so. After what I have said, it would be natural to ask, what then are the causes of the wretched state of Ireland? To which with submission I answer, that the chief cause of the distressed state of that country arises first, from the former checks given to its trade in general, but more particularly with England whose markets are *still* completely shut against the Irish for the sale of almost every article of manufacture; this last impolitic measure has prevented Ireland from deriving any benefit from foreign trade; at the time, and since a free trade to foreign countries was granted to the Irish, they have found themselves, and still do, too much in want of capital to be able to establish manufactures, and to give long credit abroad; they required to be permitted to send whatever articles they could manufacture to this country, *where only they could procure prompt payment for them;* by which means by degrees they would have accumulated sufficient to have enabled them to sell to foreigners upon the same terms as *their fellow subjects* the English. From the *imprudence* of the English in withholding this necessary assistance from them, a check has been given, to the collection of people in towns for the purpose of employing themselves in manufacture and trade, and the increase of the population among the middle classes, the prop of all well regulated states, has been thereby blasted.——Now, Sir, the mischief has been completed by a practice which the want of capital has tended to encourage; namely, the *cultivation of potatoes as a food for man.* So that in spite of poverty the country has been by this means swarmed with a miserable half naked, half savage population, who from their condition *must* be ever discontented, and easily induced to disturb the peace of society. Let then England apply a remedy for evils which have arisen possibly from a mistaken policy, let Ireland have the benefit of *a perfect union*, let all restrictions upon trade be taken off, all unnecessary port charges and delays; make it the interest of the Irish to defend their country by permitting them to obtain something worth defending. Let government expend a liberal sum in raising coal, of which there is plenty to be found in Ireland, but from the poverty of the people of no benefit to them. Scarce any manufactures can be carried on to profit without this article, and the want of fuel in Ireland prevents many improvements in farming of the most common kind. Trees or fences cannot be planted, without the almost absolute certainty of their being stolen to burn. With the exertions of government directed to the encouragement of manufacture in Ireland, that country would soon assume a different aspect, people would collect in towns, and the population increase in the middle class, instead of (as at present) only in the class of potatoe diggers; and land jobbers finding encouragement to employ their means in trade and manufacture, would desist from their present traffic, which is almost the only trade encouraged or worth following in Ireland. I shall now only intrude so far as just to describe the trade of a land jobber. He commences by bidding for a farm, and if his offer is accepted and he has made a good bargain, he probably does not hesitate to sell his interest immediately, or otherwise he divides the farm and puts a number of miserable wretches upon it, who frequently pay him whatever the produce of the land will sell for, except the potatoes necessary for their subsistence; in this way he takes farm after farm, till from possessing scarce any thing in the outset, he often in the end has profit rents amounting to thousands a year. I hope, Sir, the information I have endeavoured to communicate will be of service.——I am, &c.——M. H.——*August* 20, 1807.

P. S. Since I finished my letter I took up a paper in which was Mr. Sheridan's speech. He applies more to the gentlemen of Ireland

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than to the government of this country, and says the point is to begin at the cottages, (cabbins or mud hovels he should have said, for as to what an Englishman would call a cottage there is not one in Ireland). However, I beg leave to differ with him in beginning with the cabbins; and though I should repeat the plan set forth in my letter, I shall say, begin with putting his *Majesty's subjects in Ireland*, whether they profess the Roman Catholic religion, are of the established church or dissenters, *as far as regards the encouragement given to manufactures and trade*, exactly upon a footing with his Majesty's *Welsh subjects* of the same religious persuasions Let government then advance money for the purpose, or otherwise let a company be formed to work the coal mines in Ireland. Regulate the manner of receiving tithes or totally abolish them. Build churches and parsonage houses in every parish where wanted; oblige the clergy to reside or pay one half of their profits to resident curates. After doing which, I think *with a little assistance from the country gentlemen*, every thing will take a right course. People as I said before will collect in towns, there will then be a greater demand (than at present) for butchers meat, wool, hides, tallow. Farmers will therefore apply their root crops whether turnips or potatoes to the winter feeding of cattle and sheep as is generally done in England; they will become rich and pay for labour in money instead of in land. The potatoe diggers now inhabiting cabbins, will doubtless have cottages built for them; *as all ranks become richer the labourers will have no necessity to thieve for fuel*; the connections which will be formed between the English and Irish from trade, will *hold* the Irish as steady to England in all future wars as the Welsh now are, though the well known word Sasenagh or Saxenick (Saxon) as a term of reproach, may continue to be used in both countries.

ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.

SIR,——In the Courier newspaper of the 10th inst. I find some very large estates, and other *valuable things* belonging to some *great* man, advertised for *sale*. Amongst other *property*, the following to be *sold* without *reserve*.—"The Manor, or Lordship, "of Lampeter, with all its POLITICAL, and "other *rights!!!*—Lampeter is a *contributory borough* for returning a *member* to "*parliament*, for the town of Cardigan, and "all persons admitted at the *Lord's* Court, "are intitled to vote for the return of such "*member*. More upon this head appears "unnecessary in this place."—In the advertisements of *sales* of this kind, I have never before seen any thing quite so plain; it is compleat, or if it wants any thing it is the *sale* of the inhabitants themselves; though I do not see how that would render their condition worse. This fact should be seen by every man in the country, it needs only to be seen to produce the best possible effect.—I beg you will insert it. If you cannot, lay it carefully by, for the day is fast approaching when such facts as these will render the people essential service. In this conviction, I remain, &c. &c.—A. H.——*London, August* 17, 1807.

ROMAN CATHOLIC PETITION.

A pamphlet has been published at Dublin containing the Petition intended to have been presented to the last Parliament by the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and strictures upon its object. The following is the introduction to the pamphlet:

"The following is a correct copy of the petition to Parliament, prepared on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland, which was read and adopted at different public meetings of that body, and actually subscribed by several hundred thousand persons; many, highly respectable in rank, and all, independent in mind, and substantial in property. No document can more strongly evince, or more exactly testify, the state of public feeling on this important subject; it discloses the views and objects of a great portion of the British Empire, who are justly dissatisfied with their condition, but who pursue the remedy with moderation and with temper; calmly pointing to the evil, the restriction and diminution of civil liberty, and defining exactly the mode and extent of relief, the full and impartial establishment of the English constitution."—The Petition is as follows:

To the Right Hon. and Hon. the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled—The humble petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, whose names are hereunto subscribed, on behalf of themselves, and of others, his Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion,

Sheweth, that your petitioners, as is set forth in their humble petition presented to this Honourable House, on the 25th of March, 1805, are, by divers statutes, still of force within this realm, rendered liable to many incapacities and restrictions, not imposed upon any other description of his Majesty's subjects.—That your petitioners with confidence assert, that they are sup-

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ported by the testimony of many of the ablest senators and wisest statesmen which the empire could ever boast, that there is nothing in their conduct as subjects, or tenets as Christians, which ought to disqualify them from enjoying equal privileges with his Majesty's other subjects; and they beg leave to state, that they do not yield to any class of persons, in affectionate attachment to his sacred person and family, in due obedience to the laws, and in just predilection for the British constitution.—That at the present period, which requires all the energies of the state, and the exertions of an united people, your petitioners conceive that they cannot offer a stronger proof of their loyalty, than by humbly representing to this Honourable House, their earnest wish, to be altogether committed with their country, and reinstated in a full and complete enjoyment of the English government and laws.—For your petitioners beg leave respectfully to submit to this Hon. House, that the constitution of England is the great charter of this land, and the inheritance of the dutiful and faithful subjects of his Majesty: the conditions which the ancestors of some of us accepted, when they submitted to the Crown, and on the faith of which, the ancestors of others passed over and effected their settlement in Ireland—was, that they should participate in the laws and liberties of England; many concessions of his Majesty's royal progenitors, and repeated acts of Parliament, confirmed the invaluable blessing; it has had the sanction of an establishment of six hundred years; whilst the privations, of which we complain, are but the innovation of a century; from that innovation we appeal in this enlighted age, to the wisdom and justice of those august bodies, in whose hands are the fate and fortunes of the empire; we appeal against acts, repugnant to the sense and habits of Englishmen, and to the genius of the English constitution; against precedents, not entitled, from the circumstances in which they were formed, to be immortal. We were excluded from our franchises, when the tumult of civil wars had scarcely been appeased; whilst the animosities they produced were recent; and at the close of the convulsion incidental to a widely extended revolution of property. We were excluded at a moment, when the settlement was precarious and new, upon which time and habit, the extinction of all other claims, common principles of obedience, and common interests, have now conferred all the solidity of unquestioned and immutable establishment.—Your petitioners further beg leave to recal to the attention of this Honourable House, that we do not pay the penalty, neither is the blame imputed to us, of no innovating or capricious temper. We have not revolted from any institutions which challenged our obedience. We have adhered to the tradition of our fathers, the immemorial usage of the land. We profess a religion compatible with the form of government under which we are placed; accommodated to the spirit, and dear to the feelings of the great and growing majority of our country; a religion which the existing incapacities do not seem calculated, and are probably not expected to suppress; for it has been deemed, in a considerable degree, to merit public encouragement and protection.—Your petitioners do then most humbly state, that they are excluded from many of the most important offices of trust, power, and emolument in their country; whereby they are degraded below the condition of their fellow-subjects, even of the meanest class, and stigmatised as aliens and strangers in their native land.—That in the immediate effect of this exclusion, not less than four-fifths of the inhabitants of Ireland are involved, formed into a distinct people, and depressed in all their classes and gradations of rank, of opulence, and industry; in every situation of life does this degrading inferiority exist, and its influence reaching to every profession, to even the peaceable pursuits of industry and commerce.—That the remote, but not less sensible consequences, extend to the remaining population of the land, distracting his Majesty's people with disquietude and jealousy; and substituting an insidious system of monopoly on the one hand, and privation on the other, for the tried and established orders of society, and for the salutary practice and sound principles of the English constitution. And your petitioners further humbly submit, that from the prejudice generated and fostered by this discriminating system, the spirit of the laws outstripping the letter, no degree of rank, virtue, or merit, can exempt an Irish Catholic from being considered an object of suspicion; and several of the most estimable privileges and advantages of a free government, to which they ought to consider themselves entitled, are rendered, with respect to them, inoperative.—In calling your attention to their situation, your petitioners beg leave to assure this Honourable House, that they are actuated more as Irishmen than as Catholics; and less influenced by a partial interest, as a religious description, than by an interest truly public and national, intimately connected with the welfare of this country, and the prosperity of the whole

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empire, your petitioners being fully convinced, both from history and experience, that however religious distinctions may have supplied a pretext, a spirit of political monopoly has been the actuating principle of civil dissention, and of that unhappy national misunderstanding, which has so long injured the character, and lessened the value of this island.——For your petitioners are strongly impressed with the conviction, that the continuance of the disqualifying laws is not only incompatible with the freedom and happiness of the great body of the Irish people, and detrimental to the resources of the state; but, as it is calculated to damp the ardour and divert the attention of the nation to partial interests and party dissentions, from measures of general security, may eventually prove injurious to the strength and stability of the empire.—Your petitioners, with a deep sense of gratitude, acknowledge that they are indebted to the wisdom and liberality of the parliament of Ireland, and to the paternal interposition of his Majesty for the removal of many of the disabilities and incapacities under which they laboured; and they refer, with confidence in the justice of their cause, to the solemn and memorable declaration of the Irish legislature: "That from the uniform and peaceable behaviour of the Roman Catholics of Ireland for a long series of years, it appeared reasonable and expedient to relax the disabilities and incapacities under which they labour, and that it must tend not only to the cultivation and improvement of this kingdom, but to the prosperity and strength of all his Majesty's dominions, that his Majesty's subjects of all denominations, should enjoy the blessings of a free constitution, and should be bound to each other by mutual interest and mutual affection."—And your petitioners most solemnly declare, that they do not seek, or wish in any way to injure or encroach upon the rights, privileges, possessions, or revenues, appertaining to the bishops and clergy of the Protestant religion as by law established, or to the churches committed to their charge, or to any of them; the extent of their humble supplication being, that they may be governed by the same laws, and rendered capable of the same civil offices, franchises, rewards and honours, as their fellow subjects of every other religious denomination.—May it therefore please this Honourable House to take into its consideration the statutes, penal and restrictive, now affecting the Catholics of Ireland, and to admit them to the full enjoyment of those privileges, which every Briton regards as his best inheritance; and which your petitioners most humbly presume to seek as the brethren of Englishmen, and co-heirs of the constitution.——And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

THE ARMY.

PROPOSITIONS SUBMITTED TO PARLIAMENT, BY MR. WINDHAM AND LORD CASTLEREAGH RESPECTING THE STATE OF THE ARMY.—*August* 13, 1807.

Mr. WINDHAM'S PLAN.

No. I. That the effective strength of the army was,

	Regular.	*Militia.*	*Total.*
On 1st of March 1806	173,600	75,182	248,782
- - - - - 1807	181,856	77,211	259,067

A reduction having in the mean time taken place of a local corps of 3000 men and upwards, in the Island of Ceylon.

2. That the provisions of certain Acts of Parliament, passed during the year 1806, and having in view the better ordering of the army, and the improvement of the condition of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers took effect from the 24th of June in the said year.

3. That from the 1st of July following, the number of recruits raised for the Regular Army (exclusive of those raised for Foreign or Colonial Corps, and 650 men for a regiment commanded by the hon. Colonel Dillon) was,

In the 1st period of 3 months, ending on the 1st Oct. 1806.	2,770	Being at the rate per annum of	11,080
In the 2d period ending on the 1st Jan. 1807 - - - -	3,406		13,934
In the 3d period, ending on the 1st of April 1807 - -	5,335		21,340
In the 4th period, ending on the 1st July 1807 - - -	6,078		24,312

4. That on the 25th October, 1806, the bounty to recruits was reduced,

Cavalry, from £13 8*s*. to £8 3*s*.
Infantry - - 16 16. - - 11 11.

5. That the number of recruits raised for the Regular Army in Great Britain and Ireland, according to the Adjutant General's Returns, was, in the first six months of

	By ordinary Recruiting	Additional Force	Total
1805 -	- 6,736 -	- 4,187 -	- 10,923
1806 -	- 4,949 -	- 4,834 -	- 10,783
1807 -	-11,413 -	- - - -	- 11,413

6. That amongst the numbers raised in the first six months of 1805, are included 3,089 raised by Officers recruiting for rank.

7. That the men raised under the Additional Force Act, were for Home Service only, and might be of any height, not less

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than five feet two inches, and of any age between 18 and 45.

8. That in the Regular Army no man could be received but between the ages of 18 and 30, and of a height not less than five feet four inches; the standard for men not entering for General Service, but choosing their own regiments, being five feet five inches, and for the Guards and Cavalry still higher.

9. That by recruits raised by ordinary recruiting, are meant men raised either at the head-quarters of regiments, or by the Recruiting Districts, late under the superintendance of the Inspector General.

10. That according to the War Office Return of Recruits, for whom bounty has been drawn, as raised at the head-quarters of Regiments in Great Britain, and the Inspector-General's Return of the numbers raised by the recruiting districts, the produce of the ordinary recruiting was, during the first six months of

	At Head Quarters of Regiments in Gt. Britain.	By Recruiting Districts in Gt. Britain.	By Do. in Ireland.	Total.
1805	1,470	2,327	912	4,709
1806	1,084	1,957	953	3,994
1807	2,536	6,115	2,396	11,047

11. That the number of men who volunteered from limited to unlimited service was, during six months

Ending	1st July 1805	2,225
	1st Jan. 1806	2,893
	1st July 1806	2,413
	1st Jan. 1807	7,081

12. That the number of men who deserted from the Army at home was, during the first six months of

	In Great Britain	In Ireland
1805	1 in 202	1 in 204
1806	1 in 217	1 in 235
1807	1 in 293	1 in 205

13. That the number of men who deserted from the Recruiting Districts, was, during the first six months of

1805	1 in 10
1806	1 in 10
1807	1 in 12

LORD CASTLEREAGH'S PLAN.

1. That the increase of 8,256 men, as stated, in the Regular Army, between March 1806 and March 1807, has been produced by 2,908 men received from the Irish Militia, and 3,542 under the Additional Force Act—Total 6,450 men—without which aids (deducting our losses in Egypt and South America, viz. 2,185 men, which appear in the effectives of the army on the 1807) the army would have decreased, under the regulations established in June 1806, in the number of 379 men.

That the regular army has been progressively increasing, previous to the establishment of the new system of levying men, as follows; the amount being,

On the 1st July 1804	141,740
Ditto 1805	162,997
Ditto 1806	175,997

3. A. That the number of recruits raised quarterly for the Regular Army, between the 1st March 1805, and 1st March 1806, when the repeal of the additional Force Act was determined on, was (exclusive of foreign and colonial levies, and of men transferred from the militia) as follows:

		Number raised.	*Rate per Ann.*
1st Quarter ending	1st July 1805	4,865	19,460
2d Ditto	1st Dec. 1805	4,252	17,008
3d Ditto	1st Jan. 1806	4,790	19,160
4d Ditto	1st April 1806	6,096	24,384

3. B. That the number of men raised as above, between the 1st April 1805 and 1st April 1806, was 20,003; the number between July 1806 and July 1807, 17,689, being 2314 less than in the former year; whereas the number of boys included in the 17,689, exceeded by 1,076, the number included in the 20,003, the preceding year's produce.

3. C. That while the number of men obtained for regular service, including men transferred from the Militia (and exclusive of foreign and colonial levies) was, between July 1805 and July 1806, 33,003 men; between July 1806 and July 1807, 20,681, being 13,012 men less than in the preceding year, exclusive of the services of the men raised in the latter year being determinable in seven or ten years, according to the terms of their inlistment.

3. D. That whilst the number of men levied in the latter year was less than in the former, as stated in the preceding resolutions, an annual additional charge of £450,000 increased Pay and Pensions to the Army, has been incurred, as an encouragement to induce men to inlist, being at the rate of about 25 pounds per man on the number of men raised within the year; and which expence must be hereafter largely increased, in proportion as the pensions on 14 and 21 year's service come into operation.

3. E. That during the former year the Recruiting Parties did not exceed in number 405; that in the latter year they have been increased to 1,113, exclusive of above 400 extra Recruiting Officers; and from 8th December 1806, 54 second battalions have been recruiting, under an intimation, that if they did not raise 400 men in six months, the Battalions would be then reduced, and the Officers placed on Half Pay; which extraordinary increase of the number of Recruiting

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Parties must be considered not only as highly prejudicial to the discipline and efficiency of the Army, but, as so much expence incurred for the levy of men, as distinguished from the performance of Regimental Duty.

3. F. That whilst the number of men raised as above for the Regular Service, has in the latter year been reduced, the proportion of desertions in the army serving at Home has been rather increased, the proportion being, in the five successive half-yearly periods, as follows;

Desertions in Army at Home:

Jan. 1805 to July 1805	-	-	-	1 in 194
July 1805 to Jan. 1806	-	-	-	1 in 152
Jan. 1806 to July 1806	-	-	-	1 in 275
July 1806 to Jan. 1807	-	-	-	1 in 243
Jan. 1807 to July 1807	-	-	-	1 in 236

4. That the expence of Levy Money for General Service has been reduced—for Cavalry, from 19l. to 15l. 4s. 6d.; and for Infantry, from 22l. 8s. to 18l. 12. 6d. But the term of service has also been reduced, from Service for Life, to Service for ten and seven years, which supposes two additional periods of enlistment, and consequently two additional Bounties in the course of a service of 21 years, exclusive of the additional pay and pensions above referred to

6. That among the number raised in the first 6 months of 1807, being 11,411 men, 8,035 have been raised by the 54 Second Battalions; that is, by Officers recruiting to avoid reduction.

7. and 8. That, with the exception of 6,242 men transferred to Garrison Battalions, all men raised under the Army of Reserve and Additional Force Acts have been since enlisted into the Line, being of the age and height required by his Majesty's Regulations; and amongst the men so transferred to Garrison Battalions, are included all men who did not choose to enter for General Service, without reference to age or height.

11. That the men volunteering from limited to unlimited service, from the 1st July 1806, to 1st January 1807, received 10 guineas bounty for only extending their service from local to general service; whereas before that period (the bounty being the same), the men transferring themselves to the line, exchanged their service, not only from home to foreign service, but from service limited in point of time to service for life; and the men in the latter period, who refused to transfer their services, were ordered to be drafted into garrison battalions.

VOLUNTEERS.—*Circular Letter from the Secretary at War; dated War Office, Aug.* 10, 1807.

Regulations, extending the pay and allowances granted to Volunteer Corps of Artillery and Infantry, to men enrolled subsequently to the 24th July, 1806; and permitting the said corps to assemble upon permanent pay and duty; and determining the charge for inspections.

I. The same pay and allowance as are granted to those members of Volunteer corps of Artillery and Infantry, enrolled prior to the 24th July, 1806, are extended from the 25th of April, 1807, to those men who may have been enrolled therein subsequently to the 24th July, 1806, or who may be enrolled hereafter, not exceeding the establishment of the corps. Should any men be enrolled beyond the establishment, they are, as formerly, to be considered as supernumeraries.—II. Such men as may have been enrolled between the 24th of July 1806, and the 25th of April, 1807, can only be permitted to be charged for from the latter date. III. Such volunteer corps of artillery and infantry as shall not have exercised more than 16 days in the present year, have the option of assembling upon permanent pay and duty, under the conditions of the regulations which were in force in the year 1805.—IV. No corps is to be assembled for less than 10, or more than 14 days; and in no instance are the number of days of exercise (including the days of inspection) and the number of days on permanent duty (including the days on the march) to amount together to more than 26; but it is understood that all volunteers shall muster for drill and exercise one day in each week that may be entitled to exemptions.—V. The non-commissioned officers, drummers, and private men, will be entitled to receive 1s. per diem, each, as marching or bounty money, for the number of days they shall be assembled on permanent duty, over and above the pay and allowances of their respective ranks. This allowance will, as formerly, be issued, in England, by the Receiver-General of the County, and in Scotland, by the Collector of the Cess. VI. This permission to Volunteer Corps of Artillery and Infantry, to assemble on permanent pay and duty, regard only the present year; such duty must, therefore, be performed previously to the 25th Dec., 1807.—VII. Those corps which may be desirous of thus assembling, must apply, as heretofore, through His Majesty's Lieutenant of the county, to the Secretary for the Home Department.—VIII. No extra pay is allowed for days of inspection; they are to be considered as ordinary days of exercise, and are to be charged for such, and to form part of the 26 days for which pay is allowed in the year.

J. PULTENEY.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. XII. No. 10.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1807. [Price 1Os.

"Sir, the last House of Commons, being sensible how narrowly this Nation escaped being ruined by a "sort of *Monsters* called *Pensioners*, which sat in the late Long Parliament, had entered into a Considera- "tion how to prevent the like from coming into future Parliaments; and, in order thereto, resolved, That "they would severely chastize some of those that had been guilty, and make the best Laws they could to "prevent the like for the future: and for that purpose a Committee was appointed, of which Mr. Serjeant "Gregory, now Judge Gregory, was Chairman; by which, many Papers relating to that Affair, came to "his Hands. Sir, I think it a business of so great Importance, that it ought never to be forgotten, nor "the Prosecution of it deferred. I have often heard, that England can never be destroyed but by it self: "to have such Parliaments, was the most likely way that ever yet was invented. I remember a great "Lawyer said in this House, when it was debated in the last Parliament, "That it was Treason;" and he "gave many learned Arguments to make it out. Whether it be so or no, I will not now offer to debate; "but I think, that, when those that are the Legislators of the Nation are guilty of taking Bribes, to "undermine the Laws and Government of this Nation, they ought to be chastized as Traitors. It was "my Fortune to sit here a little while in the Long Parliament; I did observe that all those that had "*Pensions*, and most of those that had *offices, voted all of a side*, as they were directed by some "great Officer, as exactly as if their Business in this House had been to *preserve their Pensions and Offices, "and not to make Laws for the good of them that sent them here.* How such Persons could any way be "useful for the support of the Government, by preserving a fair Understanding between the King and his "People, or, on the contrary, how dangerous they must have been, as instruments to bring in Arbitrary "Power, I leave to every Man's Judgment. They were so far from being *the true Representatives of the "People*, that they were a *distinct middle interest*, between the King and the People; and their chief "business was to serve the end of some great Minister of State, though ever so opposite to the true In- "terest of the Nation. Sir, this business ought never to fall, though there should be ever so many "Prorogations and Dissolutions of Parliaments, before any thing be done in it; I think it is the Interest "of the Nation, that it should be prosecuted from Parliament to Parliament, as if there were an Im- "peachment in against them. And, therefore, Sir, I would humbly move you to send some Members "of this House to Judge Gregory, for the Papers he hath taken in his Custody relating to this Affair, that "so you may, in convenient time, proceed further herein, as you shall think good. And, Sir, being "there is a Report, that some of this House have now made a Bargain at Court for great Offices, in order "to vitiate and corrupt their Votes in this House: which may perhaps, be a false report and invented with "a design to cast a Reflection on such Members; yet, in order to satisfy the World, and vindicate this "House from the suspicion of their approving of such a practice, I pray, Sir, let there be a Vote past, "*That no Member of this House shall accept of any Office under the Crown, during such time as he con- "tinues a Member of this House.*"——Speech of Sir Francis Winnington, in the House of Commons, December 20, 1690.

After a debate the House came to the following Resolutions.—1. "That the several Writings, Papers, and "Proceedings, relating to such Members of the late Long Parliament, who received Allowances out of the "Money appointed for Secret Services, be produced to this House." 2. *Nem. con.*, "That no Member "of this House shall accept of any Office or Place of Profit, from the Crown, without the leave of this "House; nor any Promise of any such Office, or Place of Profit, during such time as he shall continue a "Member of this House: and that all Offenders herein shall be expelled."——Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. IX. p. 855.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Proceedings in Parliament (continued from page 338).——The mode of issuing *Election Writs* became a subject of discussion, towards the close of the session. The occasion was this: Mr. Jeffery, member for Poole, complained, that the writ, for holding the election for that place, had been unlawfully kept back from the returning officer, in order to serve the private ends of one or more of the candidates.——The cause of detention, or rather the early possession of the writ, was traced to an attorney's clerk, who was brought to the bar of the Honourable House. The Honourable House ordered him to tell who it was that he gave the writ to; but he, alledging, that to make such discovery, would be a breach of honour, refused to tell the Honourable House who it was that he gave it to; whereupon the Honourable House committed him to jail.—— Mr. Barham, one of the members, espoused the cause of the attorney's clerk; and said, that, while all the members well knew what was the practice in this case; while no one of them scrupled to talk familiarly upon the subject out of doors, it was a shame to talk, in doors, as if no such practices existed.—— The practice was described to be this: that the *messenger of the great seal*, instead of sending the several writs by express, to do which to each place he is allowed so much a mile, gave the writs to particular persons who applied for them; that these persons, who wanted to have it in their power to hasten, or retard, the day of election, became

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his messengers; but, in fact, that they paid him pretty handsomely for his granting them the favour.——Any thing more foul; any thing better calculated to defeat the professed purposes of the writs; any abuse more daring and scandalous cannot well be conceived. What, however, was done, upon the discovery, upon the open avowal, upon the undisputed and indisputable allegation of it? Was the offender punished? No. Was he reprimanded? No. Was he desired to do so no more? No. Was he even *blamed*? No. Not even blame; but, the old panacea, *an act of parliament*, was proposed, in order to prevent the delay of the arrival of writs, in future. A bill was brought in by Mr. Barham, with a view to its being passed early next session, containing a long string of regulations for *the transmitting of writs by the post*. That these regulations will be less likely to be observed than the former regulations is, I think, certain; because, passing through so many hands, the writ may, at some place or other, be detained, for several days, without the possibility of *proving* any particular person to have committed the crime of wilful detention. But, the circumstance most worthy of notice, and, indeed, the only one worthy of much notice, as tending to expose the real state of things, is, that Mr. Barham, proposed to make provision, that the present messenger of the great seal, as he would suffer a diminution of his emoluments by putting a stop to the sale of writs, should, for his life, receive, in lieu thereof, *a compensation out of the public purse!* I dare say now, that Mr. Barham is a great man for *the constitution*, which, indeed, he talked a good deal about at the time of proposing this measure. Oh, the invaluable constitution! It is an invaluable thing to some people, as Sir Francis Burdett observed upon the occasion of the advertisement of Lady Salisbury. That abuses, by whomsoever committed, if they are but committed *against the public*, are pretty sure to pass with *impunity*, when discovered, we have sufficient experience of. Upon this point both factions seem to be perfectly agreed, seem to be animated with one and the same soul; but, that an abuse, when discovered and exposed, should have its gains, when taken away by putting a stop to the thing, *compensated for*, and that, too, by an act of parliament, is, I must confess, something new, even in England.——When a man has been detected "in frauds upon the revenue," and it is found, that he has long been a great gainer by such frauds, what is the consequence? He is most severely punished; he is sweated to his last penny; he is made to refund all his gains as far as they can possibly be ascertained, and is heavily fined into the bargain. What a contrast! And yet, what difference is there in the two cases, except that, in this latter, the man only retains that which, were it not for a taxing law, would be his own!——This bill of Mr. Barham's is, comparatively speaking, a matter of small importance in itself; but, when viewed as a specimen of the manner in which abuses are considered by those who have, at present, the power to redress them, it is of great importance; it throws a clear light upon their inclination as to such matters; it can leave no doubt in our minds as to their motives; it is conclusive as to what we have to expect from them.——III. *The Irish Insurrection Bill* met with very little opposition in the Lords' House of Parliament; and, in the other House one hardly knows which to admire most, Mr. Grattan's conduct, in becoming the chief supporter of the bill, or Mr. Sheridan's in making no opposition to it, until it was too late, until he knew, until he *must have known*, that it was too late for his opposition to produce any effect. Indeed, he did not *oppose* the bill; he only talked about it, loudly talked about it; but, at the same time took care to say, that he could not oppose it; and, *when it was passed*, called for *an inquiry* into the necessity of passing it! This was just one of his old tricks to obtain *popularity*; to catch the applause of the unwary and the ignorant; and to support, with the help of play ticket-bribed editors of newspapers, a reputation for the possession of that which he never possessed; namely, a regard for the liberties and happiness of the people, that people, in the odium of *extracting sacrifices* from whom, he, in the hour of his Westminster triumph, all covered with play-house laurels and street-dirt as he was, boasted that he was ready to take his full share, to which he might safely have added, that he was ready also to take his full share of the amount of such sacrifices.——Of exactly the same description was his motion relative to the *publicans' licences*. He promised the people, in Covent Garden, that he would bring in a bill to prevent the *Police-Magistrates* from having it in their power to ruin the publicans that had voted, or might vote, for Sir Francis Burdett; and, what did he do? He did nothing till the close of the session, and then he proposed a bill to extend to the power of *all justices of the peace*, in all parts of the kingdom; a bill that *he knew* would never pass; and, indeed, a bill that *ought not* to pass. But, as he imagined, he did what would al-

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swer *his* purpose, if not the purpose of the publicans. They will, and he well knew, they would, receive neither redress for the past nor protection for the future; but, he also well knew, that he had done enough to furnish him with the subject of a speech at the next election. In his anticipated effects of this he will, however, be disappointed. If, by the act of God or of man, he should again have an opportunity of making an appeal to the Electors of Westminster, they will know how to meet his appeal; they will know how to answer him; how to send him back to his rotten borough. —— With respect to this Gentleman, it never should be forgotten, that, the moment the change of ministry took place, in 1806, he not only obtained a place of £4,000 a year, for himself, and a sinecure place for his son, worth £2,000 a year, but *asked* for a sinecure place for himself, *for life*, worth £4,000 a year more, in addition to his Cornwall sinecure (also paid out of the pockets of the people) of about £1,500 a year. And this is the *patriot*! This is the man, who, by means of a motion or two, which he evidently intends shall produce no effect, hopes to gain *popularity*, and that, too, amongst the electors of Westminster! His unmeaning motion about the publicans of Westminster will do them great injury. It will add to the disposition to oppress them; and, they will, even before now, perhaps, have smarted for his foolish attempt. The matter was put off to the next session. The chances are that he will never revive it; and, if he does, it will be in a way that he thinks best calculated to answer his own ends and those ends only. —— To return again to the Irish Insurrection Bill, I should be glad to know *how long* it is since Mr. Grattan discovered, that there was a *French Party* existing in Ireland. This is of great importance; because it is not a very long time since he assented to be an infamous slander to accuse his countrymen of disloyalty. How it must have gladdened the heart of that departed saint, *Pitt*, to have heard this confession, this precious confession, from Mr. Grattan! And what glory is it to his zealous disciples, that they have been able to effect a conversion which their great master, with all his managing means, so long laboured at in vain! *Myrtle* Smith has long been famed for his powers of converting political sinners; but, he failed with Mr. Grattan. His time was not come; or, the arguments employed were not sufficiently weighty. He remained for this blessed season, and for the irresistible arguments of his Grace the Duke of Portland, to effect so great a work. Now that it is done, however, it seems to be done completely. —— The thing most worthy of observation, is, that, not only was Mr. Grattan a *defender* of this bill, but was the *cause* of it; for, it was expressly declared, that the bill was passed, or, at least brought forward, upon the strength of his assertion, that there was, and is, a *French party in Ireland*, of which French party he has never, I believe, been known to speak before, much less to express any degree of apprehension at its designs. —— If, however, there be a French party in Ireland, it is high time to think of some means of putting it down; and, as there is no force, however great, that can restrain the *movements of the mind*, something other than force should be applied. Since I have *known* any thing of Ireland, I have always been of opinion, an opinion that I have constantly expressed, that a mere passing of an act to admit a few Roman Catholics into place would have no effect in curing the great disease of that country; but, if I had not been of this opinion before, I should, after reading the letter of my correspondent in my last Number, page 328, where the writer has most ably described the internal situation of Ireland. But, I do not agree with him as to the *remedy* which he proposes. He seems to think, that we are better off than the Irish, only because we have more people employed in manufacturing goods; whereas, my opinion is, that the manufactories are the source of our pauperism. We all know, that the manufactures have greatly increased in quantity, since the beginning of Pitt's reign, and we also know, that the paupers have increased; so that, there is nothing to encourage us to increase the manufactories of Ireland with a view of diminishing the misery of the country. If my correspondent would wish to *subdue the spirit of the people*, I know of few better ways than that of shutting thousands of them up in a large house and making them work for one man, who rings them to their labour and their meals by a bell. A hundred of these houses in Ireland would certainly render the people, not contented, but perfectly impotent; and, if the mere preservation of the dominion of the country be all that is wanted, the scheme, *if practicable*, might be a good one. For my part, however, I should rather recommend an abolition, first, of the useless offices and emoluments; next a large deduction from the interest paid upon what is called the national debt; and next a change with respect to tithes. These would reduce the burdens of taxation, and that would, assuredly, diminish the poverty and

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misery of the people; and, as to their being contented, that will depend, and *ought* to depend, entirely upon the treatment they receive.

TO THE

INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER XLV.

GENTLEMEN,

I had lately (see this Vol. pages 256 and 257) occasion to address you upon the subject of the present dispute between our country and the American States; and, as you will recollect, the address proceeded in the manner of a commentary upon an article, which had just before appeared in a weekly newspaper, called the Independent Whig. The writer of that paper had expressed to a tone very vehement, his disapprobation of what I had, in my paper of the preceding week, said respecting the dispute in question. I had asserted, that our admiral and his captains had done well in the case referred to, and had expressed my fears, that our ministers were disposed to yield, that they were disposed to give up our right to search ships of foreign nations for deserters from our own ships. This doctrine the writer of the newspaper above-mentioned had severely attacked; and, as it was a point of great national importance, I thought it right to endeavour to maintain my assertion, by all the authority and all the arguments, which, at that time, suggested themselves to my mind. This I did in the two letters, addressed to you, which I have above referred to; and, as the writer of the Independent Whig had, subsequent to the publication of my first letter upon the subject, announced that he was *perfectly prepared* to answer me, and had been pressed, by many correspondents, to do it without delay, I naturally expected, that, after having taken a week to examine both my letters, he would, in his paper of last Sunday, have published what he regarded as an answer. What was my surprise, then, when, instead of an elaborate defence of the Americans and of their denial of our right of search, I found a very long and uncommonly desultory article upon the sins of Mr. Windham, Lord Grenville, Pitt, Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Melville, Steele, Trotter, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Cobbett. A great deal, in this article, is true, and a great deal of it, though, perhaps, true in the facts, perfectly false (unintentionally, without doubt) in the inferences. Upon the whole, however, there is so much boldness, so many home truths told in this article, that I am glad it was published, and shall, at any time, be ready to thank the writer for making a criticism upon my conduct and character the vehicle of similar truths. But, it must be confessed, I think, by this writer himself, that neither my sins nor my weaknesses nor my virtues (if he will allow me to have any of the latter), have any thing to do with the question of England's maritime dominion; and, I must say, that it gives me satisfaction to perceive, that a person whose talents I greatly respect, and who has very recently expressed great admiration of me, upon comparing my character with my arguments in defence of my country's rights, found the *former* the most vulnerable of the two. For, as to my answer, which he *has in reserve*, it is quite incredible that he should have allowed another week to pass without giving it to the public, seeing that the time will be, and, indeed, already is, gone by, for such answer to produce any useful effect. Of this he must have been fully aware, and, therefore, I cannot regard his concluding notification, respecting an answer in reserve, in any light but that of a tacit acknowledgement, that he was, for once, in the wrong, which acknowledgement he, doubtless, regards as tantamount to having inserted (as I usually do in such cases) the arguments made use of against him. At any rate, I am convinced, in my own mind, that he will find great difficulty in executing his promised *refutation*; but, if he should advance any thing which I think of weight in the question, and not too thickly covered with matter quite extraneous, I shall not fail to bestow upon it attention proportioned in degree to the importance of the subject.

In the meanwhile, Gentlemen, our time will not be badly employed in bestowing some further consideration upon the subject itself, first noticing what we find, in the public prints, relative to the conduct of the Americans.——The article, which I am about to insert for your perusal is, it appears, taken from a paper published at Norfolk, in Virginia, on the 12th of July last. This article is entitled: "*Some Retaliation.*" It is in these words: "Last evening an express "arrived at head-quarters to the commander, General Mathews, from Capt. Sheppherd, of the troop of cavalry stationed "near the Cape. The intelligence the express brought in of great importance: it announces the *first act of retaliation* for the outrages of the British squadron. The substance of the intelligence, as far as we

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" are informed, and our information may be " relied on, is, that a boat with five men, " viz. *two midshipmen* and *three tailors*, " was seen to land on Thursday evening, " on the east side of the inlet; the people " came on shore, and *were fired at by a de-* " *tachment of militia* under the command " of a lieutenant from Kempsville. They " *retreated* and took refuge in the woods. " Information having been given to Captain " Shepherd of the place to which they had " retired, it was *immediately surrounded*. " In the morning they were discovered, " and surrendered themselves prisoners " *without resistance*. The boat and arms " on board of her have been *taken possession* " *of*; and the men are now *prisoners* at Mr. " Lemuel Cornick's waiting the orders of " the general."——This account, which bears so exact a resemblance to Gay's journal of the wars against the geese, ducks, and chicken in a farm-yard, you will hardly believe to be serious; but, I, who know the heroes well, also know, that they will boast of this exploit through columns upon columns of their base and stupid newspapers; nor should I be at all surprized, if we were to find, that the several town-meetings in Virginia had sent addresses of thanks to the Lieutenant, who caused a detachment of militia to fire at two little boys and three men:

> " Father and mother and I
> " And two or three lusty men
> " Beat a poor little boy
> " Till he cou'd n't go or stand."

This bit of an old burlesque ballad, though it has neither rhime nor measure, is most eloquently descriptive of the heroism of the American militia, upon all other occasions that I have heard of, as well as upon this. Gentlemen, let me ask you, whether you would have thought this an act worthy of being boasted of as an act of national retaliation? If, under similar circumstances, an American boat, so manned, had come into any of our rivers, would either of you, having the command of a detachment of soldiers, have ordered these soldiers to fire at *two boys* and three men? Would you have boasted of being able to make them "*retreat*?" Would you have thought it necessary to "*surround*" them? And, would you have cried victory! victory! when they surrendered "*without resistance*?" No: there is not a single Briton or Irishman, in whatever state of life he may be found, in whose mind sentiments so base could possibly exist. This achievement together with the account of it is well worthy of the Americans; perfectly characteristic of their minds and their manners; and, I have not the least doubt, but they will console themselves, with the reflection, that this *defeat* and *capture* of our boat's crew of *two boys* and *three men* *rubs off their disgrace* in the affair of the Chesapeak and the Leopard.

The following paragraph, from the same American paper, not also worthy of attention.——" We are authorised to state, that " in consequence of information received " that the British squadron had departed " from Hampton Roads, and had taken a " station off our Capes, the Executive *have* " *suspended the march* to Hampton of the " 500 militia ordered out from Gen. " White's brigade. They have been per- " mitted to return to their respective homes, " with orders to *hold themselves in readiness* " to take the field at a moment's warning. " ——We understand, that on application " being made to the Secretary of the Trea- " sury, on the subject of the President's " proclamation, he has advised, that its pro- " hibitions are *not meant to include British* " *merchant vessels, although armed and* " *bearing letters of marque*.——It has been " stated in several papers that Mr. Erskine " was at Washington when a discussion re- " lative to the seamen took place between " Mr. Maddison and that Minister, *who had* " *consented to waive all claim to them*.—— " Mr. Erskine, we are well informed, de- " nies that his opinion was ever asked, or " that he ever gave any upon the subject, " and we moreover understand that *he has* " *expressed a wish that the report should* " *be contradicted*.——We notice this mere- " ly with a view to present a correct state- " ment of facts, for we never look to but " one point in this case, and which is, *that* " *under no circumstance whatever, should a* " *national ship be visited, or her crew mus-* " *tered, but by her own officers. The ship,* " *like our territory, must be sacred, or we* " *are not independent*."——The real cause of suspending the march of the 500 militia, I should suspect to be, that the said 500 militia were not, and could not be collected, and, if collected, not kept together for five days, much less be made to march to Hampton, or to any other place, ten miles from home. Every man, capable of bearing arms, is a militia man in the American states. I belonged to that respectable body for several years; but never did I join it for one moment in my life; and, what is more, I never personally happened to know any man that did. I never saw that militia out at parade, or drill, nor any portion of it; and, though I was told, that some few men, unable to pay a half-crown fine, sometimes

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did attend, with sticks and staves for arms, I cannot say; but I believed the fact. When a paltry insurrection took place in Pennsylvania, the men, called out, positively refused to march, and at last, men of property, and those principally from other States, consented to march only upon condition that Washington would go with them himself. The men, who had the honour to attack and defeat our two boys and three sailors, were, depend upon it, a numerous rabble, armed with their fowling pieces, quite sufficiently to be dreaded (for they are excellently expert at a dead mark), but still to be dreaded less than those thumbs and teeth of theirs, with which, in the Southern States, they gouge out men's eyes and bite their flesh.

The mildest possible construction is, it seems, put upon the President's Proclamation. He will touch *merchant* vessels in no shape, whether equipped for war, or not. The object is, perhaps, to inveigle our merchants to his side, who, in truth, as we have seen, do not want much inveigling. His proclamation is a mere *huff*. It is wind. It is an empty shew to please the numerous enemies of England; and so it will clearly appear to be, before four months have passed over our heads. They *cannot go to war with us*, without bringing certain ruin upon their own heads.

That Mr. Erskine, whose appointment to the station of English minister in America, I remarked upon at the time (see Register, Vol. X. 20 Dec. 1806) may, for aught I know to the contrary, have "consented to waive *his* claim" to the sailors who had deserted; but, it does not follow, that Admiral Berkeley, had consented to waive *his* claim, or rather, the claim of his country. I know very well how Mr. Erskine would feel upon such an occasion; indeed I knew beforehand how he would feel; and, I am not at all surprised, that he should have expressed a wish, that the report *of his having given an opinion upon the subject* should be contradicted. I am not at all surprised at this; for, I have before seen English consuls and ministers in America. But, Mr. Erskine's *opinion* was not wanted by Admiral Berkeley, who had quite sufficient authority for what he did.

The Americans tell us, that they look to but one point, and that is "that, under no "circumstance whatever, should a *national* "ship be visited, or her crew mustered, but "by her own officers, the ship being, *like* "*their territory*, sacred, or they are *not in-* "*dependent*." It is a curious and somewhat droll idea, that a nation cannot be independent, unless it has an indisputable right to send its ships whithersoever it pleases upon the sea. But, leaving the Americans to reconcile themselves to it as they may, we shall, I trust, insist upon the rights, which ancient usage, and our undisputed power, give us of searching all ships whatever for British seamen, when we have reason to suspect that they are to be found on board; and, if the ministers should be so base as to recall Admiral Berkeley for ordering the Chesapeak to be searched, he will easily be able to prove, not only that England has always claimed this right of search, but that all her naval commanders, from the admiral of the fleet down to the captain of the smallest ship, is, even to this day, not only permitted to enforce this right, but absolutely *ordered* to enforce it, in cases where the enforcement may be required, and where he has the means of enforcement. The only error committed by Admiral Berkeley, was, his ordering the Captain of the Leopard to permit the American to search the Leopard, if he chose. That he had no authority to do; but, to search the American he had full and and complete authority, and, if attempted to be punished, he has it in his power to cover the ministers with shame.

What nonsense, then, Gentlemen, was it that the Morning Chronicle preached upon this subject. What a scandalous thing was it, to set up a cry against our naval commanders for having done, not what was proper merely, but what they were *commanded* to do. But, as I had before the honour to observe to you, the faction of which that paper has always been the slave, seem to have a feeling, in all cases against their country, and especially when the American States is a party in the dispute. Against peculation, against plunderers of every description, it is not very bitter. Like the Edinburgh Reviewers (as a correspondent has pointed out in another page of this sheet) it can find an apology for corruption, for flagrant corruption, even for the buying and selling of seats in parliament. It can, like them, coolly calculate the *cost* of corruptions, and daily tell us, that, if we could put a stop to all of them, in which the Reviewers evidently and almost avowedly hope to share, we should not save above a *million of money annually*, pretending not to perceive, that the mere amount of the *bribe* is a trifle compared to the *effects* of that bribe. In these matters, and in all cases wherein the *general* interests of the factions are concerned, the Morning Chronicle, like the Edinburgh Reviewers, can be very lenient. The reason, is, that neither has any feeling at all, either for the people, or for the honour of the country;

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they are zealous only where the *particular interests* of their faction and themselves are at stake. But, what I like in them the least of all, is, that there never, even by accident, drops from their pen any sentiment whence we can reasonably conclude that they love this country better than another for any reason besides that of its being likely that they shall be able *to make more of it*. There is a coldness in their principles and opinions that I hate. Adam Smith seems to be their sole guide. The gain, the mere pecuniary, and even present, gain of the thing is all they appear to look at.

Such men will always be ready, if it squares with their selfish views, to take part against their country in any dispute which it may have with a foreign nation, whatever may be the justice of the case; and, to talk to them of *national honour* is like singing to a man that has been born deaf.

One of the chief merits, in my eyes, of Sir Francis Burdett, is, that he has, upon no occasion sided against his country. To do this nothing has ever provoked him. In all his complaints against corruptors and plunderers, amidst all the expressions of his resentment, I never perceived him leaning towards the enemies of England. He was not one of those who expressed their joy at the conclusion of the peace of Amiens. He has never been found amongst those, who have taken occasion to recommend fawning language towards any foreign power. He has censured the wars of Pitt, and who does not *now* see, that the censure was well-founded; but, while he has been accused of all manner of political crimes, no man can cite the passage wherein he took part against his country. It is not pretended, that cases may not arise, wherein it may become a man's duty to defend the cause of another nation against his own; but, in the case before us, the question is, whether we are to give up or maintain a right, which was, formerly, constantly maintained by all the kings and rulers of England. From the time of there being an English navy, England has, until the peace of Amiens, claimed, and, in some way or other, maintained, a right of sea dominion. Till then we always claimed, as a right, that the ships of other nations should bow their flags to our ships. In our treaties with the Dutch, from the reign of Charles II. a recognition of this right was always inserted. At the peace of Amiens this recognition was omitted; and, since that peace, for the first time, British sailors have seen the ships of other nations passing by them, as *equals* upon the sea. The effacing of the *Lillies* from the arms of England was another act of the same sort. Those Lillies were a memorial, that Englishmen once conquered France; and, what baseness was it in us, or rather in Pitt, to give up this memorial? But, from ministers bent solely upon their own gains, what else is to be expected? Amidst the divers cares of corruption the country is quite forgotten. You have always seen, that, in proportion as the nation has been oppressed at home, its rights abroad have been disregarded by its rulers; and, on the other hand, that the overthrow of corruption and peculation has always been accompanied with a renovation of the spirit and the power of the nation.

To return, for a little, to the dispute with America; I think the ministers will not yield our right to search foreign ships, of whatever description, for British seamen. I think they will not dare to do this; and, I hope, notwithstanding the terrible circumstance of their being the disciples of Pitt, that they are not disposed to do it. But, I am almost certain, that their predecessors would have done it. You saw with what eagerness Mr. Whitbread caught hold of the affair between the Leopard and the Chesapeak. How, even upon a bare report of that affair, he called upon the ministers to disclaim the order to search, and to express, at once, their disapprobation of the officers, by whom the search had been ordered and executed. Here you had a sample of that disposition, which has always been apparent in Mr. Whitbread and his associates. They gave themselves no time to inquire; no time to consider; forth they came like avowed advocates of our insidious enemies, and their subservient print followed their example. This print is *now* become quiet upon the subject. It is waiting to see if no favourable opportunity will offer itself for resuming the pleadings. There is something so unnatural in this conduct, that one cannot help detesting it. It is truly curious, that, during all the disputes that we have had with the Americans, since the end of the war with them, this Morning Chronicle has been steadily upon their side; but, observe, when the Americans were engaged in a quarrel with *France*, then the Morning Chronicle was *against* them! Our concessions to the Americans, our submission to them, have been shameful. The items of our baseness in this way would, line under line, fill this sheet. If our very existence had depended upon their absolute will, we could not have been more submissive than we have been. And, the cause of this has been, not an anxious desire in our several sets of ministers to spare either our money or our blood, but to favour

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the pursuits of bodies of merchants, manufacturers, and speculators in American funds. If this dispute with America should become a subject of public discussion, I beseech you to mark well who those are, who plead for the surrender of our rights; and, take my word for it you will find nearly if not quite all of them to be concerned in American trade, American funds, or American *lands*, of which latter there are men in England who have immense tracts. Gentlemen, I could point out to you persons, who, having gorged themselves with public money in England, that is to say, with the fruit of the people's labour, have deposited it in the American funds; and, doubtless, from the base motive of having a last resource, in case their gorgings here should, at last, bring down vengeance upon their heads. Such men have, generally, a brother, or a son or an agent of some sort, in America to superintend their property there; and, if a time of pressing danger were to arrive here, they would instantly sail off with every thing they could carry with them. These men well know, that the first act of war, on the part of America, would be to sequestrate their property; and, they have seen, that, between sequestration and confiscation the space is not very wide. Men thus situated are not few in number, nor are they weak in point of political influence; and the Americans, knowing this, rely upon them for support here, and for the compelling of the government to sacrifice *our rights* to *their interests*. Proceeding upon this reliance, the American government will, at first, talk stoutly; and, as it will cost them nothing, they may, perhaps, go so far as to pass an act of sequestration; but, if we remain firm, they will yield, and yield they must, for a war for only six months against us they cannot maintain. They already, even at the *name* of war, tremble for their ships and their harbours and their towns. Small though Britain is in size, it is, when in good hands, great in power. Being masters of the sea, there is no land that can injure or insult us with impunity. And, if the Edinburgh Reviewers, headed by Mr. Whitbread, should ask me what we *get* by this, my answer is, that I know nothing in this world which is worth so much to me as my share in the renown of my country.

In a future letter I shall lay before you some striking instances of the injuries which we have received from the American States. In the mean while I remain,

Your faithful friend,

Botley, Sept. 8, 1807. and obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

Sir;——With regard to the line of policy to be now pursued by this country, you are in the right. We have nothing more to do with the continent. We have tried a sufficient number of experiments for its defence already, and the result ought to teach us to despair of its salvation. Our only object should now be to preserve the dominion of the seas; and I agree with you, that our pretensions to this sovereignty ought to be distinctly avowed. It is as much our right as any thing can become the property of a nation; and, besides, our claim is sanctioned by the first of all laws—its necessity to our own preservation. When we give up the dominion of the seas, the right of search, and other subordinate claims necessary to its preservation, we may give up the dominion of Britain, and admit Buonaparte for our ruler. The dominion of the seas is our last stay and hope; and ought to be persevered in without regard of the result, because there can nothing worse happen to us than to lose it. Better to us, then, to fall in the attempt to support this right, than by conceding it. In the former case we have a chance of preservation, in the latter none. If there is any thing, therefore, excellent in the English constitution, if there is any security for property and the natural rights of mankind in this country, which other nations do not enjoy; if the power of Napoleon is to be dreaded; if spoliation and despotism are evils; and if the slavery of the mind is hateful to Britons—let us risk every thing to maintain the dominion of the seas, or only yield it when France yields the dominion of the land.——BRITANNICUS.——*St——n, 30th August*, 1807.

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

Sir;—Though you have hitherto paid little attention to my letters, I am resolved not to be repulsed by a cold reception, for I have such an esteem for your talents and so high a sense of the value of your opinions contained in your last number as to the right of Britain to the Dominion of the Seas, that I will not refrain from endeavouring to impress upon my countrymen some reflections supplementary to yours, to convince them if possible, of the dangers of peace till the superiority of the English flag is acknowledged by the proud conqueror of Europe, and consequently by the rest of the world. I will not attempt to explode more forcibly than you have done, the chimerical nonsense of the equal rights of nations; for you have proved that nations have no rights, but the right of the strongest—and that having already obtained that right by the spirit and

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discipline of our navy, and enjoyed it from time immemorial, we surrender the only bulwark of our safety, if we suffer it to be disputed or infringed. You are right, Mr. Cobbett, your opinions properly examined, explained, and extended, go far to refute those chimerical notions of equality which have produced so much mischief in the world, which have armed the weak against the strong, and given more power to those who had too much before. It is only by the calm effects of reason that the condition of mankind can ever be improved; reason is the strength of the unarmed, and cannon is the strength of kings; it is reasonable and desirable that the lowest of mankind should enjoy the comforts of life, but they can shew no right to them independent of what they can gain by their own exertion. Let me now return from this digression to the rights of nations: and, surely, a more unfavourable opportunity could never have been chosen for prating about these rights, than the present, when one mighty despot, has subjugated the whole of the continent and is aiming a deadly blow at the independence of Britain; this is the time, forsooth, when we are to give up the superiority of the seas, for the sake of a mere metaphysical principle, a visionary nonentity, which never had nor ever will have any actual existence while men continue to be formed with passions and appetites for power, such as they have ever been, and while one man or one nation is ever eagerly waiting to lay hold of that which is abandoned by another. Power in all men, and bodies of men is sanctioned by time, and remains their right till it can be taken from them by a superior force. Such is the right we now claim to the empire of the seas; let other nations, if they please, attempt to take it from us; and if they are successful we must submit, but never let us part with a tittle of it, if we regard our safety, or our commerce; we have got it; we must keep it if we wish to continue a nation.—To all this it may be answered, that all arbitrary power is unjust; and so it is, according to those theoretical notions of justice which the reason of man is capable of forming; but as the reason of man and his conduct are ever at variance, it will often be found, that even those who are most strongly impressed with the sense of equal rights and equal justice, will be forced to act contrary to their opinion of right, in order to protect themselves from the injustice of others. Could all men be brought to act on principles of justice, it would be a very fine thing, and then we should have neither wars nor fightings; but as that is not very probable, we must all do the most in our power to protect ourselves, and the least to injure others. Nations neither are nor ever can be the subjects of law like individuals, while the rulers of nations are actuated by ambition, and all those dangerous passions, which disturb and torment the world; equal laws are the result of a general compact, but there can be no general compact among nations, which will not be perpetually liable to be violated. Let us, therefore, persevere in the present contest, till we see it possible to give it up with safety: let us avoid as much as possible to bully other nations, but let us never submit to be bullied ourselves, lest in time we be subdued by a power that is stronger.—I remain, &c.——W. Burdon.

PLAN FOR SUPERSEDING THE NECESSITY OF THE POOR'S RATE.

Sir;—As the Poor's Rate has become an alarming as well as an heavy burthen, and is naturally felt the heavier from the necessary increase of government taxes, the following expedient, it is presumed, will not only lessen the burthen immediately, but eventually annihilate the necessity of raising any Rate for relieving the Poor; at the same time that it will increase the income of one of the existing government taxes to a very large amount, so as to equal the whole of the money now raised by the Poor's Rate; and this is to be done without taking an additional shilling, generally speaking, from the pockets of his Majesty's subjects;—without changing the present system or the operation of any poor law now in force;—without putting the execution of them into other hands, but leaving the present statutes and the effects of them as they now stand.—All this is to be effected by simply diverting what is already a voluntary, into a compulsory tax; by rendering the effect of it certain, whereas it now depends on the credit of speculating individuals; by rendering that which is at this time a mere gambling benefit to private men, a grand, permanent and solid advantage to the whole kingdom.

Plan.——That *every parish should insure itself from loss and damage by fire;* and that the money arising therefrom be, partly in the first instance, and eventually the whole of it, applied to the relief of the poor. This is the great leading feature.——It cannot be doubted that the Plan would be palatable from the large number of individuals who voluntarily insure on the credit of the various offices; and that in proportion to the money they now pay for such insurance, so much less would they pay towards the poor rate. That it would be effectual there can be no

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doubt, from its being the most profitable speculation for monied men: and that in immediate effect it would almost answer the whole of the intended purpose, may be gathered from a calculation on two parishes, one in London and the other in the Country.

The rental of the parish in London is £4,500 per ann. and to place the houses at the lowest value, estimate them at 20 years purchase: this will bring them to £90,000 value, at 2s. 6d. in the pound, the sum now paid, the yearly income will amount to	£112	10	0
The Furniture may be calculated about the same	112	10	0
And the Stock	112	10	0
	£337	10	0

N. B. This sum does not include hazardous and doubly hazardous, so that it might be rated higher.*

This will appear a tolerable easy calculation, because where traders do not live, the furniture becomes so much the more valuable, as fully to compensate the difference. And this sum exceeding the expenditure of the present poor-rate in that parish by about one eighth; would very soon annihilate there the necessity of a poor's rate.—In calculating the country parish it seemed at first glance, necessary to estimate the rents and value in a different way, by putting houses with and without land in different classes, charging the land with only so many years rental for the corn, hay, farming utensils, live and dead stock, &c. †; but on making the estimate by the same rule of 20 years purchase on the rental, and finding the farmer would pay a much smaller proportion than he now pays,—it appearing too that many more paupers are thrown upon the poor rate from farmers' houses, who hire their servants by the year than from private families;—and on consulting persons well skilled in agricultural and parochial concerns; there can be no necessity of changing the mode of calculation.—The rental of the country parish is £26,000 per centum, and will afford £1850. The poor's rate of this parish amounts on an average to somewhat more.—But although it be impossible to see at one view how this proposition would bear upon every parish, still there is one certain conclusion; that where the ratio of insurance should, after forming a stock to answer the exigencies of loss by fire, exceed the sum necessary for a poor rate, then the ratio might be lowered, and where it should not reach it, *valeat quantum valere potest*, either the ratio might be encreased or the old mode of a rate might be resorted to in order to meet the deficiency; this could neither be considered as oppressive or unequal, and by this proposition each parish in diverting the means now used into another channel, would raise a great part if not the whole of its own supplies without the burthen of the poor's rate.

Regulations.—That only a given portion of the payment on Insurance be at first applied in aid of the Poor Rate, and the rest vested in the Bank in the name of Parish Trustees, until such a sufficient stock be funded as would on a fair calculation answer all contingent losses by individuals, and in the expenditure of the whole stock, by conflagration, the parish to begin *de novo*.—The rate should be collected by the overseers as it now is, and the money applied in the same manner, as far as it would reach.—A proper surveyor should be appointed for every parish by a vestry, in Easter week, removeable as other parish officers are; he should value houses, stock, furniture, and whatever else the legislature should determine insurable; he should be paid a certain poundage; his return should be compulsory unless where the party insured should think his return too small for stock, &c. in that case the party might enlarge it at his option; reserving appeals, for persons thinking themselves aggrieved, to the quarter sessions, as under the present poor laws.—In case of accident by fire, the sufferer should be entitled to receive according to his rate in the same manner as by insurance offices; and where any person has ensured beyond the estimate of the surveyor, the oath of the party to his loss, should be considered final as to the claim for remuneration, except where fraud can be proved or such other cases of exception now made by the offices.—By law, engines are now kept in every parish, and fire ladders; some proper person should be annually chosen as the engineer, with a small salary, who should be fineable in a summary investigation by the magistrates, on proof that the engine, hose, &c. are not in compleat repair, and ready on any alarm; and certain other persons appointed as occasional assistants or firemen, to receive pay only in cases of assisting the engineer to try the engine, or being called out to attend fires, &c.—Other regulations would suggest themselves under a discussion of the plan if it were to be adopted.

Objections.—It may be urged against this Plan, that it is an uncertain one, inasmuch as by one extensive conflagration more than the immediate stock in hand might be

* The tax to government would produce £271. 10s. at least.

† Insurance offices rate these at an higher value than houses, &c.

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swallowed up at once, and the whole parish thereby impoverished. To this it may be answered, that such a circumstance is unlikely; that the funded stock might be made sufficiently large to answer uncommon calamities, and that where the extent should be very excessive the suffering parish after contributing their fund, should be entitled to call upon the adjacent parishes of the hundred, or ward, or town, as it may be, to contribute in proportion, and make up the whole loss; this would be acting in the spirit of the present poor laws, where an overburthened parish may call upon an adjacent one not so burthened, for assistance.—Beside in the two parishes calculated from, the loss by fire in the last half century, to go no further, has not exceeded £300.—And it should be recollected, that monied men consider the speculation of fire insurance to be so valuable, that no shares are ever to be publicly bought in any office; and new offices are daily encreasing. An objection may be made to a surveyor viewing houses, furniture, stock, &c. as a sort of inquisition; but it is submitted to already under the voluntary tax, every office employing surveyors for that purpose, and each man will have the option of paying what insurance above the surveyor's valuation he pleases. Those who now have an almost exclusive claim to receive this money either under charter or otherwise, would doubtless raise an objection to this plan; but, where such incalculable benefit would accrue to the whole public, surely such objection would be trifling; the gains already acquired must be sufficient compensation for all money advanced; and, indeed, no money is ever advanced, it is all upon credit;* and such offices might still insure lives, shipping, freight, &c.—As to other Objections, there can surely be none, at least none obvious enough to appear, or strong enough to be resistless.

ADVANTAGES.——The public, generally speaking, now pay *two rates*, one for the poor, the other for insurance; these would eventually merge into one, and in *the present, one* would go so far in aid of the other, that every man of common sense must see that all he now pays for insurance, he would save in appropriating it to the poor. Government, would, by the adoption of this plan increase the 2s. per centum tax on insurance, over the whole 20 years value of all property in the kingdom; a tax now a voluntary one, and most cheerfully paid; and one wherein every man, almost, would rather over than under rate his property.—In forming a parochial stock *by funding*, it would throw large sums of money into the market,* and, of course, not only keep up the present price of stock, but not being a fluctuating and transferable property would, by leaving less to be sold, keep it up for ever†.——The local advantages of this plan are of great estimation. Every man in cases of fire would *himself* be interested in assisting to save the property of his neighbour, remembering the more he saved, the less he should be called upon to pay, to make up the loss of another.——To have an engine always ready and firemen at hand, is too obvious an advantage to be insisted upon‡. And as the mischief arising from fires would be lessened, so would the frequency of them; because an incendiary would more easily be discovered among his interested neighbours, character better known, the value of property more visible and better ascertained; and so easily estimated that the speculation of the ideal insurer would not be worth the hazard of detection and punishment.—There is still another and a most equitable advantage. The owners of houses who now pay nothing to the exigencies of the parish out of which they derive their income, and on whose credit to a tenant of £10 per annum, whether solvent or not, the law establishes a claim for relief, on the parish where such house shall stand such owners of houses would contribute to ease the burthens of that very parish their estates are now contributing to load; and this without injury or loss to the owner, as it must be presumed the owners usually in-

* The case of the new office now applying to parliament excepted, where they deposit one million in the Bank.

* If it be a good reason for chartering an office that one million of its property is lodged in the Bank; how strong is the same argument for this mode.

† Suppose the sum funded for each parish gradually as a stock, should reach no higher than a 5th part of the estimated value of the property in that parish, then there would be an untransferable property in the Bank at a given time of a 5th of the value of the property in the kingdom 20 times told.

‡ In one of the parishes, calculated from, about 10 miles from town, on an alarm of fire, the parish engine was useless, no fire ladder at hand; no fireman; no engineer; no expences whatever incurred by any one of the offices; and a large population kept in alarm till assistance could be procured from London; the insurance, now voluntarily paid, being upwards of £1200 per annum.

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sure, and their payment of insurance would merely be transferred.—Besides, the tenant would, in such case, be benefited in proportion to his landlord's amount of insurance, as according to the present calculation owners would contribute one third of the rate.—— Leases and agreements between landlord and tenant may stand as they now do; nor need a landlord complain of paying the tax, supposing he does not now insure, as his property would be more valuable in the same ratio as his tenant would pay less poor rate. ——Other advantages innumerable suggest themselves, let these suffice, the plan is simple, easily executed, certain in its operation, equal in its demands, disturbing no system of general or local laws, economical to individuals, and most beneficial to government.

CORRUPTION—A TRIFLE.

MR. COBBETT,—— Accidentally taking up the Edinburgh Review, I found my attention strongly attracted by a critique on your political journal. The reviewer is a man of no mean ability, a zealous adherent of the late administration, and one of those about to taste of their bounty at the moment they fell a victim to the intrigues of their "no "popery" antagonists. I recollect one of your opinions to be that "the Wrangling "Factions," "inns," and "outs," equally hate you; and my curiosity was excited to see how this champion of the Whigs (that is the name the reviewer's patrons prefer to be designated by) would deal with you and your essays. I collected from the introduction of this gentleman's comments, that upon your first arrival in this country from America and commencing your political career among us, your opinion of Pitt and his system was different from that you now profess: from whence a laboured charge of inconsistency is set up against you. Upon this most unimportant topic I presume you are capable of defending yourself, if you think it deserves a serious discussion; for my part, I considered it as "mere doubling to "mislead the hounds"; and my sole anxiety being to learn if the abuses you denounce do really, and to what extent, exist; or, whether they are to be referred to no more creditable source than a factious spirit wilfully misrepresenting, or at least, viewing objects through a false medium, I hurried on to that part of the reviewer's task in which he sets about denying, or by explanation to do away the effects of your assertions. You complain of Sinecure Places and Pensions: he does not dispute their existence, but alledges, "they are mere trifles," that "a "strict reform in this respect could not pro- "duce more than one million annually;" and remarks, "it is mere faction to say that "either this or the sums lost by peculation "can make any sensible difference in the "national burthens." This, to be sure, is clearing the ground in good style. The assertions, if not quite satisfactory, are at least intelligible, and may be fairly taken as a distinct exposition of Whig ideas of reformation. Still, as this enlightened politician assured me, that "even as a source of "influence it was too inconsiderable to de- "serve any distinguished notice," I began to flatter myself the loss of the money might be the whole mischief; though upon this point I was rather sceptical, having from long habit and some consideration of the subject, felt a strong inclination to consider a sinecure placeman as bearing a close similitude to the blow-fly that pollutes far more than he consumes. But while my opinion was thus vibrating between hope and fear, the comfort I had received from the sanction of the reviewer's sentiments was at once swept away when, by referring to page 305 of the same book, I found that places and pensions not only *might*, but in the opinion of this mirror of consistency, *actually* had produced all the bad effects my apprehension attributed to them. I quote his very words, "how melancholy to reflect that "there would be still some chance of sav- "ing England from the general wreck of "empires, but that it may not be saved be- "cause *one politician may lose £2000 a* "*year by it, and another £3000, a third a* "*place in reversion, and a fourth a pension* "*for his aunt!* Alas, these are the power- "ful causes which have always settled the "destiny of great kingdoms, and may level "Old England with all its boasted freedom "and boasted wisdom to the dust," and I agree with the reviewer if these and some "mere trifles" he alludes to are not remedied, "that (to use his own words), it does "appear quite impossible that so mean and "so foolish a people can escape that destruc- "tion which is ready to burst upon them." The Edinburgh Editor after making a very nice distinction between the comparative merit of him who accepts and him who offers a bribe, and rather unjustly, as I think, holding the tempter less culpable than the tempted, consents to consign both the one and the other to what he is pleased to term "your just indignation," but by no means can be brought to admit that a rotten borough (which he defines a borough which government has not bought, but which I define to be "a borough it may buy when- "ever it thinks fit to expend the nation's

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" money for that purpose,") is any very great nuisance, proceeds to give (as I trust) a most unjust and certainly a very novel explanation of the principles of the British Constitution, upon the subject of which I may perhaps at a future day, trouble you with some comments. In the mean time, altho' I must confess rotten boroughs are not in the smallest degree objectionable, and sinecure places and pensions on his plan indispensably necessary, yet as the theory of his system can only be realized on the basis of the British Constitution as established at the Revolution, I can by no means become a convert to his political speculations, and take my leave of him with a recommendation that when he shall next be inclined at the expence of sincerity to wield his pen in defence of a system the effects of which he so feelingly deplores, he should be a little more cautious than to place the means of his detection almost line and line with his own statements.

AN OLD ENGLISHMAN.

PUBLIC PAPER.

DENMARK.—*Proclamation issued on the 16th of August, at Zealand, by Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart, commanders in chief of his Majesty's forces by sea and by land, employed in the expedition.*

Whereas the present Treaties of Peace, and the changes of Government and of Territory, acceded to by so many Powers, have so far increased the influence of France on the continent of Europe, as to render it impossible for Denmark, though it desires to be neutral, to preserve its neutrality, and absolutely necessary for those who continue to resist the French aggression, to take measures to prevent the arms of Neutral Powers from being turned against them.—In this view, the King cannot regard the present position of Denmark with indifference, and his Majesty has sent negociators, with ample powers, to his Danish Majesty, to request, in the most amicable manner, such explanations as the times require, and a concurrence in such measures, as can alone give security against the farther mischiefs which the French medidate through the acquisition of the Danish Navy.—The King, our royal and most gracious master, has therefore judged it expedient, to desire the temporary deposit of the Danish ships of the line, in one of his Majesty's ports.—The deposit seems to be so just, and so indispensibly necessary, under the relative circumstances of the Neutral and Belligerent Powers, that his Majesty has further deemed it a duty to himself, and to his people, to support this demand by a powerful fleet, and by an army amply supplied with every preparation necessary for the most active and determined enterprise.—We come, therefore, to your shores, inhabitants of Zealand! not as enemies, but in self-defence, to prevent those, who have so long disturbed the peace of Europe, from compelling the force of your Navy to be turned against us.—We ask deposit, we have not looked to capture; so far from it, the most solemn pledge has been offered to your Government, and is hereby renewed in the name, and at the express command of the King, our master, that if our demand is amicably acceded to, every ship belonging to Denmark, shall, at the conclusion of a General Peace, be restored to her, in the same condition and state of equipment, as when received under the protection of the British flag.—It is in the power of your government, by a word, to sheath our swords, most reluctantly drawn against you; but if, on the other hand, the machinations of of France render you deaf to the voice of reason and the call of friendship, the innocent blood that will be spilt, and the horrors of a besieged and a bombarded capital, must fall on your own heads, and on those of your cruel advisers.—His Majesty's seamen and soldiers when on shore, will treat Zealand, as long as your conduct to them permits it, on the footing of a province of the most friendly power in alliance with Great Britain, whose territory has the misfortune to be the theatre of war.—The persons of all those who remain at home, and who do not take an hostile part, will be held sacred.—Property will be respected and preserved, and the most severe discipline will be enforced.—Every article of supply furnished, or brought to market, will be paid for at a fair and settled price; but as immediate and constant supplies, especially of provision, forage, fuel, and transports, are necessary to all armies, it is well known that requisitions are unavoidable, and must be enforced.—Much convenience will arise to the inhabitants, and much confusion and loss to them will be prevented, if persons in authority are found in the several districts to whom requisitions may be addressed, and through whom claims for payment may be settled and liquidated.—If such persons are appointed, and discharge their duty, without meddling in matters which do not concern them, they shall be respected, and all requisitions shall be addressed to them, through the proper channels, and departments of the navy and army; but as forbearance on the part of the inhabitants is essential to the principle of these

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arrangements, it is necessary that all manner of civil persons should remain at their respective habitations, and any peasants, or other persons, found in arms, singly, or in small troops, or who may be guilty of any act of violence, must expect to be treated with rigour.—The Government of his Danish Majesty having hitherto refused to treat this matter in an amicable way, part of the army has been disembarked, and the whole force has assumed a warlike attitude; but it is as yet not too late for the voice of reason and moderation to be heard.—Given in the Sound, under our hands and seals, this 16th day of August, 1807.—(Signed as above.)

DENMARK.—*Proclamation of the Danish Government against England; dated Gluckstadt, August* 16, 1807.

We, Christian the seventh, by the grace of God, king of Denmark, Norway, of the Wends and Goths, duke of Schleswig, Holstein, Slonnau, and Dietmarschen, also of Oldenburgh, &c. &c. do herewith make known;—That whereas by the English Envoy, Jackson, it was declared to us, on the 13th of this month, that hostilities against Denmark would be commenced; and whereas at the same time he demanded passports for himself and his suite, consequently, the war between England and Denmark may be considered as actually broken out; therefore, we herewith call on all our faithful subjects to take up arms, whenever it shall be desired, to frustrate the insidious designs of the enemy, and repel hostile attack.—We further herewith ordain, that all English ships, as well as all English property, and all English goods, shall be seized by the magistrates, and otherwise, particularly by the officers of the customs wheresoever they may be found. It is further our will, that all English subjects, until, pursuant to our further orders, they can be sent out of the country, shall, without exception, be arrested as enemies of our kingdom and our country; which measure is strictly to be carried into execution by all magistrates, as well as by all subordinate officers, duly to be instructed by them for that purpose. And it is a matter of course, that all English ships and boats which approach our coasts shall be considered and treated as enemies.—It is also our will, that all suspicious foreigners shall be watched with the greatest attention; and that all magistrates, as well as all subordinate officers, shall use their utmost efforts, as soon as possible, to discover all spies. Lastly, we find it necessary to ordain, that, immediately after publication hereof, all correspondence with English subjects shall entirely cease, and that no payment shall be made to them on any ground whatever, until our further orders, on pain of severe punishment in case of continuation. For the rest we rely on the justice of our cause, and the courage and tried fidelity of our beloved subjects.—Given under our Royal Seal, in our fortress of Gluckstadt, the 16th August, 1807.—(L. S.) C. L. BARON VON BROCKDORFF, J. C. MORITZ.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRANCE.—*Speech of the Emperor Napoleon at the opening of the Meeting of the Legislative Body, at Paris, August* 16 1807.

Gentlemen, the Deputies of the Legislative Body; Gentlemen, the Members of the Tribunate, and of my Council of State.—Since your last meeting, new wars, new triumphs, and new treaties of peace, have changed the aspect of the political relations of Europe.—The House of Brandeburg, which was the first to combine against our independence, is indebted, for still being permitted to reign, to the sincere friendship with which the powerful Emperor of the North has inspired me.—A French Prince shall reign on the Elbe. He will know how to make the interests of his new subjects form the first and most sacred of his duties.—The House of Saxony has recovered the independence, which it lost fifty years ago. The people of the dukedom of Warsaw, and of the town of Dantzic, are again in possession of their country, and have obtained their rights. All the nations concur in rejoicing, that the pernicious influence, which England exercised over the continent, is for ever destroyed.—France is united by the laws of the confederacy of the Rhine, with the people of Germany, and by our federative system with the people of Spain, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. Our new relations with Russia are founded upon the reciprocal respect of two great nations.—In every thing I have done, I have only had the happiness of my people in view—that has always been in my eyes far dearer to me than my own repose.—I wish for peace by sea. No irritation shall ever have any influence on my decisions with respect to that object. I cannot be irritated against a nation which is the sport and the victim of the parties that devour it, and which is misled, as well with respect to its own affairs as to those of its neighbours.—But, whatever may be the termination which providence has decreed the maritime war shall have, my

people will always find me the same, and I shall always find them worthy of me.—Frenchmen, your conduct in these times towards your Emperor, who was now more than 500 miles distant from you, has increased my respect, and the idea I had formed of your character.—I have felt myself proud to be the first amongst you. The proofs of attachment which you have given me, while, during ten months of absence and danger, I was ever present to your thoughts, have constantly awakened in me the liveliest sensations. All my solicitudes—all that related even to the safety of my person, was only interesting to me, on account of the part you took in them, and the important influence which they might produce on your future destiny.—*You are a good and a great people.*—I have contrived various means for simplifying and perfecting our institutions. The nation has experienced the happiest effects from the establishment of the Legion of Honour. I have distributed various imperial titles, in order to give a new lustre to the most distinguished of my subjects, to honour extraordinary services by extraordinary rewards, and at once to prevent the return of all feudal titles, which are incompatible with our constitution.—The accounts of my ministers of finance, and of the public treasury, will make known to you the prosperous state of our finances. My people will see the contributions upon real property considerably diminished.—My minister of the interior will give you an account of the public works which are begun or finished; but those which may still be expected, are much more considerable, since it is my determination that in all parts of my empire, even in the smallest hamlet, the comforts of the citizens, and the value of the lands shall be increased, by the developement of that universal system of improvement which I have formed.—Gentlemen, Deputies to the Legislative Body, your assistance in the accomplishment of that great object will be necessary to me, and I have a right to reckon upon that assistance with confidence.

NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE DUCHY OF WARSAW.—*The New Constitution of the Duchy of Warsaw has been published in the Moniteur. It consists of 99 Articles, divided into 12 Sections, of which the following are the heads:*—

Section I. The Roman Catholic religion is the religion of the state, but all other religions are free. The Duchy is divided into six Bishoprics, over which one Archbishop and five bishops preside. Slavery is abolished, and all citizens are equal with respect to the law.—II. Of the Government. The Archducal Crown is hereditary in the Kings of Saxony, who are to appoint a Viceroy or President of the Ministerial Council. The property of the Ducal Crown consists, 1. In an annual revenue of seven millions of Polish guelders, one half arising from the royal lands or demesnes, the other half from the treasury; 2d, In the Royal Palace of Warsaw, and the Saxon Palace.—III. Of the Ministers of the Council of State.—The ministry consists of six members, viz. The Ministers of Justice, of Foreign Affairs, of Religion, of War, of Finances, and of Police. There is also a Secretary of State. The Council of State is formed out of the ministry for the purpose of preparing plans of laws, &c. all of which the King has the power of rejecting.—IV. Of the General Diet.—This body is divided into two chambers, viz. the senate and the representatives. The Diet is to assemble every second year, for 14 days, when a royal act of convocation calls the members together.—V. Of the Senate.—This chamber has 18 members, consisting of six Bishops, six Palatines, and six Castellans, all appointed by the King, who has also the power of encreasing the number of senators to thirty, if he shall think fit.—VI. Of the Chamber of Representatives.—These consist of 60 deputies, chosen by the district diets of the nobles, and 40 elected by the towns. The members retain their seats for nine years, but at the end of every three years, one-third of the body is renewed.—VII. This section contains regulations for the meetings of the district, diets, &c.—VIII. Of the Division of the Territory.—The Duchy is divided into six departments, to each of which there is a prefect, under prefect, mayors, and a departmental council of from 16 to 24 members.—IX. Of the Laws.—"The Napoleon Code shall be the civil law of the Duchy of Warsaw." Each department has a civil and a criminal court. The council of state is the last court of appeal. The judges are appointed by the King.—X. Of the Armed Force.—The standing army consists of 30,000 men. The King can call a part of this force into Saxony, but must replace them by an equal number of Saxons.—XI. General Regulations.—All who have not places for life may be dismissed at the pleasure of the King, the deputies only excepted. None but citizens of the Duchy can be appointed to public situations. All the acts of the government must be drawn up in the Polish language. All the civic and military orders formerly subsisting in Poland, are to remain, un-

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changed, but the King is their head.—XII. The present imposts remain until the 1st of January, 1809. No change can be made in the organization of the troops, until regulations be made on that subject by the Diet.—We Napoleon, by the grace of God and the Constitution, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Rhenish Confederacy, have approved, and hereby do approve of the above constitutional act, which has been submitted to us for carrying into effect the 5th Article of the Treaty of Tilsit, and which we consider as calculated to fulfil our engagements to the people of Warsaw and Great Poland, by reconciling their freedom and privileges with the tranquillity of the neighbouring states.—Given in the Royal Palace of Dresden, this 22d day of July, 1807. (Signed) NAPOLEON.

WARSAW.—*Proclamation issued by the General Director; dated Warsaw, July 18, 1807.*

Citizens—You have done every thing which the love of your country, your honour, and the example of your ancestors required of you. You have overcome all difficulties; you have not hesitated to sacrifice your lives, your fortunes, and the most sacred ties of nature, for the happiness of your Country, and to again obtain the name of Poles. A single word from his Majesty the Emperor of the French has armed you all. His vast genius insures you victory. By your firmness all your enterprizes will be crowned with success. Despise all the false reports which the inveterate enemies of your Country circulate. The greatness of soul of Napoleon is your Ægis. Our fate cannot be determined at this moment; an impenetrable veil must conceal it for some time from our eyes. Let us adore the sublime wisdom of him who commands half of the world. Banish the despair of your hearts. Be penetrated with obedience, and resign yourselves to the confidence you ought to have in his goodness: your happiness depends on it. The least murmur, the least opposition to his will, may destroy all that you have hitherto done. Our new born power cannot exist without this—we can only obtain existence from the amiable Napoleon, a man equally great in politics and war, determines and executes every thing in the profundity of his wisdom, without our being able to penetrate his motives; let us place in him unbounded confidence; this is the only means which can secure to us his benevolence; and let us employ quietly and patiently the time which peace affords us to render ourselves perfect in every thing relative to the service of our Country.—LUBIENSKI, President.

RUSSIA.—*Answer to the Note of Count Marveld, (the Austrian Ambassador.)*

"The Emperor Alexander has fully appreciated the motives which have induced his Majesty the Emperor and King to offer his mediation and his good offices to the principal Belligerent powers, for which, on his part, he is happy in the opportunity of expressing his gratitude to his Imperial and Royal Majesty.—The frequent and unequivocal proofs which the Emperor of all the Russias has afforded, of his earnest desire to see the termination of the calamities which have so long desolated Europe, might have convinced his Imperial and Royal Majesty of the earnestness with which the court of St. Petersburg would receive every proposal tending to promote so important an object. His Imperial Majesty of all the Russias will always be animated by the same disposition; and he will be ready to accept the proffered mediation, whenever it shall be in the power of his Majesty the Emperor and King to communicate to him the grounds upon which the French government may be inclined to enter into negociation; and that it shall appear these grounds are of such a nature, as may afford a prospect of the attainment of that end, which is the object of all the endeavours of his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, as is already sufficiently known to the Court of Vienna. (Signed,) Andre de Budberg. Bartenstein, April 16, 1807."

COBBETT'S

Parliamentary History

OF

ENGLAND,

From the Norman Conquest in 1066, to the Year 1803. From which last mentioned period it is continued downwards in the work entitled "Cobbett's Parliamentary "Debates."——*** The Second Volume comprising the Period from the Accession of Charles the First in 1625, to the Battle of Edge-hill in 1642, is ready for delivery. Published by R. Bagshaw, Bridges Street, Covent Garden; and sold also by J. Budd, Pall Mall, and by all the Booksellers and Newsmen in the United Kingdom.—Of whom may be had Complete Sets of "Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates."

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 11.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1807. [PRICE 10D.

"Did not the keeping of this station breed fear to our greatest enemies, and make our faint friends the "more sure and loather to break? Yea, hath not the winning and keeping of this bred throughout "Europe an honourable opinion and report of our English nation? Again, what one thing so much pre- "served and guarded our merchants, their traffic and intercourses, or hath been so great a help for the "well-uttering of our chief commodities; or what, so much as this, hath kept a great part of our sea- "coasts from spoiling and robbing?"——LORD KEEPER'S Speech, at opening the Parliament, in the 1st year of Q. Elizabeth's reign.—Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England, Vol. I. p. 640.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

DANISH WAR.——The Danes having, not only declared war, but issued orders to their vessels to take and destroy our vessels, it would, I should think, be difficult to give any satisfactory reasons for our not having *declared war too.* Ships and goods taken from an enemy, previous to a declaration of war, are called "*Droits* of Admiralty;" and, in this way used, *droit* seems to mean *forfeiture*, or *prize*; but, why the ships and goods, taken under such circumstances, should not go to the *captors*, as well as ships and goods, taken *after* a declaration of war, I can see no reason. The real truth is, however, that this "*droit* of Admiralty," is a prize for *the king*, who, under an old custom, claims such ships and goods as his own private property, and, accordingly, he claimed an immense sum, which, as my readers will recollect, was taken from the Spaniards, previous to a declaration of war, and which claim did greatly surprise me, because I thought, that, since the nation had taken upon itself to defray, out of its taxes, all the expences, of *every sort*, necessary to the support of the king and every branch and member of his family; this being the case, I thought that these "*droits* of Admiralty," like the rent of crown-lands and other revenues formerly belonging to the king, came, of course, into the public exchequer. I am very sorry, that this is not the case; for, if, upon some future occasion, a grasping or prodigal king were to meet with a set of supple slaves for counsellors, he might, for years, carry on a war, in fact, without declaring war; or, at the least, take care to have the prime of the captures, to sack the first haul of doubloons, and leave the straggling ones to the fleet; upon some *future* occasion, and when I say future, I mean a *long while hence*, because, as must be evident to every one, the qualities, which I have here supposed possible in a king, belong neither to our present gracious sovereign, nor to his apparent heir and successor; upon some future occasion, however, the case supposed may possibly happen; and, as possibilities of this serious sort should be guarded against, I should, I must confess, like to see these "*droits* of Admiralty" abolished, leaving all the captures to be divided amongst the captors, unless in cases of accommodation with the power, upon whom they are made, when, of course, they would be restored to that power.——To return closer to the war with the Danes; I cannot, for my life, perceive any good reason for a delay in answering their declaration of war. What! When we have made a forcible entry into their territory; when we have besieged, and, perhaps, bombarded, their capital, not declare war against them! That is to say, not *call it war* that we are carrying on! This is so grossly inconsistent, that it is impossible not to suspect, that there is some unfair motive at bottom.——Upon the *ground* of this war, or, rather, of this enterprize to sieze on the Danish fleet and naval arsenals, I thought enough had been said before; but, after a week or two of silence, the Morning Chronicle, that steady adherent of the rump of Whiggism, has come forth with a regular pleading against the measure; and, as I really do not entertain for the writings of Mr. Sankie any portion of that sort of contempt, which he says he entertains for mine, I shall here insert this pleading, and shall state, as well as I can, the reasons why, upon this subject, I differ in opinion with its author——"We have, from the first, en- "tertained considerable doubts, both of the "justice and the policy of the attack on "Denmark. It is true, that since the "French revolution, and since the immense "power of France has led her to violate "those principles of the Laws of Nations, "from which she thinks she herself will "never be obliged to seek protection, (be- "cause, like all other laws, the law of na- "tions is for the benefit of the weak against "the strong), the law of nations is treated "by some as a creature of the imagination, "and not at all binding. This sort of ar-

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" gument is infinitely to be deprecated. The " law of nations indeed has no impartial " minister to pronounce its judgment and " enforce its decrees, like the municipal " laws of a particular country, but no one " will deny that that established usage, that " general opinion, and the habit of more or " less accommodating the conduct of na- " tions to the recognized principles which " have been laid down in the code of public " laws, have tended to mitigate the abuse of " power, and to afford protection to those " who were incapable of self-defence. This " visionary law, as it is now called, was of " real practical utility; and though it was " imperfect in its sanction, the law of na- " tions received in modern times, and so " largely improved, has contributed as much, " perhaps, as any positive institution what- " ever, to the superior civilization, happi- " ness, and tranquillity of Europe.—There " can be no doubt, however, that if the law " of nations, which is in its nature and end a " restraint upon force, is violated systema- " tically by one nation to the injury of ano- " ther, that other is released from its obliga- " tion to such other nation; for the plainest " reason of self-defence, because no one " can be bound to submit to a rule of re- " straint upon his force, from which his ad- " versary takes the advantage of being ex- " empted. With respect to France, there- " fore, we undoubtedly have the right of " exercising the law which she practices. " This however, does not give us any right " to release ourselves from the obligations " of the law of nations towards others of " whom we have no reason to complain. " Because France has been unjust towards " Switzerland or Hamburgh, we have no " right to be unjust towards Portugal or " Denmark.——What then is the precise " ground of justification of our conduct to- " wards the latter? It is, first, the assump- " tion that France would ask Denmark to " join in the war against us; and, secondly, " that Denmark would be obliged to submit " to that demand. It may be admitted, " though it is by no means proved, or cer- " tain that France would have sought to " draw Denmark into the war; but next, " are we sure that Denmark would have " submitted? It is quite clear, that at any " time Buonaparté could have seized Hol- " stein, but he has not done it; nor did he " even complain of the Danes last Novem- " ber for defending their frontiers and kil- " ling some of his troops belonging to Ber- " nadotte's army, when they came on Da- " nish ground. But because he could do " that, it does not follow that he could have " taken the island of Zealand and the Da- " nish fleet. The loss of Holstein, &c. must " have been much felt by Denmark, but " she knew that in a naval war with Eng- " land, she had to lose more perhaps than " the amount of the temporary loss of Hol- " stein, and it is highly improbable that she " would have yielded up her fleet to Buona- " parté, and gone to war with England to " save Holstein. Buonaparté had no means " whatever of attacking the island of Zea- " land, and a few English frigates could have " secured the passage of the Great Belt, by " which alone troops for its subjugation " could have been sent. Unless, however, " the danger of Buonaparté getting the Da- " nish fleet was most imminent, we had no " right to seize it, merely to guard against " that contingency. The main question of " right then, in the present proceeding, re- " solves into this simple proposition. Was " it certain, that Buonaparté would get the " Danish fleet if we did not take it? Unless " this proposition be made out with the " strongest degree of evidence, our attack " upon Denmark is unjustifiable, because " it is not necessary to our own defence.— " In matters of this sort we ought not to be " satisfied with general apprehensions. It " is clear, that to get rid of our apprehen- " sions we inflict very severe calamities up- " on a nation acquitted of any previous hos- " tile intention. Are we quite certain that " at the bottom of this business, there may " not be a sort of cowardice not very credit- " able? The danger dreaded perhaps was " considerable. Had Denmark joined " France with all her military marine, must " the country have been undone? We " hardly think it. But the right of self-de- " fence, against evils less than utter destruc- " tion, may have justified us. Possibly it " may. But still as fear is a rash and a cruel " counsellor, we should weigh well its ad- " vice. If, in a shipwreck two people are " on a plank which can bear but one, the " one may push the other off; but he ought " to be fully sure of it before he drowns his " companion. So here, before we sack and " destroy Copenhagen, we ought to be " pretty sure that England could not be safe " without the Danish fleet. It is no an- " swer to say, that Denmark might avoid " these calamities by submission; for sub- " mission is the greatest national calamity, " and it is our right to impose it, or the evils " of refusal, that is in dispute.——The " King of Prussia's attack upon Dresden is, " as far as we recollect the incident in very " modern times, nearest to this business of " Copenhagen. The King of Prussia's con-

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" duct was considered very unjustifiable, " though he had the proofs of a fact now " unquestionable, that the Elector of Sax- " ony was a party to a confederacy against " him; but as far as at present appears, or " is stated, it was the wish of Denmark to " remain perfectly neutral in the present " war. We dreaded, however, that her " fleet would have been seized and turned " against us, and under the influence of this " fear, we ruin and destroy an innocent un- " offending neighbour! Our conduct there- " fore wants all the justificatory circum- " stances in that of Frederick. Had he " waited for Austria, Russia, and France to " join Saxony, he must have been undone; " but though the Danish fleet turned against " us, might have put us to a little exertion, " it could never have ruined us; while the " fact of its ever happening is exceedingly " disputable. Had Buonaparté pressed for " the Danish fleet joining him, six English " ships of the line could have prevented the " junction. The Danish fleet could not " have been manned in such a compulsive " unjust war as that would have been. It " could not have come into the ocean, and " if it had, it would have been defeated and " taken in honourable battle. It was not " necessary to steal the victory.—If, how- " ever, the law of nations, that system " which, with the imperfection of every " thing human indeed, has so long protected " the weak against the strong, was not be- " fore this utterly abrogated, it is now com- " pletely repealed and annulled. The law " of the strongest is the only law; not that " might constitutes right, which is non- " sense; but there no longer remains in the " most inadequate and corrupted mode of " application any traditional, written, or " acknowledged law to restrain the violence " of power, to correct the inequalities of " fortune, and to assuage the cruelty of the " sword. The justice of nations (and war " has been so called), is no longer adminis- " tered in mercy. It has no discrimination. " It admits of no degrees of penalty. It is " altogether bloody and exterminating. But " the law of the strongest leads to this con- " sequence; because it admits of no re- " straint upon force. It leads to the very " destruction of society; and as it so evi- " dently tends to such disorder, nations " must, after the horrors of universal anar- " chy, and after experiencing the evils of " that state of nature, again recur to those " principles of common interest, which, " while they preserved the independence of " each, established mutual confidence and " common ties among nations, and sustain- " ed, even in war, the relations of neigh- " bourhood and secured the means of recon- " ciliation. Now the temper of the day " proscribes every thing neutral as treache- " rous, and treats every thing not subdued " by our enemy as a possible foe to us. It " aims at compelling universal war, and " rendering entire conquest to the one belli- " gerent or the other not merely a point of " ambition, but of necessity. This frantic " rage would divide the world into Rome " and Carthage; and then to be sure Rome " and Carthage could not co-exist. If such " deadly conflict be necessary, it must be " endured; but our whole policy goes of it- " self to produce that necessity.——This " attack upon Denmark, granting it the ut- " most success, will gain little which might " not have been gained with as little cost " even of men and money. But the con- " tempt of honour and good faith which it " seems to exhibit is the worst circumstance. " The unfortunate influence it may have on " the state of Northern politics, most think- " ing men can easily anticipate. To say " that it has rendered peace more difficult, " without placing us on a more advanta- " geous footing, may, to some, be a recom- " mendation of the policy. But this feel- " ing, as it was very evidently selfish, is now " about to yield to a different view of inte- " rest. The war has been prosecuted upon " very erroneous calculations, not of safety, " but of advantage; and as peace, in all pro- " bability might be attained without any " sacrifice either of honour or of power; " those who lately were most clamorous for " war on mistaken grounds, will very " speedily be as much desirous of try- " ing the chances of peace, having found " those of war turn out so unfortunate."

——This writer sets out with deprecating the argument, that the *law of nations* is a mere creature of the imagination, and not at all binding; but, he has not attempted to shew us, *where* this law is to be found, and he allows, that " it has no impartial mini- " ster to pronounce its judgment and en- " force its decrees." Now, then, if I understand the meaning of very plain words, any thing which has nothing to regulate, or to ascertain its effect, and which does not admit of being pointed out as to its place of existence, is a creature of the imagination. It is very true, that a Dutchman, named Grotius; another Dutchman, high or low, named Puffendorff; another, named Binkershoech; and a Frenchman, named Vattel; have written books upon what has been called, for want of a better name, the law of nations. But, besides that of these

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writers, there are no three who agree with each other upon scarcely any one point of great and general importance; their books contain merely the history of what such and such nations have done in such and such cases, together with the *opinions* of the writers respectively as to what *ought* to be the rules for the conduct of nations towards each other; each writer observing, however, that, unhappily, these rules are frequently set at nought.——The editor of the Morning Chronicle says, that no one will deny, "that established usage, that general "opinion, that the habit of regulating the "conduct of nations by the recognised "principles which have been laid down in "the *code* of public laws, have tended to "mitigate the abuse of power, and to "afford protection to those who were inca-"pable of self-defence." Of the tendency of usage, of general opinion, and of habit, we will speak by-and-by; but, why will Mr. Spankie talk of "a *code* of public "laws?" When we talk of a code of laws, we mean something that has a real existence; something that we know *where to find*; something that contains a description of the acts commanded or forbidden, and which takes care to provide a punishment for transgressors. But this "code" of Mr. Spankie's has no real existence; it is no where to be found; no man, or body of men, have ever had authority to make this code; no nation has ever recognized the existence of such a code; and there is no power on earth, either appointed or self-created, to cause its provisions or its maxims to be put in force. Is it not absurd, then, to talk of "a *code* of public *laws*?" And was there ever any thing more completely "a creature of the imagination?"——But, as far as the writings of Grotius and others have operated as a code of laws; as far as they have had an effect upon the conduct of nations, I do deny, though Mr. Spankie asserts that no man will deny it; I do deny, that they have "tended to mi-"tigate the abuse of power, and to afford "protection to those who are incapable of "self-defence;" and, in support of this denial, I have no need of any thing more than this universally acknowledged truth, that, in all cases, where laws can, with impunity, be set at defiance by the strong, the weak are in a worse situation than if there was no law at all, the law being then, in fact, nothing more than an instrument of oppression. Thus is it amongst the individuals composing a nation, whose laws may be set at nought by the more powerful, while the weak are kept in complete subjection by them; and, thus has it been amongst the nations of Europe, the weak having been checked in their enterprizes, and their improvements in point of power, by rules, which, when incompatible with their own views, the strong have invariably despised. Nor, it is not this "code of "laws" which has tended to mitigate "the "abuse of power," but the rivalship of the strong, their mutual jealousies, their quarrels with one another, and the necessity, which, for their own sakes, they have, at various times, been under, of affording protection, and even of granting favours, to nations incapable of self-defence. France afforded protection to the American States; England afforded protection to Holland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; the little States of Germany were, each in its turn, protected by some great power against some other great power, and tranquillity and happiness were frequently promoted thereby; but, in all this, the "code of public laws," of which Mr. Spankie talks, had not even the most trifling share; and, now, when all this rivalship is at an end, when all mutual jealousies and all quarrelling between great powers upon the continent are extinguished by the overwhelming influence of one power; now it is, that Mr. Spankie would hold up, for our strict observance, his "code of "public laws."—But, this gentleman is so condescending as to allow, that, if there be a nation which sets this code at defiance its enemy may also set it at defiance, *with respect to it*; because the latter "cannot be "bound to submit to a rule of restraint "upon his force, from which his adversary "takes the advantage of being exempted. "Therefore, *with respect to France*, we "have, undoubtedly, *a right of exercising "the law which she practices.*" More than this we need not ask in support of the seizure upon the Danish fleet and naval arsenals; for the *law* (if we must use the term), which she practices, is, to suffer no nation to remain neutral with regard to England, if that nation be placed within the reach of her power. After having gone thus far, it is, therefore, something not much better than "nonsense," to talk about our being still bound by the law of nations towards other powers, and especially those within the reach of France; for, it is in setting that law at defiance with respect to *other powers*, and not with respect to ourselves, that France gains "an *advantage*" over us. "Because France has been unjust "towards Switzerland and Hamburgh, we "have no right to be unjust towards Portu-"gal or Denmark." This, with submission

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to Mr. Spankie, is not the way to state the proposition. He should have said: Because France has seized upon every port and every fleet and every arsenal in Europe, as far as she has hitherto gone, for the evident, and even for the avowed purpose of annihilating the maritime superiority of Great Britain, Great Britain has no right to seize upon any port or any fleet or any arsenal that may yet remain unseized on by France; and, the proposition, thus stated, I am not afraid to leave to the impartial judgment of the reader.——"The main question of right," says Mr. Spankie, after having spoken of the probabilities and the improbabilities of Napoleon's forcing the Danes to take part in the war against us: "The main question of "right," says he, "in the present proceed- "ing, resolves itself into this simple propo- "sition: was it *certain* that Buonaparté "would get possession of the Danish fleet, "if we did not take it?" Now, in my views of the matter, this question, so far from being the main question of right, in this case, is of very trifling importance; for, the probabilities, in my opinion, are on the opposite side, it being pretty evidently the interest of Napoleon to leave the Danes in the enjoyment of that sort of neutrality, which they might be expected to enjoy while a French army lay upon the confines of Holstein; that is to say, a neutrality which would have been much more injurious to us than war on the part of Denmark, as it would have kept open a passage for naval stores from Russia to all the ports of Holland, France, and Spain, and also for a Russian fleet, if, as there is reason to suspect, that power entertains views hostile to England. The question, therefore, is not, whether Napoleon would have got the possession, or the active use, of the Danish *fleet*, but whether he would have got, in fact, the command of the Island of Zealand and of the Danish government; and, that he would not have been long in getting this, I think, most men will readily allow. The comparison of the two people upon a plank, at sea, is, therefore, inapplicable; for, it is not the possession of the Danish fleet merely that is, or, at least, that *ought* to be, the object of the present enterprize, but the place where that fleet happens to lie, and which place, in our hands, is the key to a very important part of the world. Mr. Spankie, in the anecdote about the king of Prussia, again urges the want of *proof*, on our part, that Denmark would have joined France in the war. I think it is rather unreasonable to call for proof of the fact, that, in one way or another, France would have converted Denmark to her purposes against England; but, all that I want to justify the seizure, is, proof of this: that, by suffering the Island of Zealand and the Danish government to pass under the command of Napoleon, or even by suffering Denmark to retain its neutrality, the Baltic would have been kept open for a communication between Russia and all the numerous sea-ports in the possession of France; and this proof is to be found by merely looking at the map of Europe. The holding of the key to the Baltic is an object of vast importance. With that key in *our* hands, what are the ports of Prussia and of Russia? Not only *there* do we make our power felt. All the nations thither trading must feel it; and, Mr. Spankie may be assured, that, amongst the other good effects of this enterprize, we shall have to reckon a complete *settlement* of our dispute with the American States. He says, in this same paper of his (7th September), "It is re- "ported that Mr. Munro has received in- "structions from the Government of Ame- "rica, desiring him *positively to insist on* "*our relinquishing the rights of searching* "*any of their vessels for men, whatever* "*their rank or condition may be.* They do "not require us to give up the right of "search for *merchandize*; but they declare, "that they will never permit any of their "vessels, *whether ships of war or merchant-* "*men*, to have their men taken out, after "they have left their ports."—— Now, grating as it may be to Mr. Spankie and to my friend of the Independent Whig (who has answered *not one* of my arguments); grating as it may be to them to see these high-spirited friends of theirs give way, *give away they must*; and, when they hear of the affair of the Island of Zealand, they will be ready to hang themselves at the recollection of their folly. Their silly and malicious merchants and captains, assembled at St. Petersburgh, together with certain Russians, for the purpose of celebrating the anniversary of American independence, toasted "*the* "*liberty of the seas*;" not supposing it possible, that they would have to ask of this hated England (to see the fall of whom they were on the tip-toe) the liberty of even looking at those seas again.——Mr. Spankie, in conclusion, commiserates the lot of the human race, now that we have, apparently resolved to follow the example of France, in setting at nought his much respected "code of public laws;" and, though I doubt not at all the sincerity of his commiseration, I do greatly doubt the soundness of the opinions whence it has proceeded

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So far from thinking, with him, that this conduct of ours, will render war altogether bloody and exterminating; that it leads to the destruction of society; that it renders entire conquest to the one belligerent or the other not merely a point of ambition, but of necessity; so far from thinking thus, my opinion is, it will have a tendency to diminish the horrors of war, to preserve civil society, and to prevent entire conquest by one or other of the two belligerents, that is to say, by France; for, as to our aiming at universal conquest, nobody thinks it, and Mr. Spankie knows, that the fact is not so. France has conquered all the continent of Europe worth speaking of; and we are now endeavouring, by following her example, to prevent her from becoming mistress of the islands and seas. She has laid all her plans for effecting this object; she has even made great progress in the way of preparing ports and fleets; we, by acting upon her example, are endeavouring to put a stop to that progress, and to place ourselves in a situation to say; "if you will be "the sole sovereign of all the land, we will "be the sole sovereign of all the sea. You "make power the standard of right, and so "must we." Now, though I can easily conceive, how this may tend to subject all Europe to *two* powers, I cannot for the life of me see how it tends to subject her to *one*. Rome and Carthage are of great utility, by way of comparison, when we are speaking of two nations contending for superiority; but, until it be made appear to me, that the circumstances of Europe now are similar to those of the time of the wars of Rome and Carthage, and especially until I am shown that Carthage was the undisputed mistress of the sea, the comparison will, with me, have no weight at all in the argument. I cannot possibly perceive any physical or moral necessity of "the destruction of one or the "other of the two powers" proceeding from the principle upon which we are now acting. Acting upon this principle will, if any thing can, check the ambitious strides of Napoleon; because it will soon convince him, that to take possession of countries is perfectly useless with a view to subdue us, which is now the only great object that remains for him to accomplish.—But, it seems that Mr. Spankie has made a wonderful discovery, namely, that "*a peace*, in all probability, "might be attained *without any sacrifice of* "*honour or of power*," and that, therefore, this desperate proceeding was unnecessary. And, is he really serious? Does he think, that we ought to make peace with France, leaving all the ports and all the fleets and all the arsenals of Europe at her command and the sea open for their operations? Does he think, that, with all this increase of naval means in her hands, a peace of two years would not be unto us inevitable destruction? He means, I suppose, that Napoleon would leave us the Cape and Malta, would restore Hanover to our king (its Elector), and would refrain from demanding a surrender of our maritime rights; but, would this place us upon a footing with France; would this remove the influence of Napoleon from Spain, Italy, and the North of Europe; would this afford us a chance of being able to preserve ourselves against his meditated attacks? In two years of peace he would have a hundred sail of the line to bring against us; and, though we should certainly defeat him at first, he would be able to make us exhaust ourselves even by our victories. "What, "then, are we to have eternal war?" The duration of the war depends not upon us, any more than the duration of a chace depends upon the fox; but, if there be any way in which we can put an end to the war, other than that of yielding our country to the adversary, it is the way which our ministers are now pursuing; because in that way they will convince him, that the longer he continues the war, the greater our relative power will become.——But, this single act, of which we have been speaking, will be nothing, if not well followed up. It is to be considered, I hope, merely as a beginning of a new and vigorous system of warfare. Having locked up the Baltic, we should next demand tribute of the Americans, and of all neutral ships, if there be any, that swim upon the sea. The coasting trade of France, Spain, and Italy should be narrowly watched; and, an option might be left with our cruizers to make prize or take ransom. The whole of the seas should be proclaimed to belong to England, which they do in virtue of the same right upon which Napoleon claims the continent, namely, the right of conquest; and, then, when we came to talk of peace, we might grant him a certain degree of freedom upon the seas, in order to induce him to make such surrender of countries, ports, and arsenals, as would enable us to lay down our arms with safety. This system of acting would, at once, give a new turn to men's thoughts and a new tone to their language. We should no longer hear people describing our country as fallen, as being one amongst the number of those which had become little in comparison with France; and, I am inclined to hope, that the editors of the Morning Chronicle and the Edinburgh Review would cease to advise us

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to submit quietly to our share of the humiliation which the nations of Europe have to endure.——But, while I am exulting in the contemplation of what *might* be done, I have very serious apprehensions as to what *will* be done; and, my fear is, that, when, by the present measure, we shall have put a bridle in the mouth of Russia, and convinced Napoleon, that the longer he continues the war the less chance he will have of subduing us, a proposition to make peace will come, that this proposition, eagerly caught hold of by the Whigs and not much less eagerly caught hold of by the merchants and fund-holders, will be yielded to, and that a peace will be made, in which the security of England will be sacrificed to the calculations of traders and to the restoration of Hanover. I fear this, but I do not wish to be understood as believing that any such intentions are now entertained by the ministers, whose conduct, in the case we have been speaking of, has my unqualified approbation. Not only was the conception excellent, but the thing has been well executed, as far as depended upon the council at home; and, from the publications in the Morning Chronicle, it is very evident to me, that the late ministry would have adopted no such measure; that they would have proceeded in the old course; that, acting upon the principles of Adam Smith and his disciples of the Edinburgh Review (by whom, in fact, they were, in a great degree, governed), they would have given up our maritime rights, as being nothing compared with the profits of trading with France and America. They were full of new projects of sham philanthropy, infused into their minds by the speculators from Edinburgh, who had belonged to a spouting club there with Lord Henry Petty, and who, upon his exaltation, emigrated to the land of promise, and began to quarter themselves upon us with as little ceremony as French soldiers use in a conquered city. This set, one or the other of whom was constantly to be found near the foot of the table of every one of the ministers, had, perhaps, more influence in producing the silly measures of the late administration than all other persons put together. When once a man in whatever situation of life, gives up his ear to another for any length of time, the councils of that other are sure to prevail. "Suffer," says Burke, "any one "to tell you his story every day for a "twelvemonth, and, at the end of the twelve-"month, he is your master." This maxim was verified here, and, by dint of flattery, suppleness, and insinuating importunity, a set of shrewd literary politicians and writers to the Signet had become, in fact, the chief advisers in all the affairs of this great nation, whether foreign or domestic. Their *Review*, as they call it, was still published at Edinburgh, but written in London, the matter of it sealed up and dispatched from the public offices, and, from these very offices, under the seals of the parliamentary reforming Whigs, was actually transmitted to Edinburgh an elaborate *defence of parliamentary corruption*, containing an open avowal, that it is better that seats in parliament should be bought and sold, than that the members should be returned by the voice of the people freely given. The breaking up of this set of greedy intruders was one of the circumstances at which I most rejoiced as attending the dismissal of the late ministers, and, accordingly, I lost no time, as will be seen in the Register of the 21st of March last, to express my satisfaction thereat The underlings of Pitt were bad enough; it was sufficiently disgraceful to be obliged to submit to their sway; but, to be ruled by a set of writers to the Signet was too much even for an Englishman to endure with any degree of patience.——Mortifying, however, as it was to see these men squeezed into parliament, into commissionerships, into all manner of places through which they might draw their nourishment from the labour of the people of England, still in their influence as to our affairs with other nations they were most to be dreaded. They had Adam Smith's *wealth of nations* at their fingers' ends. They could weigh you our gains, or our loss, to the balance of a bank note. Stored with this sort of knowledge, their more wise but less *expert* and less industrious patrons soon became their slaves; and, if I am not much misinformed, the treaty with America, in which we shall find some of our most important maritime rights offered upon the shrine of commercial gain, was chiefly the work of these northern instructors. I am not without my fears, that they are not yet quite extinguished as politicians; for I perceive, that they are beginning to pay some particular compliments to Mr. Perceval and Mr. Canning, besides the sweeping indirect flattery contained in their *defence of parliamentary corruption*. To change patrons they would have no scruple; but I would fain hope, that the present ministers would be of opinion, that those who were the real authors of Mr. Whitbread's poor project, the real inventors of *badges* for English labourers, the real promoters of the conceding treaty with America, will bring no strength to their party; and, if this should be their opinion, Lord Henry Petty must e'en charter

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the Berwick smack again and transport his beloved friends back to their own country. ——It is to an opinion generally prevailing in England amongst impartial men, that the late ministers, partly from their own dispositions that way, and partly from the influence of these disciples of Adam Smith, would have made, as soon as an opportunity offered, an insecure peace; it is to this opinion, in a considerable degree, that is to be ascribed the little regret, which has, at any period, been expressed at the dismission of those ministers, who, while they had completely disappointed the people in all their hopes of *reform* at home, appeared to be upon the watch for opportunities of sacrificing their interests in all concerns with foreign nations. A pamphlet about "*the state of the nation*," written by one of these newly imported politicians, puffed off, at the public expence, as the production, first of Mr. Fox, and next of Lord Holland, and the editions of which were multiplied by the old trick of altering the title page; this pamphlet, published for the purpose of feeling the nation's pulse, contained an epitome of the principles, upon which, as relating to foreign nations, the Whigs meant to act. The public pulse did not beat in harmony with it; for, though the people wished for peace, they did not wish it upon the insecure and disgraceful terms, to which, from the tone of that pamphlet, they must have concluded the Whigs were ready to accede. It was, in fact, this puffed-off pamphlet that gave the first alarm as to the Whig principles of peace and war; and, I may venture to say, that, with the exception of their profligate breach of promise with respect to a reform of abuses, this silly pamphlet did them more harm than any thing else. Good men, whatever they may think of the ministry of the day; however they may abhor their selfishness and despise their capacities, still love the country; still, amidst all their indignation and resentment, wish to preserve that; and, therefore, there were very few persons to be found, perhaps not one perfectly disinterested person in the whole kingdom, who cordially liked the Whig ministry, and particularly after the death of Mr. Fox, whose name had been its great stay and support.——The Morning Chronicle has a little insinuating sentence, in the tail of the article above inserted, from which it appears, that the editor perceives, at no great distance, a state of things, resulting from this new policy of ours, which will induce persons concerned in trade to be clamourous for peace, and a peace, too, such as the writer supposes might, without the Danish war, have been concluded between this country and France. There occurs to me no reason for believing that such a state of things will arise; for, in spite of all the prohibitions that the ingenuity of man can invent and that the power of man can enforce, goods and merchandises, like money, will find their way to the places where there is a want of them, and the only evil arising from prohibitions will be that of enhanced price to the consumer. But, be the consequences to trade and commerce what they may; be the clamours of commercial men what they may, if the ministers persevere in the principles they have now acted on, they will have the support of the nation; and the Whigs are the most deceived of mankind, if they expect to be able to force themselves into the cabinet through the aid of a commercial clamour for peace. All impartial men see, or will soon see, that measures, such as that which is now prosecuting, are necessary to prevent the subjugation of this country; and knowing, as all men must, that it is in the power of our great enemy to render the continuation of these measures unnecessary whenever he pleases, we need be in no fear as to what will be, with respect to our conduct, the final opinion of the world.

Botley, Sept. 10, 1807.

STATE OF IRELAND.

SIR,——The late events on the continent, and their inevitable consequence the invasion of these countries, require from all thinking people a very constant attention to what is passing in, and with respect to, Ireland; because this proposition is incontrovertible, viz. If Ireland is conquered by Buonaparté, England will also be conquered by him. Let then all of us in due time consider the nature of the security that we possess, for the continuance of the connection between this country and Ireland. We have the act of union, our army, and the attachment of the Irish people as the only grounds on which this connection can be said to exist. But, Mr. Pitt declared in the House of Commons, when explaining the cause of his retiring from office in 1801, that he thought the emancipation of the Catholics necessary to complete the measure of Union. (Woodfall, v. 14.161.) We, therefore, have his authority for the imperfect nature of our tenure of Ireland by the Act of Union. If we look to our army in Ireland, we shall find that also a very imperfect title to this valuable country; that part of it which is composed of English troops, consisting of about 8000 men, is certainly as

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good a force as can be desired; but, if England is herself invaded or seriously threatened, these would of course be withdrawn; and then Ireland would remain to be defended by her own militia, and her own volunteers. Of the Irish militia it is unnecessary to say more, than that the whole of the men, with some trifling exceptions, are Catholics, and that they, not being under the control of the priests, or commanded by Catholic officers, are of all the Catholics of Ireland the most likely to make mistakes, (as two regiments before did at Castlebar), if opposed to a French force. The volunteers of Ireland proved themselves before the Union the most loyal subjects of his Majesty. I hope that that measure has not produced any alteration in their sentiments, though I must confess that I have very serious apprehensions that they still abhor and detest it. Under these circumstances it is that our army in Ireland is somehow or other to be equal to cope with a French force, whenever such a force may land; but to me it does appear impossible that such an army could stand a week before 10,000 French soldiers. If we look to security in the loyalty of the people of Ireland to the connection with Great Britain, as a sufficient protection of the continuance of that connection, I fear, with Mr. Grattan, that we shall be greatly disappointed. I do not mean to accuse the Irish nation of a want of loyalty to their king or country, but I cannot help judging of the extent of it that animates it from past and recent circumstances. I begin with those of 1798. The report of the Secret Committee of the Irish House of Commons informs us, that the rebellion of this year commenced in the North, and that nearly the whole body of the Presbyterians were concerned in it; that the Catholics were afterwards invited to join the Presbyterians; that they did so, and, finally, that nearly all the Catholics of Ireland were also concerned in it. From this authority we may infer that 9-10ths of the population of Ireland were in 1798 in open rebellion against the connection with Great Britain, taking the population at 5 millions, the Catholics at 4 millions, and the Presbyterians at ½ a million, an inference that entirely agrees with the statements of Lord Clare, Dr. Duigenan, Deputy Birch, Lord Limerick, and Mr. Giffard, and of all those eminent characters who oppose emancipation and advise martial law. This being the state of things in Ireland in 1798, let those persons answer these two questions who now maintain that we can defend Ireland without conceding to the Catholics. 1st. Has any thing happened since 1798 to change the sentiments of these 9-10ths of the people from a wish to separate the two countries, into a wish to see them more firmly connected? 2dly. Has any thing happened since 1798 to change the sentiments of the remaining 1-10th, who shed their blood so profusely and loyally in defence of the connection, and to induce them to become less anxious to uphold and support the connection? To the first question every candid man must answer by an unqualified negative. Nothing has happened that can have conciliated the mind of the disaffected of Ireland. But, on the contrary, when, at length, a parliament and a ministry existed favourable to their views, because they were so, both have been dissolved.—To the second question he must answer: yes. Those loyal Protestants who stood firm in the hour of danger, who enabled us to maintain the connection with Ireland, have had great reason to complain of our conduct towards them: we forced the measure of union upon them in spite of their attachment to their parliament, and the rights that we acknowledged in 1782 to belong to them. We undertook to give them peace by the Union; they have already experienced the horrors of one insurrection in their own metropolis, and they are still exposed to all the horrors of religious feuds and divisions. And can we, then, expect to derive from the Irish all the aid of ardent loyalty in protecting our interests, and opposing our enemies? The delusion is too great to exist one moment in the weakest understanding; the truth is, we must conciliate Ireland or Ireland will be lost. God grant that the same blind and obstinate policy which has influenced all public measures during a long period of time may not deprive us of Ireland, as it before tore from us our American possessions. The conduct of the present ministers bears so strict an analogy to the mad policy of those who governed in the American war, that I cannot refrain from referring to it. What was their conduct with regard to America? Whose counsels did they despise? What measures did they adopt? What issue did they produce? They despised the counsels of Mr. Burke, who advised conciliation. They adopted measures of coercion, and a military system of government. They lost America; and so will these ministers, in the same manner, lose Ireland, if they neglect, in time, to avail themselves of an unqualified concession to the Irish Catholics of their just and natural rights.——I have the honour to be, &c.

MENTOR.

July 31, 1807.

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IRISH INSURRECTION BILL.

SIR,—The debate which took place in the House of Commons on the third time of reading the bill for suspending the constitution in Ireland, affords another melancholy proof, if any further proof were wanted, of the mode in which the present ministers mean to govern Ireland; and it affords a still more melancholy spectacle of the weakness of human nature in the speech of a great patriot on that memorable occasion. Mr. Grattan finding himself called upon too loudly to be silent, in order to account for his approbation of this bill on a former night, at length declared, though he did not venture to disclose his authority, "*that he had been told*, there was a French party in Ireland who were ready to avow themselves the moment the enemy reached the Irish shore." And, yet, oh, most lamentable inconsistency! in the very next sentence, he declares, that he does not impute to his countrymen any determined design to destroy the fundamental policy of British connection. "But," says he, "I still assert there is a French party in Ireland;" he then resorts to the old Pitt argument, that by suspending the constitution it will ultimately be preserved. He ought rather to have said, "if there is such a party, disarm them, by improving the condition of the people, and leaving them no temptation to seek for foreign aid." Is it possible, that such an instance of inconsistency can exist in human nature, as that a man, who, in the very heat of a rebellion, warmly espoused the cause of those whom he termed his injured countrymen, and was himself within an inch of being falsely accused, should, all at once, and without producing any satisfactory motive for his conduct, join in the very measures he has so long and so uniformly reprobated; and at length prefer the desperate mode of governing by force, to that of redress and conciliation: is it possible that Henry Grattan can have made the speech imputed to him in the papers of Tuesday, July 28th? For God's sake, let him declare how the situation of Ireland is different now from what it was in 1798. What boon, what favour, what concession have the Irish received from the English government, to make them more attached to it now than they were then. I say this, supposing that there is a French party in Ireland, which I do not believe, for I am verily and truly of opinion, that notwithstanding all the Irish do suffer, and have suffered, there is not a body of men in the whole country of an hundred strong, that would any where join the French on their landing, because they know that the French would treat them worse than they are now treated. The state of Ireland, from the time of Henry 2d. to the present moment, I have always commiserated, and till I see a disposition on the part of the English government to redress her grievances, and to govern her by kindness rather than by force, I shall applaud every lawful effort she makes to obtain what she has so long in vain attempted to obtain, either as a right or a favour. The stupifying authority of a great name must have been excessive, when only eight members could be found in the House of Commons to vote against a bill for which not one atom of necessity was produced, and without one promise being given, that it was merely a measure of precaution, preparatory to more lenient and conciliatory treatment.—— Yours,——W. BURDON.——*Hartford, near Morpeth.*

IRISH CATHOLICS.

SIR,——Your second letter to Mr. Perceval, and the letter of Civis in the last number of your Register, have put the Catholic Question in so clear a point of view, that until some reply shall be given to your remarks, I shall suppose that they carry general conviction with them. I would not, therefore, again trouble you upon this subject, were it not to introduce an anecdote in very modern history, which proves that Mr. Pitt was not the first statesman who conceived an idea of an union with Ireland, and Catholic emancipation, which ought, in my opinion, to have been one and the same measure.——In the appendix to Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, he relates the following anecdote, as he calls it: "It was "intended, in April of the year 1776, that "the late earl of Rochford, with whom I "had the honour to live more like a brother "than a friend, should succeed the Earl "of Harcourt in the government of Ire-"land. Lord Rochford shewed me his "Majesty's note about it, and said he had "asked time from his royal master to con-"sider. He told me his reason for doing "so was, that as continual residence in "Ireland for three years, was the under-"stood condition of his going there, he "could not submit, at his age, to so long "an exile, unless he could do some great "good there, and get some great fame: "that two objects occurred to him; the "one, to procure a repeal of the penal "laws against Roman Catholics, and the "other to bring about an union with Ire-"land: that both seemed visionary, and "yet he could not get them out of his head:

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" that the dearest friend he had in the " world was Lord Harcourt, and that he " would be obliged to me, if I would go " over to Ireland, let Lord Harcourt know " the offer which he (Lord Rochford) had " got, his hesitation, and his two views, " and receive Lord Harcourt's opinions and " reasons on those views, which could be " better done by conversation than by let- " ters. When I delivered my letter to the " Lord Lieutenant, he smiled, and said, " " a Nassau may do in this country what I " cannot; and Rochford is frank and open, " and will please the Irish. But what you " come about requires much talking over." " I staid a week with him, at his country " house. With regard to the penal laws, " he thought there was not much diffi- " culty; that the Roman Catholics were " all on the side of England, and of the " king of England, in the American war; " and that very good use might be made of " the . in the course of it; and there are " men now serving, high both in church " and state, who remember the conversa- " tions on that head, and that they thought " on it as he did. But with regard to the " other object, Lord Harcourt thought " there were great difficulties, though per- " haps not insurmountable."——I will not continue the extract—Lord Harcourt proposed that 100 commoners should represent Ireland, and 40 peers; but supposed it would require time to persuade the Irish nation to consent to an union. With regard to the repeal of the penal laws against the Roman Catholics, there seems to have been a general concurrence, in 1776; and though Mr. Pitt, when he effected the union in 1801, could not promise, what he had not the power of himself to perform, yet no rational man in Ireland could suppose, that he would have authorised Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh to give the assurances which they did give to the leading Roman Catholics, unless he had previously known his Majesty's sentiments on the subject. Such, however, appeared to be the case. The fact stated by Lord Harcourt that the Roman Catholics were all on the side of England in the American war, we all know to be true; and that they were of essential service is also true. But if it was of importance in that day that they should side with England, of how much more importance is it that they should to a man do so now. What has been left undone by senseless bigotry, since the late ministers were turned out, to provoke the Catholics to acts of indiscretion at least, if not to drive them to desperation; for, as you very justly remark, no addresses were presented, no clergyman thought the church in danger by Lord Howick's bill, until it was clear the late ministers had no chance of being restored to their offices. Much praise is bestowed on the Roman Catholics of Ireland for their moderation under the unmerited abuse which has been levelled at them. But it is a mistake to suppose that this moderation is the result of apathy, or from their not feeling as they ought after such provocation. They have a confidence in the good sense of the people of England, who, though they may be misled for a time by the arts of designing men, will soon be ashamed of their own conduct. Indeed, I believe a very great majority of those who joined in the cry of " No Popery," are already ashamed of themselves for having joined in it.

A PROTESTANT, BUT NO BIGOT.

7th June, 1807.

POLICE MAGISTRATES.

SIR,—The impartiality and justice which form so prominent a feature in your excellent Weekly Publication, will, I have not any doubt, secure the insertion of an answer to the attack made by the Kentish Magistrate on that very useful body of men, the Police Magistrates.—The first charge advanced by your correspondent is, that at a contest for a choice of treasurer of the county for Surrey some years ago, the police magistrates interfered, to the extreme disgust of the country gentlemen. Now, Sir, with regard to the interference of police magistrates, I see no objection to that, provided it be not done in an illegal way, or the influence of office be not unduly made use of. What reason or justice is there in excluding a police magistrate from exercising a right which he has in common with his fellow citizens? If the office of magistracy had been debased by its influence being used illegally or unduly, why not bring the offender to justice in the same manner you would any other criminal? " But this has been done to the extreme disgust of country gentlemen, and whatever excites their disgust must be wrong." This appears to be the argument of the Kentish Magistrate; but, I deny that an act which causes disgust in country gentlemen, must necessarily be wrong. You, Mr. Cobbett, have assisted in tearing away the veil which covered the abuses of the state, and have discovered naked to the public view their horrible deformities. This manly and patriotic conduct has excited disgust, great disgust amongst country gentlemen, I mean such of them as have grown rich by public plunder, or who thrive by that disease which you seek

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to cure (and towards which exposure is the first step; for before proper remedies can be applied towards the cure of a disease, you must be acquainted with its nature). And country gentlemen of this description are the persons who have most influence in county affairs. It therefore does not by any means follow of necessity, that to excite disgust in country gentlemen is to do wrong. And, I have my suspicions that in the instance alluded to, though I have not any other knowledge of the transaction than what is furnished by your correspondent, that the country gentlemen (by which expression I mean the description of them above alluded to) found an opposition to their views to which they had previously received implicit obedience. All before was snug and comfortable. They sailed on a smooth sea, not a breeze was stirring of public spirit to impede their course. It is, therefore, extremely natural that the gale blown up by the police magistrates, should have excited something like dissatisfaction in the minds of the country gentlemen. However this may be, Mr. Cobbett, and supposing the conduct of the police magistrates to have been as bad as the nature of the case could possibly admit of, can *your correspondent* unblushingly present the accusation of undue interference at elections! It is a rule in our courts of law, that a suitor for redress must come with clean hands. Then shall a *person who classes himself with the magistrates of Middlesex* obtain redress *through your Register* on the ground of improper interference at elections? The conduct of the magistrates on that occasion was such, that it no sooner presents itself than all other acts of that nature are lost. The stars attract attention, but no sooner does the sun make his appearance than they vanish from the view. "But independently of the impropriety of such interference, it is improper and alarming that persons appointed, paid by, and removeable at the will of the crown, should act, much more preside, at the sessions of those counties where their offices are situated; their so doing not only weakens, (I might say destroys) the benefit of an appellant jurisdiction, but lessens the magistracy in the eyes of the people." This, Sir, is your correspondent's statement, but what impropriety or alarm can arise, I confess I am utterly at a loss to conjecture, unless he means that if a person who holds a place under the crown, should follow the dictates of his own judgment when opposed to the interests of the crown, he will receive his dismissal. And, therefore, it is to be apprehended that he will not act conscientiously in his office. A pretty compliment this for a magistrate, a servant of the crown, to pay to his master! An associate of the magistrates of Middlesex too, alarmed at magisterial influence being improperly applied! Your correspondent has put the signature of a Kentish Magistrate to his letter; but, I suspect that he is not entitled to the character which he has assumed, or he never would have been ignorant that the charges which he has brought against the police magistrates, apply with equal force to the county magistrates. Are not the county magistrates appointed by, and removeable at the mere will of the crown, equally with the police officers? And do not county magistrates preside at sessions to which appeals from their acts must come, and where persons whom they have committed, and against whom they have received *ex parte* evidence must be tried? Your correspondent also states, that he has been at the Middlesex sessions when police magistrates *exclusively* occupied the Bench? Is not this a strong argument in favour of police magistrates? Does it not show that county magistrates neglect the duties of their office, and prove the necessity that persons on whom more reliance can be placed should have a power co-extensive with themselves? "But when they attend," it is objected "that they have undisputed powers of the bench." This I consider to be the effect of superiority of mind, which ought to give them the ascendancy. That they are superior in understanding, cannot be denied. The discovery of the guilt of Patch, who was convicted of murdering his master, proves the assertion. And many other instances might be adduced, but one is sufficient. It is foreign from my intention to enter into a discussion of the merits and demerits of our police system, for demerits I admit it has, though not of the nature mentioned by your correspondent. I mean merely to confine myself to answer the charges advanced by your Maidstone correspondent.—I am, Sir, yours.——R. R——E.

BALLOT SYSTEM.

Sir,——I have read with peculiar satisfaction the remarks in your last paper on the Ballotting System. I beg leave to observe, that whenever a ballot takes place in the metropolis, a gang of notorious swindlers immediately publish pompous bills and advertisements, and open offices in different parts of the town, under pretence of insuring substitutes for those who are so unfortunate as to be drawn. Many of these fellows are actually confined in the King's Bench and Fleet Prison, who, with the assistance of an

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active, roguish agent out of doors, manage their business so adroitly as to extort some thousands from the honest and industrious part of the community. These swindling adventurers have no intention of satisfying their claimants. Their only object is to receive all they can, and the moment the ballot commences is the signal for winding up accounts, shutting up their offices, and decamping with the cash. It is *a fact, that, at the period when the army of reserve was set on foot, a notorious swindler, now dead, made more than £1,500 in about five months, by robbing livery servants, mechanics and shopmen of their hard earnings, without finding or ever intending to find, a single substitute for any person who insured with him.* One High Constable realized a handsome fortune by insuring; and now lives in the stile of a nobleman. When Mr. Yorke, as Secretary at War, was apprized of such improper practices, he endeavoured to stop them by a clause inflicting a penalty of £100, on every High Constable taking insurances. This, permit me to say, has been completely evaded. A confidential person is now employed, who, with the assistance of some of the clerks, acting under the court of lieutenancy, realise very considerable sums without the possibility of detection; the opportunities they have of exonerating their subscribers from the effects of the ballot, (at least for a time) must be evident to every one. The drawing takes place. Some of their *customers* are fixed on. The return of *non est inventus* on the back of the precept is received as a matter of course without any further investigation. The penalty is now doubled. *Twenty pounds* instead of *ten pounds*. Of course, all the tricks alluded to will be played off with redoubled vigour. ——Yours.—A. C. R.

PUBLIC PAPER.

WAR WITH DENMARK.—*Declaration published by the Court of Denmark against England.*

All Europe is acquainted with the system which Denmark has followed, during a period of 15 years of war and disturbance, with unceasing perseverance. The rigid observance of a free and impartial neutrality, and the conscientious fulfilment of all the duties belonging thereunto, have formed the object of all its wishes and all its efforts. The Danish Government, in its relations and connections with other States, has never lost sight of that simplicity, which was inseparable from the purity of its sentiments and its love of peace, and which it cannot be suspected of having once changed or debilitated. Hitherto Providence has blessed our undertakings. Without injustice, without any ground of reproach from any of the other Powers, we succeeded in keeping up a good understanding with the whole of them. This state of peace and tranquillity is suddenly annihilated. The English Government, after having long neglected its own interests by a shameful inactivity, and after having betrayed its allies into a vexatious and uncertain struggle, has suddenly developed all its power and activity, to attack a neutral and peaceable State, without any complaint against the same. The means for dissolving the ancient and sacred connections which united Denmark to Great Britain, have been prepared with as much secrecy as promptitude. The Danish Government saw the English ships of war upon their coast without even the conjecture that they were to be employed against Denmark. The island of Zealand was surrounded, the capital threatened, and the Danish territories violated and injured, before the Court of London had made use of a single word to express the hostility of its feelings. This hostility, however, soon became evident:—Europe will with difficulty believe what it will hear. The basest, the most violent and cruel object which could ever have been taken up, has no other foundation than some pretended information, or rather that of a mere rumour of an attempt, which, according to the English Ministry, was to have taken place, in order to draw Denmark into an hostile alliance against Great Britain—Upon these pretended grounds, which the least degree of discussion immediately would have shewn as being founded upon arbitrary measures alone, the English Government declared to the Court of Denmark, in the most imperious manner, that in order to secure its own interests, and to provide for its own safety, it could leave Denmark no other choice than a war, or a close alliance with Great Britain. And what kind of alliance did they offer? An alliance, the first guarantee of which, as a pledge of the subjection of Denmark, was to have delivered up all her ships of war to the British Government. There could be no hesitation as to the alternative that was to be adopted. This opening being made, as scandalous in its offers as in its menaces—as offensive in the manner as in the thing itself—left no room for negociation. The most justifiable and rooted disdain naturally absorbed every other feeling. Placed between danger and dishonour the Danish Government had no choice. The war commenced: Denmark was by no means blind to the dangers, to the losses with which she

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was threatened by this war. Attacked in the most unexpected and dishonourable manner, exposed in a separate province, and in a manner cut off from all the means of defence, and forced into an unequal contest, she could not flatter herself with escaping a very material injury. Unspotted honour, however, still remained for her to defend, as well as that reputation which she had earned as the price of her upright conduct.—Denmark, therefore, flatters herself that, on the part of the Powers of Europe, she will not appeal in vain. Let impartial Cabinets judge whether England was under the political necessity of sacrificing another State without hesitation, to her own safety; a State which had neither offended nor provoked her. Depending upon the justice of her cause, trusting in Providence, and in the love and loyalty of a people to a Prince, whose mild sceptre, under Providence, is swayed over an united, brave, and faithful people, the Danish Government flatters itself that it will be able to acquit itself without weakness, of the hard and painful task which has been imposed upon it by necessity. The Government of Denmark believes it has a right to reckon upon the interest and justice of the Cabinets of Europe, and they particularly hope for the effects of the same on the parts of those illustrious Sovereigns, whose objects and alliances have served the English for a pretext, and to give a colour to the most crying act of injustice, and whose object is to offer England the means of making a general atonement for an act of violence, which, even in England, every noble and generous mind will disown; which deforms the character of a virtuous Sovereign, and will ever remain a scandal in the annals of Great Britain.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

BUENOS AYRES.—*Manifesto of his excellency the Viceroy of Peru, on the Capture of Buenos Ayres by the English.*

[From the Peruvian Minerva.]

Although I am convinced, the perusal of the three proclamations, published at the city of Buenos Ayres by the English General Beresford, must have filled with indignation the breasts of all his Majesty's loyal subjects, and particularly of those who enjoy the happiness of inhabiting this metropolis, so much favoured and distinguished by our Sovereigns; yet I cannot refrain from indulging myself in pointing out to my countrymen, the venom, hidden under the hypocritical professions of the enemy, therein contained; for which purpose, without recurring to any other arguments, I shall confine myself solely to a retrospect of the recent atrocious conduct observed by that nation in every quarter of the globe. Years after years have set in and passed, during which all Europe has witnessed the English Government using every means it can invent, for cementing and propagating its detestable tyranny, availing itself of every circumstance favouring such a purpose; stooping to practices the most vile and infamous, setting aside the most sacred principles of the rights of man, and trampling upon all the usages and customs, for many ages universally received and observed amongst civilized nations. Far from proceeding either in carrying on war or negociating peace, with that noble frankness and good faith, the characteristics of nations generous and brave, it recurs to dark artifices of fiction and seduction, to dazzle and corrupt the unwary, who are weak enough to trust and confide in his perfidious promises. Such is the object of the three proclamations which I have mentioned; to lull to sleep the understanding of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, with hopes of an imaginary happiness; to blindfold them, that they may not perceive the abyss of evil which surrounds them: to cover, as with a garland of flowers, the iron chains which their oppressors have prepared for them; to stupify the native energy of those active Spaniards; to alienate from their hearts, if it is possible, the love, the fidelity, and gratitude they owe to the most benevolent and just of all Monarchs; to prevail upon them, for ever, to lay down their arms, nor think of avenging themselves and retrieving their lost honour, but solely to aspire to the felicity of being numbered among the vilest slaves of the Tyrant of the Seas. From these motives, they speak of the great advantages which they pretend would result from an alliance with Great Britain: under that Government, they say, oppression is unknown; they promise immediately to free their commerce from the heavy duties and imposts to which it has been subjected, to respect the Catholic religion and its holy Ministers, and that the local laws and national customs shall remain untouched: and they conclude with stating, that their only object is to protect the Eastern coasts of South America, and render it a country the most prosperous in the universe. But where is the man of sense and judgement, who does not immediately discover, under such affected expressions, the vile language of hypocrisy and fiction, so foreign to the intrepid soldier, and natural only to the cowardly legions of those sordid islanders? Where is the man

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whose blood does not boil on hearing the sacred names of protection, humanity, and benevolence, pronounced by a government, stained with recent robberies, perfidies, and murders? by a goverment which does not cease sowing the seeds of discord and rebellion every where; by a government which has so lately before our eyes kindled a fire in the fairest part of the globe [alluding to Europe], whose provinces we have so recently seen inundated with streams of the blood of its inhabitants?—by a government, which has so basely forsaken its allies, by hastily withdrawing its troops from all those parts where any of the invincible battalions of Buonaparte made their appearance?—by a government whose friendship has proved so baneful and ruinous to so many powerful Princes, and covered with mourning and desolation the immense countries situated between the fertile banks of the Adige, and the frozen lakes of Bohemia?—by a government, lastly, which has so long endeavoured to erect the throne of tyranny upon the spoils and tombs of all other nations, and which of late years, has not even shrunk, in the face of the whole world, to adopt, as a basis of its machiavelian system of politics, the plan of perpetual war; a plan at which humanity shudders; a plan which posterity will record and hand down to our remotest descendants, as a memorable monument of the ferocity and barbarity to which egotism and a thirst for monopoly can precipitate a nation which lents its ear to no voice, but that of its arrogant and unnatural avarice?—Generous men of Lima! Let us fling far from us, with that contempt which they so well deserve, those infamous proclamations, with which the English General pretends to surprise the innate fidelity of our countrymen, who inhabit the banks of the river Plata. Let us look upon them as an insult to our honour, as an attempt against our happiness, and a plan directed to the destruction of our native land.—Merchants! the same men, who now pretend to have possessed themselves of Buenos Ayres, solely with a view of protecting our commerce, are the same who have precipitated it into a state of ruin, so prejudicial to your useful speculations, and to which you see it reduced. They are the same who commenced the present hostilities, by capturing three of the King's frigates, and blowing up another. They are the same who seized upon your defenceless ships peaceably navigating the seas, under a confidence that the Spanish flag, which they displayed in the air, would protect them against all injuries from a nation with which we were not then at war. A general indignation was manifested by all the Cabinets of Europe; but even this was insufficient to induce those avaricious and cruel islanders to restore the treasures which they had so unjustly taken, with the blood of so many innocent victims.—"Spaniards! That perfidious nation which now pretends to appear to the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, as of all others, the most humane, is the same which, not six years since, sent a squadron and an army before Cadiz, at a time when the plague reigned within its walls, spreading horror and destruction. The English Admiral, who, from his cabin windows, could feast his eyes with the spectacle of mountains of corpses, yet unburied, and the gloomy light of the funeral piles, yet had the courage to challenge our valiant chief to surrender, or to prepare himself to suffer all the rigours of the war. The commander of a Moorish corsair, having fallen in with a convoy, carrying victuals and medicines, at the expence of the Pope, to the city of Marseilles, then infested by destructive plague, not only refrained from capturing those ships, but spontaneously convoyed them to the port of their destination; and the English Admiral, on a similar occasion, threw balls and shells into Cadiz, with an intent of reducing it to a heap of ruins.—Spaniards! Those who now publish a law at Buenos Ayres, enjoining slaves to obey their masters, are the same who fomented, and still continue to encourage, in the island of St. Domingo, the most atrocious rebellion recorded in the annals of nations. We have all witnessed that, while the sanguinary Dessalines, at the head of innumerable bands of assassins, marched along the coasts, with the murdering steel in one hand, and the incendiary torch in the other, with fire and sword, spreading desolation, destruction, and death wheresoever he went, an English squadron vigorously blockaded the capital, in order that no one solitary victim might escape the African fury.—Indians! You who are such interesting objects of the tender care of our most amiable monarch! That nation, which has taken possession of Buenos Ayres, has ever treated the Aborigines of America and Asia with the most inhuman cruelty. When, in the course of the last century, they found it impracticable, by force of arms, to subjugate the brave inhabitants of the Floridas, they concluded a specious peace, and, during that peace, regaled them with poisoned liquors and clothes, which caused death without number. Their East India Company has already extirpated the greatest number of the mild inhabitants of Malabar, Bengal, and Coromandel, and would extirpate them all by one single blow, if they re-

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quired not their labour in the manufactories of their richest stuffs. That terrible famine is still recent in our memory, when millions of Indians perished, and which being foreseen by the English factories, they timely stored all the rice, and other provisions, which the scanty harvest of that year had yielded! Indians! wheresoever the English nation has gained a footing, your's has been enslaved, reduced, and destroyed without mercy.—All you people, inhabitants of Peru! let us, on this important occasion, display all our loyalty and courage. Let us speedily wash away the foul stain cast upon the arms of Spain by the surrender of Buenos Ayres. Let us instantly fly to arms, in the defence of our holy faith, and of our beloved sovereign; and let us plunge into the deep currents of the river La Plate those outcasts of smugglers and pirates, who having by surprise possessed themselves of one of the most interesting parts of America, diffident of the power of their arms, and in dread of our just vengeance, now attempt, by means of the detestable artifices of seduction, to induce us to forego the performance of our most sacred and inviolable duties, and to turn deaf ears to the pathetic and penetrating voice with which our country now calls upon us for assistance.

COMMERCIAL REGULATIONS IN ST. DOMINGO.—The Council of State, upon the proposition of the President and Generalissimo of the Land and Sea Forces of the Island of Hayti, enacts the following law:

Art. 1. from the first of July next, the duty of ten per cent. laid by the 1st article of the decree of the 2d of September, 1806, is and shall be suspended upon the exportation of sugar, cotton, and cocoa. It shall only be retained upon coffee. 3. It shall hereafter be lawful for vessels of every description, foreigners or others, freely to export sugar, cotton, and cocoa; upon which article it is forbidden to exact any duty whatever. 3. The duty of one-fourth, imposed upon the produce raised by the farmers of the State, by the 5th article of the decree relating to the mode of renting the national domains of the 22d December, 1794, shall be hereafter abolished. 4. The farmers of the State shall be subjected to no other charges than the payment of the rent of their farms. 5. The superintendant-General of the Finances is strictly enjoined to carry the above into execution.—Done at the Cape, the 20th June, 1807, 4th year of independence.—A. Vernet, Jean Phillipi Daux, Juge Fleury, Maguy, Secretary, Toussaint Brave, Raphael Manuel, Paul Romain, Chairman, Martial Besse, Jean Baptiste. We, the President and Generalissimo of the land and sea forces of the state of Hayti, have sanctioned and do hereby sanction the present law, and direct, that the seal of the state shall be thereunto affixed, and that the same be published and carried into execution throughout the territory of Hayti. Given at the Palace at the Cape, 21st June, 1807, 4th year of Independence. HENRY CHRISTOPHE.

AMERICAN VESSELS.——*The following Letter has been transmitted to Ireland and circulated there:*—

Whitehall, 23d July, 1807.—My Lord,—I have the honour to transmit to your Grace the copy of a notice given by the Commissioners of the Customs to the merchants concerned in the trade with the United States of America, and to the masters of all American vessels, informing them, that according to a determination of the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, ships being American property, but not the built of America, or condemned as prize within the United States, sailing under sea letters, cannot be considered as American vessels, and consequently entitled to import into this kingdom, under the 37th Geo. III. cap. 97, which Act was continued until the 1st June, 1807, by the 46th of his Majesty, cap. 16, and the regulations contained therein, directed by his Majesty's Order in Council, dated 27th May, 1807, to be duly observed until other provision should be made; and directing the officers of that revenue to conform to the above determination of their Lordships, so far as they were or might be respectively concerned; and I have to request, that your Grace would give directions for promulgating the same among the merchants in Ireland concerned in the trade with the United States.—At the same time, in order to prevent inconvenience to the merchants from the said determination not having been sooner made known to them, I beg leave to recommend to your Grace to give directions for admitting to entry such American ships of the above description as may arrive in the ports of Ireland prior to the 31st of Oct., after which day the rule that ships being American property, but not of the built of America and sailing under sea letters, should not be considered as entitled to import under the Act 37th Geo. III. cap 97. should be invariably adhered to. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.—HAWKESBURY.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER:

VOL. XII. No. 12.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1807. [PRICE 10D.

"There hath been, within the compass of few years, much talk, and, God knows, too many ill-"effects too, of Factions in this kingdom; and we have lived, in our days, to see the two great "Parties, of late known by the name of Whig and Tory, directly change their ground; and those, "who were formerly the Anti-Courtiers, become as pliant and obsequious, as ever they were who "had been the most found fault with on that score. But, we are humbly of opinion, that, at this "time of day, neither of those Parties have the game in their hands, as they have formerly fancied "to themselves. But they who shall be so honest, and so wise, constantly to prefer the true "Interest of England to that of any other country or people, preserve the Religion and the Laws, "promote and protect the Trade of the Nation, thriftily and providently administer the public Trea-"sure, AND STUDY TO MAINTAIN THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SEAS, SO NATURALLY, SO AN-"CIENTLY, AND SO JUSTLY THE TRUE DEFENCE OF THIS KINGDOM; this Body, whomsoever "it shall be composed of, shall have the Weight of England on its side; and if there can be any "of another frame, they must, in the end, prove so many miserable ROTTEN REEDS."——Preface to Lord Clarendon's History, p. ix.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.——The motto, which I have chosen for the present sheet, and which, with the exception of one sentence, then inapplicable to my subject, I took upon a former occasion, would seem to have been written for a moment exactly like the present. The nation has recently seen Whigs abandoning their principles and becoming even worse than the worst of those, whom they had, for so many years, been combating; it has become sick of both parties; all confidence in each, as a party, has been destroyed by the parties themselves; and, every where, the people are anxious to see arise another set of men, acting upon the principles described by the writer of the Preface to Lord Clarendon's History. But, of these principles, that of maintaining the Dominion of the Seas is, at this moment, of the most importance to us; because, it is now evident to every man of common information, that, unless we maintain that dominion, we must, at no distant day, become the slaves of France. No answer has, any where, been given to what I have advanced upon the subject of this our maritime dominion. Those who appear to care not a straw for their own country more than for any other, or, indeed, who seem to love other countries much better than their own, have bestowed, in a style truly worthy of advocates of America, some pretty decent abuse upon me; but, from long experience, I know that that abuse will do no injury, except to my opponents and their cause. I know, that, upon this subject, I have *the people* with me; and I fear not the abuse of all the hirelings in the metropolis, from whatever hand their hire may come.——The reader will find two letters, in the subsequent pages of this Number, one applauding me for what I have said upon the subject of maritime dominion, the other of a different tendency, and both containing a copy of the general order, given to our sea commanders, to search neutral ships, without distinction, for British seamen.——The writer of the last mentioned letter contends, that the order does not extend to *national* ships; but, I should be glad to hear him give better reasons for his opinion than the one which he has advanced, namely, that the neutral commander is to be required to pay the British seamen, so found, their wages, before they leave his ship; just as if sailors were not paid wages in ships of war, or "national ships," as well as in merchant ships! The order contains no exception whatever. It fully authorises, and, indeed, commands, our naval commanders, to search neutral ships of all descriptions, when they suspect them to have British seamen on board; and, though the Morning Chronicle so stoutly, and so eagerly, maintained, that Admiral Berkeley had no authority whatever to give the orders which he gave, it will be found that that officer, if it be attempted to censure him, will put his censors to shame, and will have the voice of all the sound part of the country with him. And here, let me observe, that Admiral Berkeley, who was on the side of the late ministry in parliament, was sent out to the American station by them, and, therefore, one would have supposed them likely not to have been the *first* to condemn his conduct. But, as I have before observed, the whole of the Whig party, or, the far greater part of them, at least, appear, in all disputes between this country and any other, to have a

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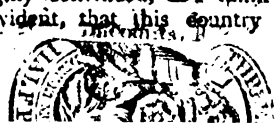
strong bias towards that other They liked Admiral Berkeley very well; but they liked America much better. Mr. Whitbread, it will be remembered, lost not a moment in agitating the subject in the House of Commons The ministers having said, that they had *no information* upon the subject, he caught hold of the declaration, and expressed his happiness to hear, that the act, as represented, had received *no authority* from the king's ministers. How *eager* he was! It might have been worth the while of a member of parliament to inquire a little into the orders given to our naval commanders, before he thus, by clear implication, accused an admiral of having done an unwarrantable act.——Lord Stanhope, too, in the House of Peers, actually proposed to pass a resolution, declaring that England had no maritime rights which were not common to all nations. The peers put this aside by a vote for the order of the day, upon the ground of its being improper to pass mere abstract propositions; but, in my opinion, they should have met the question, and given a direct negative to the proposition. This might have saved them some trouble, too; for they must negative this proposition, or some one similar to it, in direct terms, if it be again brought forward.——The next session of parliament will, upon this account, be a very interesting one, for then these matters must be discussed. Then we shall see, who are for maintaining the sovereignty of the seas, and who are not; and, I have not the least hesitation in predicting, that the nation, I mean the people in general, of all ranks and degrees, will be on the side of those who are for maintaining that sovereignty. I fear, that the ministers, for the sake of Hanover, will be ready to give it up; but, my fears may, possibly, be groundless; and, if I should have to applaud the maintaining of our ancient maritime dominion, and the restoration of that valuable honour, the honour of the flag, my applause will not be the less unqualified, or the less readily and heartily bestowed, because it will be bestowed upon Mr. Canning and Mr. Perceval and others, whose principles and conduct, I have, in other cases, reprobated. I am for the men, be they who they may, who will save the country, from the assaults of the enemy and from public robbers; but, first of all, from the assaults of the enemy, because, without that, all our efforts for effecting internal reformation are useless; and, as I am thoroughly convinced, as I think it almost self-evident, that this country must become an appendage of France, unless we assert our right of sea-dominion, and make peace upon that principle, whenever we do make peace; as this is my thorough conviction, I am for the men who are for maintaining that dominion ——Our power upon the waves enables us to dictate the terms, upon which the ships of all nations shall navigate. We may hold the key to the Baltic, the key to the Mediterranean, the key to India and to China. We have it in our power to make all countries which are under the dominion of France purchase their foreign commodities at a price ten times as great as that which they now pay. We have it in our power to cut off all communication between the several nations by sea. The Americans, who have succeeded the Dutch in milking the cow while others are fighting for her horns, we shall, I hope, compel to render to us a good portion of each meal of milk. Not a sail should be hoisted, except by stealth, without paying us tribute. "This," some persons will tell us, "would "be to proclaim eternal war." But, my opinion is, that it is the *only possible way* of obtaining any thing worthy of the name of peace. The consequence of such a system would be, that the nations of Europe, and especially the maritime nations, would be driven to a state of desperation that must produce internal troubles, in the course of a very few years; for, as to their hatred of us, and their hostility against us, we have, upon that score, nothing to apprehend, seeing that the whole of the power and resources which those states possess, are now actually employed against us. The consequence of those internal troubles would be the shaking of the power of France; for, it is impossible to keep the whole of a people in subjection, for any length of time, if they are reduced to a situation wherein they have nothing to lose; and, at the same time, the invasion of these islands by France will become a subject of ridicule instead of a subject of terror ——If we succeed, as we certainly shall, in capturing the Danish capital and fleet, what a fine figure Russia will make in the world! And, as to Prussia, her maritime towns may as well be without ports as with them.——It is possible, that Mr. Spankie, the editor of the Morning Chronicle, may have formed in his own mind a system whereby we might obtain a safe peace without having recourse to this extraordinary exercise of our power; but, for my own part, after having *thought* as much about the matter as any man can, I am convinced that nothing short of this will give us even a chance of a safe peace. Does



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Mr. Spankie think, that the humble tone, the tone of "resignation," which he has taken; does he think, that this, or any thing like it, is likely to obtain us a mitigation of the evils of being conquered? Does he really think, that it would defer the period of our ruin for the space of five years? For the space of five years it might; but for the space of ten years, it assuredly would not, and I am for obtaining a fair chance of security for those who are to come after us as well as for ourselves.——When the enemy finds, that we are resolved upon pursuing such a system as I have recommended (and I hope he will find it), he will anticipate the consequences, and will lower his tone accordingly; but, our situation would be as dangerous as ever, if we were to suffer ourselves to be cajoled into a peace, without taking care to prevent him, during that peace, from augmenting his maritime force, or his maritime resources. In making a peace with him, we should set out by asserting, not only our possession of, but our right to, dominion over the seas; and, then we might ask him what he would be willing to give up as the price of our relaxing the exercise of this our right. If he were found ready to yield to a considerable extent, we might consent to do the same; because by his yielding all authority over the Elbe, Holland, and Spain, for instance, the necessity for our exercising our rights with so much rigour would cease to exist. In short, with this dominion, explicitly asserted, and resolutely maintained, in our hands, we have an object of exchange for all those of his conquests that render him a formidable neighbour, and without that dominion, so asserted and maintained, we have nothing to give up, for which he would concede us the most trifling point; nay, he is, or has been, prepared, to demand of us, the surrender of even those rights upon the seas, which all nations have heretofore exercised, and that, too, as the price, not of any surrender on his part, but as the *price of peace*, of mere peace, a peace that would give us no repose, that would not save us a shilling a year in the way of expence, and that would, in two years, enable him to send forth to battle a hundred ships of the line. Would it not be madness to sigh for such a peace? Would it not be treason in a minister of this country to listen for one moment to an overture for peace upon such a basis?——I have before observed, and I repeat the observation, that, as to trade and commerce, though they should be diminished I should, for reasons often given, feel little regret, but that it does not appear to me probable, that a system of warfare, such as I have described, would diminish them. Napoleon's decrees can no more prevent the entrance of British goods into other countries than they can prevent the sun from shining. The goods will be seized as they have been for many years past; but, they will not be thrown into the sea, nor will they be sent upwards in flames and smoke. They will be *sold* after they are seized; somebody will use and pay for them; the cost of all the prohibitions and forfeitures will, as in the case of smuggled goods, fall upon the consumer; the seizures will be mere acts of plunder, and another mode only of raising taxes upon the oppressed people, over whom he shall be able to maintain his sway, without producing, upon a national scale, any injury at all to the merchant or the manufacturer. Let this system of warfare be tried for only two years, and you will see how completely all the notions of Adam Smith and his disciples are of mere counting house origin. ——I have no doubt but this system would, at first, produce great disturbance in commercial affairs, accompanied with a loud outcry amongst the sons of traffic. It would greatly annoy the jews and the jew-like christians of the Change; but, to their screamings the ministers must be deaf, or they will soon get into the track of the jew-ridden Pitt, and they will fall covered with the ruins and the curses of their country.

Buenos Ayres.——When this place was first taken, I expressed my sorrow at it, because I thought the capture, after having enriched a few greedy adventurers, would entail a heavy expence upon this country, without a possibility of adding, in the smallest degree, to our means of attacking or of resisting the enemy. When it was re-captured, therefore, I rejoiced, except at the loss of the soldiers and sailors, which were killed or taken. And now, when an attempt to take it again has failed, I have no hesitation at expressing my satisfaction at the event, but, at the same time, my sorrow for the loss and the sufferings of our army. I am pleased, that we have been thus, at once, prevented from doing a lasting injury to our country.——South America can be of no use to us. We are not over peopled. We have not too many men to enlist into the army and the navy. This colony of Buenos Ayres would have required ten thousand troops, at the very least, to be constantly stationed there; it would have required four or five ships of the line together with frigates and smaller vessels, and in the whole, would have kept employed twenty thousand men. There would have been an endless tribe of

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Governors and Secretaries and Law-officers and Commissioners, Collectors and Comptrollers and Receivers and Searchers and Quarter Masters and Commissaries and Paymasters and Auditors and agents of every sort and degree, both the pay and the plunder of all of whom must have come out of the property and the labour of the already borne-down people of this country; in short, the taking and the keeping of this colony would have added to the riches of a few relations of the corrupt men, and a few of the merchants, at home, and to the poverty and misery of the people in general. But, as an event of the war, in which we are engaged, we are to consider chiefly the *force* that the colony would have required; and, I believe, we shall not find that force much inferior, in point of magnitude, to the force, which the *ballot* is now intended to create. If this force had remained at home, then, there would have been no necessity for this terrible ballot. The twenty or thirty thousand men, who will be, by the ballot, drawn from productive labour, might have been suffered to remain at their homes and in their employment; and the numerous and endless miseries arising from this dreadful measure might all have been avoided.——No man has, that I know of, attempted to shew, that the possession of Buenos Ayres would have been of any advantage to this country; except, indeed, Sir Home Popham, in his congratulatory letters to the traffick-men at the Change, and the knife-grinders at Birmingham. To *them* and to *him* the adventure might be advantageous; but, to the nation, who had to furnish twenty thousand men to defend the colony, and, perhaps, a million of pounds sterling a year to defray the expence of it, no advantage could, as far as I can see, possibly arise.——The troops and the ships will now come home; and, I should think, that the rage for colonial conquest will be a little abated. The mercantile interest and influence is yet very powerful; but, the present state of things is such, that that interest and influence can no longer prevail without absolutely sinking the country. The ministers would fain listen to the 'Change still, but they cannot do it, without at once giving up the country, and then their places are gone. They love the Jews very well, but they love themselves better; and, I hope, they love their country better too. They have not, that I have heard, given way to the Corresponding Society, lately formed by the merchants and manufacturers at Liverpool; nor has that impudent combination proceeded, that I have observed, to execute their threats of appealing to the people against the government, unless the government punished Admiral Berkeley; for, their proclamation stopped at nothing short of that. The 'Change has been the rule of this country long enough; and, I, for my part, am not at all displeased, that a state of things has arisen, when their sway *must* by one means or another be put an end to. ——The London prints devoted to the two factions respectively, instead of viewing this event as advantageous to the country, have, on both sides, taken it up for mere factious purposes, and, having, in good set mourning phrases, bewailed the melancholy result of the expedition, they pitch on upon their opponent politicians, as being the cause of it. Amongst the articles of this sort, which have made their appearance, since the arrival of the news from Buenos Ayres, that which was published in the COURIER news-paper, of the 15th instant, is perhaps, the most reprehensible. The commanders are there openly blamed for the result of the attack, and the writer speaks as confidently upon the subject as if he himself had had the command of armies and the conducting of sieges all his life long. But, his greatest delight appears to be to triumph over General Craufurd, and, lest we should be at a loss to discover the source of his spite, he takes care to remind us, that the general was beaten by a "*volunteer* force". Yes, you slave of faction, so he was, but it was by volunteers vastly different from the troops of general Patty-Pan, of whom General Craufurd's division would have beaten a hundred thousand out of their entrenchments. What a scandalous perversion of terms! "Volun-"teers", indeed! but not volunteers who flee into the ranks to avoid the ballot; that is to say, to avoid the *chance* of being employed against the enemy, if he should happen to land in the country. As for General Craufurd, I know nothing of the causes that led to his surrender; but, surely it was as likely to be owing to his eagerness as his backwardness; and, it is, until we have something like proof upon the subject, base in the extreme, to endeavour to excite a popular prejudice against him, and that, too, merely because, when in parliament, he voted against those who now are ministers. ——It is just enough to blame the Whig ministry for the whole of the expedition; because they ought not to have persevered in the manifestly mischievous project of Sir Home Popham and his selfish set; but, it is also just to assert, that, had it not been for that set, there would have been none of that waste of lives and of money, which Buenos Ayres has cost us. That set pleaded

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having acted under the immediate directions of Pitt; he, therefore, was the original cause of this loss of men and of money, and we may look upon this as a legacy left by him to his injured and, by him, despised country.——What, I wonder, will become of the appointment, made by the Whigs, of certain custom-house officers at Buenos Ayres? They had given one man a place *for life* there! Some of the wives of these promoted gentlemen had, it is said, bespoken new carriages upon the strength of it. Suppose a wolf, just darting into a sheep fold, and caught in a trap, when he was expecting himself to have caught a lamb, and you have a pretty just emblem of the situation of these greedy expectants, who, observe, would have paid (if they ever paid at all) for their carriages and opera boxes with *money raised upon us*, and not with money raised at Buenos Ayres. What they had got there they would have taken as lawful plunder, and they would have called upon us for their salaries.——The effect, then, of this discomfiture at Buenos Ayres will be to do away the excuse for raising money upon us to give to these idle people; it will prevent some hundreds a year of our money from going into the pockets of mother Catalani and mother Storace; it will abridge, a little, the profits of the music-meetings in the several counties, and, of course, the pleasure which our pious clergy must receive from seeing their *Cathedrals* occupied by hired singers, of a description which it is perfectly unnecessary here to give. More of this another time; but, at present, I cannot, for the life of me, perceive any class of persons, any trade, that will suffer more from this failure at Buenos Ayres than that of the singers; a trade which, I think, might be destroyed altogether without drawing a word of sorrow from any person of common sense.

Danish War.——Since writing the first article of this sheet, the intelligence relating to the capture of the Danish fleet and capital has reached me. This is an event, which, though naturally to be expected, is well calculated to excite feelings of general joy.—— When the expedition was going out, I, like the French, laughed at it; but, I, like the French, thought it was bound to the Prussian territories, and had in view "the deliver-"ance of Europe," after the old Pitt fashion. This enterprize was really well conceived and well executed. It is, I hope, a mere beginning of what we ought long ago to have finished. We shall now see what that famous deliverer of Europe, the Emperor Alexander will do. The toast of "*the liberty of the seas*," drank by the Imperial Brothers at Tilsit, and echoed by the Russians and Americans, at Petersburgh, *on the anniversary of American Independence*, will now, doubtless, receive an explanation. Mr. Munro, the American minister in London, may now, without waiting for that "grave discussion," of which the Morning Chronicle speaks, with so much impartiality, venture to send word to his government, that it must endeavour to live happily under British dominion of the seas, until Napoleon shall be pleased to relax a good deal in his exercise of dominion by land. But, to say the truth, no dispatches of this kind will be necessary: the American government will see, the moment this intelligence arrives, that we are not to be cajoled or bullied any longer by combinations of merchants and fund-holders; and, I must say this for the good citizens of that country, that, notwithstanding all their vehement language, they are, upon occasions like this, brought to listen to reason as soon as any citizens in all the world. In short, if our ministers are firm, if they only say, in a positive manner, "we will uphold the "ancient rights and practices of England upon "the seas," from that moment the dispute with America is at an end.—Napoleon, my readers may be assured, will now talk in a less confident strain about "a *maritime* peace." The Morning Chronicle, indeed, affects to see in this expression nothing more than "a "peace with a *maritime power*;" but, I must think, that this is wilful blindness; for, it appears to me impossible that any body, except, perhaps, Mr. Whitbread and his Edinburgh Reviewers, should really be able to find out *reasons*, whereon to found an opinion, that Napoleon means, or has meant, any thing short of compelling us to make a positive surrender of all the rights upon the seas, which render our naval superiority of any use to us.——But, amidst this exultation, I must confess, that I am continually haunted with fears, that, by-and-by, all of a sudden, we shall find, that this vigour is a momentary flash, and that, at bottom, these ministers, like all the former, for many years past, will be ready to give up the rights of their country, if they should find it necessary to the preservation of their places. We shall have an overture from France to negociate, the offer will be calculated to give a handle to the Whigs to clamour against "eternal war;" the Change will, perhaps, be, by that time, ready to join them, and the synagogue to echo the cry; while dear, dear, dear Hanover will plead for peace in strains paternal. This I fear. Before this I fear, that all vigour will vanish like a dream;

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but, if this should be the case, though I shall not dare to print my execrations, I shall be at perfect liberty to execrate, and to wait anxiously for the time, when baseness will bring down ruin upon itself.

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

SIR,——In a time like the present, when too many are desponding, and foreboding nothing but subjugation to their country, and when, in truth, the country can only be saved, by shaking off the leeches of faction, by essential reforms for restoring to our constitution its proper vigour, and by the courage of the people, you are entitled to the warmest thanks of the nation, for your manly counsels. Go on, Sir, and you will soon convince every sound Englishman, that he who should compromise away a particle of our naval dominion, would be an enemy to his country; and that with ministers as courageous as our admirals, and an armed population as gallant as that of Buenos Ayres, which has compelled our evacuation of South America, we have nothing to fear. Who can be so short-sighted as not to see, that if we do not possess ourselves of the island of Zealand, Denmark, and Sweden too, must shortly be in the French and Russian alliance, adding to Buonaparté the maritime means of the whole Baltic for our annoyance? Nay, Sir, and if we cannot hold it, which I conceive to be doubtful, the taking of Copenhagen at present may only put off the evil day; but if the fleet fall into our possession, it will be so much saved from the grasp of our enemy. If, however, not wholly bereaved of our senses, we shall not allow any temporary advantage we may gain in the Baltic, to divert us one moment from completely arming our population, although that must be attended with a sacrifice to the leeches to whom I have alluded; for if, to borrow an expression from your friend Sheridan, we give them arms to fight with, we must give them freedom to fight for; or it will be a matter of too much indifference to the lower classes, whether they shall be taxed to furnish a marriage portion to the daughter of a wealthy earl, and to pension the gentlemen of "the Regiment" when out of place, or to pay a body of French troops for doing us the honour to superintend the police of England.——On the subject of naval pre-eminence, and the tone with which it ought to be maintained, I think you will approve of an idea in "*The Trident*," written by your friend Major Cartwright, that instead of that unmeaning piece of patch-work we call the Union Flag, we should adopt a flag bearing a winged TRIDENT. "Let it be examined," says he, "as an emblem of union, and as a "banner of war. First, then, in respect to "union, composed of the spears of the "three nations, fitted, hooped, and riveted together, until, without individual "diminution, it be made *one*, it not only "expresses the abstract idea of union, but "also typifies the complete *union of power*, "always to be wielded by one arm and "obedient to one will; and at the same "time it shews the character of that power "to be naval. And then, again, as referring to war, the sailors of the three "nations in this banner must see, that the "union of the three national spears constitutes the very sceptre of the sea; "whence, by an association the most natural, and the most flattering to the human mind, will spring a determination to "make it such. Seeing in their flag

'Dominion's symbol, and bright glory's sign;'

"and seeing wrapped in that flag *the very* "*existence of their country*, what enemy, "what force, what superiority of numbers, "would be able to wrest it from them?—"THE TRIDENT AT THE MAIN! what an "object of ambition to a British officer?" "—On the copper coin of the kingdom, "bearing his Majesty's image and superscription, the *trident* has for some time "graced the hand of *Britannia*; and we "believe that *Buonaparté*, in the preliminaries of peace, has been perfectly silent "on this assumption.—On Cæsar's penny, "the meanest currency of the shop, what "can be the beneficial effect of introducing "the trident? But, *borne at the mast* "*head*, how it must fire the naval mind, "and keep alive that heroic spirit which "placed it there! Whatever of this kind "we think fit to do, let it be done with "dignity. If we are to use the trident at "all as a national symbol, let it not be "slipped into the meanest medium of exchange, to be clucked from hand to hand "in the low commerce of the pot-house; "but wave aloft in air at the admiral's flag-staff, to beget high thoughts and great "actions."—Perfectly agreeing, Sir, with you, that England has nothing to fear but from the corruption of her own factions, if the wise, the virtuous, and the brave will but unite, small as the band may at first be, the time is not distant when the nation will hail them as its deliverers, and which must be the fact whenever that nation will take their advice.——ALBION. *Sept.* 15, 1807.

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DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

Sir,——The impartiality for which you are so justly praised, will, I hope, induce you to insert in your Register, a few observations in opposition to the doctrine which you maintain on the important subject of our naval superiority.—The grand principle on which you and those who have followed you on the same subject, maintain the right of this country in the power which it assumes over neutral flags at sea is, "that force alone confers right in affairs wherein nations are concerned." This proposition I never can accede to, and do contend that *occupancy or first possession confers right*. The Omnipotent Being, when he created the world, gave to man dominion over the sea and earth, and endowed him with reason to see good from evil, and to do justice and avoid injustice. That reason shews that it is just for man to enjoy those gifts, or that portion of them which he can first seize on, and that it is unjust and contrary to the will of the All Benevolent Donor to molest him in that enjoyment. This dictate of reason is written in characters as legible as that which shews the injustice of depriving another of the gift of life, and would have pointed out to Cain the injustice of depriving his brother Abel of his flocks, or other possessions which he had acquired, as well as of his life. It is on this foundation that all separate and exclusive enjoyments of property is erected; for, on what other ground can it be supported, that one man should be intitled solely to possess this or that portion of land, than that he derived it from the first man who had the good fortune to gain possession of it? If this argument stood in need of elucidation, the laws relative to real property in this kingdom would furnish one wherein it will be found, that cases might and frequently did occur, of real occupancy in lands, before it was put an end to by a late act of parliament. When an estate was granted to one man for the life of another, or in our law jargon, when a man was seized of an estate, *pur. autre vie*, and died during the life of *cestui que vie*, the principles and rules of our system of real property, would not suffer this estate to go to the heir. What then was to become of it? the granter of the estate was not intitled to it; for the period during which he had granted it away (namely, the life of the *cestui que vie*) was not at an end. And there being no owner, it of course was in the same situation it was before it became the exclusive property of an individual or individuals; namely, in common, and the first person who entered on the property and took possession of it was entitled to the enjoyment; and it would have been unjust if another more powerful had entered and turned him out by force. It was the occupancy or first possession which conferred the right, and the force of one stronger than himself could not have deprived him of it. It might, indeed, have taken away the possession of the land, but that would not have deprived the first occupant of the right, and transferred it to the ejector. It would have been a manifest act of injustice, not because it is prohibited by act of parliament, or by the common law of the land, to be collated in Coke or any writer on the subject; but, that it is dissonant to that common feeling of right which all rational beings possess. And on that account the law of England would have granted redress, by re-establishing the first occupant in the possession of the property. This estate by occupancy is destroyed, as I stated before, by act of parliament, which enables the owner of the estate *pur autre vie*, to dispose of it by his will, and in default of such disposition, confers it on the executors or administrators to be disposed of as the personal estate. A case of ancient occupancy may be found in the scriptures, where our forefathers, it will be seen, occupied a portion of land as long and no longer than it afforded pasturage to their flocks. When that was exhausted they removed to some other convenient spot; but we no where find that they were ever expelled by a stronger power than themselves, or that they were molested in the peaceable enjoyment. An instance of occupancy at this day occurs at the Theatres, where the person who first takes possession of a seat acquires a right to it; and if he is deprived of it by force, he is deprived of it unjustly, and the law will punish him for the assault. Another modern instance of occupancy is this, when a fisherman is exercising his profession on any part of the sea, he by taking possession acquires a temporary exclusive right in that place, and if he is deprived of it by force, the person who so deprives him does not acquire *a right*, but he acquires a possession by wrong. Other instances occur to me, such as ships acquiring a right to our docks and rivers, to the particular spots where they first take possession; but I will enlarge no further on this part of the subject. Does not all this prove that all those gifts which were designed in common for all mankind, become the right of those who first take possession or occupancy of them? And, consequently, that those vessels which are on the sea acquire a temporary right to that part of it which they occupy, and that it is unjust to deprive them or molest them in the enjoyment of it? With re

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gard to the expediency of the measure, and the consequences which will result from the relinquishment of the right of search, I will not at present enter into the consideration of this, as I consider the sole point at issue to be, whether the exercise of this right be just or unjust.——R.

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

Sir;—On reading one of your late Registers upon the subject of the dispute with America, it occurred to me that you might not have seen the printed instructions from the Admiralty to the Captains of our ships of war to "demand Englishmen out of Foreign Ships." It is as follows—"when "he meets with any Foreign Ship or vessel "he is to send a commission officer to enquire if any seamen who are subjects of "His Majesty be on board her, and to demand all such, obliging their masters to "pay them their wages to that day: But "this is to be done with civil and friendly "behaviour on the part of His Majesty's "Officers, who are to be very careful not "to offer any violence or ill treatment to "the subjects of His Majesty's friends or "allies."—You will not fail to perceive that it is the bounden duty of a Captain to search *every* foreign ship that he meets with, without further particular direction on that head, and that altho' he is not instructed to use force, yet to what end is he ordered to demand the seamen, if he is not bound to resist in case they should be refused?—It would be placing him in the situation, and in fact, making him act the part, of a bully. —The honour of the flag too is gone for ever! Heretofore "it was ordered when "any of His Majesty's ships meet with any "ship or ships belonging to any Foreign "Prince or state within His Majesty's Seas "(which extend to Cape Finisterre) it is expected that the said foreign ships do take "in their topsail, and strike their flag, in "acknowledgment of His Majesty's Sovereignty in these Seas; and if any shall "refuse or offer to resist, it is enjoined to "all flag officers and commanders to use "their utmost endeavours to compel them "thereto, and not suffer any dishonour to be "done to His Majesty." The first time I ever saw the flag of a foreigner taken in, and his topsail struck (which was the second time I went down Channel, and when I was very young) I leave you to judge, Mr. Cobbett, and nobody can more truly appreciate them, what my feelings were; if I were to attempt to explain them I am confident I should do myself great injustice. We are happily yet in such a state, that if we are firm, and our opinions are acted upon, we may resume these rights; and I hope you will never cease to ring in the ears of the ministry, that to abandon the Dominion of the Seas is to lose the only chance we may ever have of resuming our influence in the scale of nations, and of counterbalancing in any degree the gigantic power of the ruler of the continent.—I am, Sir, Your sincere friend, *Z. T. Plymouth, 9th September*, 1807.

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

Sir,—I have read many of your publications with great satisfaction; it is the lot of most men situated as you are now and then to advance things that are not founded in fact. In treating of the dispute between this country and America in your last paper, you assert Vice-Admiral the Honourable George Berkeley was in duty bound or words to that effect, to search the American ships of War for deserters. The annals of the British Navy do not give us an instance of any such attempt being made prior to this; and the usual instructions relating to the subject, an extract of which is given herewith, evidently relate to Merchantmen, as the master is to be applied to for the payment of such wages as may be due to them. —I agree with you the worst, and most disgraceful part of Admiral Berkeley's Order, is the offering to have one of His Majesty's Ships searched, a right he had no power to concede, and which in its nature being illegal no officer was bound to obey it.—On the subject I have only to add, if an American Ship of War had attempted to do what the Leopard has done it would on our part have been considered a just cause of war; why America is to overlook it, or brook an insult of this nature which no other independant country ever yet did, I know not; if this kingdom wished to wage war with America it is but shabby pretence we have adopted.—I am, Sir, &c A NAVAL OFFICER. *Portsmouth, September 11, 1807.*

Article 3rd. Naval Instructions.—"When "he meets with any Foreign Ship or Vessel, he is to send a Lieut. to enquire "whether there be on board of her any "Seamen who are subjects of His Majes"ty, and if there be he is to demand them, "provided it does not distress the Ship, and "to require the master to pay them the "wages due to them to that day; but he is "to do this without detaining the Vessel "longer than shall be necessary, or offer"ing any violence to, or in any way ill "treating the Master or his Crew."

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EXPATRIATION OF BRITISH SUBJECTS.

On the Necessity of a Declaratory Law or a Stipulation with Foreign Powers, respecting the Expatriation of British Subjects, particularly with the United States of America.

SIR,——Whether we are still to continue in amity with the United States of America, or whether we are doomed to add another enemy to those who have joined the standard of the French Emperor, in maintenance of that which we deem to be our right to resist, either from the policy of the thing, or under the impression that our naval superiority entitles us to insist upon the right of search on the ocean, and out of the limits and boundaries of the United States of America, and to take from armed ships of war, seamen who may appear to our naval officers to be British subjects, I shall not now discuss; this I may attempt hereafter. It is my present intention to bring into view the peculiar and painful situation into which British subjects, the native Irish in particular, precipitate themselves by becoming citizens of America, and by their attempts to cast off their natural allegiance to the United Kingdom, take upon themselves to serve two masters, instead of expatriating and ridding themselves of one power to whom they owe a natural allegiance.—Men of enlightened and liberal ideas have held, that if a man is not enabled to throw off his natural allegiance whenever he finds himself disposed to do so, he is a slave not a subject. Perhaps, if I quote the reflection of an author, probably not unknown to you, his opinion may have more weight than any argument of mine. Monsieur Pecquet, author of the Spirit of Political Maxims, (being an illustration of Montesquieu's Esprit des Loix) in chapter the 21st "Des Lettres de Naturalité," says, "Le Citoyen, comme l'habitant du Monde, conserve une sorte de liberté naturelle, de renoncer aux avantages particulieres de sa naissance, d'adopter un autre état et de s'y faire adopter, *sans quoi ce seroit réellement un esclave.* Il n'y a des chaines supportables, de ce genre que celles que forme l'attrait et non pas la contrainte.—Ces changemens ou tranamigrations ne se font jamais, que dans l'espérance d'être mieux que dans sa propre patrie."—This doctrine is certainly consonant to reason, and why it should not be adopted generally, and the spirit of it incorporated with the law of nations, I am utterly at a loss to conceive, particularly as this united kingdom sanctions the admission of foreigners to the privileges of British subjects, whilst the black letter of the law of this country has in the opinion of many, fixed as indelible marks of non-expatriation upon its natural born subjects, as have been imprinted on the sable sons of Ismael. We should not blow hot and cold; the latitude we give to foreigners applying for naturalisation, and that which should be extended to natural born subjects of the United Kingdom, when disposed to expatriate themselves, should be reciprocal and founded on parity of reason.——That the late treaty between Great Britain and the United States of America, should not have contained a declaratory clause with respect to an accurate designation of a British subject, and an American citizen, when we recollect that the United States of America were once a portion of the British empire, cannot but be matter of astonishment to reflecting persons. The perilous situation those respective persons place themselves in, from their attempts to withdraw their natural allegiance, and the reflection, that from the uncertainty of their right so to withdraw themselves, their parent country may become involved in all the calamities of war from their secession, and the claim to them as subjects to the claiming power, if such are found on board of ships of war, and probably aiding an enemy, (as in fact, seems to have been the case in the late rencontre between the Leopard and Chesapeak off the Capes of Virginia,) are considerations of themselves fully sufficient to warrant the expectation of a declaratory clause, and which, should a new treaty be entered into, I hope will not be unattended to. To aim at prevention of a rupture is more praiseworthy and defensible than to heal one. The adoption of the declaratory clause I allude to, ought not to be delayed a moment. The subject, if men will give themselves the trouble of reflection, must be considered to be of such momentous importance, that the most distant doubt ought not longer to continue; a due consideration of the importance of the matter in question, must necessarily involve an inquiry into the means of remedy.—In order to elucidate the subject, let us notice the declarations of our ancient lawyers respecting aliens. Littleton says, (sec 198) "he is an alien which "is born out of the ligeance of the king;" but, throughout his invaluable relique he does not convey to us, that to be born out of the ligeance of the king is the sole essence of alienage. We are, therefore, not precluded inferring from the above quoted passage, that there may be other modes of becoming alienated or expatriated, than that which arises by reason of birth. The positive law is not silent upon the subject, although the com-

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mon law does involve it in mystery.—Bracton upon the subject of alienage and expatriation, says, (lib. 5, fol. 415, 427) that the exception to a man by reason of alienage, propter defectum *nationis*, should rather be propter defectum *subjectionis*; he does not expressly state that a man cannot be absolved from, or exchange his allegiance, nor can such inference be drawn from this passage; he observes, that an exception to a man that he is an alien ought not to be alledged, propter defectum *nationis*, by reason of a defect of birth in another country than England, not subject to the power and authority of the king, because it may be intended, that although he was born in another nation, he may be a subject; for he may be naturalized or otherwise subject to the King of England; but it must be alledged propter defectum *subjectionis*, by reason of a defect of *subjection*, an expression admitting of no ambiguity, no doubtful construction, but directing us to a plain manifest conclusion, viz. that at the time of the allegation of his incapacity, he is not then actually *subject* to the king, which does admit that though he may have been once subject to a certain power, he may not be subject to that power all his life time. If this conclusion is correct, the power he is subject to allows him the means of expatriating himself.——Coke in his Commentary (129 a) states, "nemo patriam in quâ natus est, exuere, nec ligeantiæ debitum ejurare possit;" which doctrine he considers to be laid down in the case of Dr. Storie (13 Eliz. Dyer, fol. 300); but, instead of an express determination upon a well grounded principle, it seems to be a mere dictum. From this solitary decision or dictum, which soever it be, we cannot be justified in adopting the passage in Coke, or holding his opinion, however respectable, to be conclusive, as we do not find that this case of Dr. Storie has ever been acted upon or brought into view as a settled doctrine. I bring into view, Mr. Cobbett, all the material passages that occur to me, whether for or against the principle of expatriation. I wish to have that settled which from the various opinions declared upon the subject, seems involved in obscurity; and you will agree with me, that we cannot have a better time to set the subject at rest, than upon the negociation of a new treaty with America; and which, I hope, will contain a declaratory clause upon the subject in doubt, either admitting or expressly disallowing a natural born subject of Great Britain and Ireland to expatriate himself and to become a citizen of America.—If we refer to the Statute Law of England, we shall find that the subject matter of doubt has been differently handled, as the political interest of the country might occasionally require. By the statute of 14 and 15 Henry 8th. chap 4, it appears that subjects of England in this reign went into Holland, Zealand, Brabant, Flanders, and into other countries of foreign princes, and were there sworn to the obedience of such foreign sovereigns; wherefore, it was enacted, that all subjects born in England, and sworn to be subjects of foreign princes as long as they shall so abide, and be subject to foreign princes, shall pay customs, &c. in England, as *other* strangers pay. This statute is a general one, and concerns all the king's subjects, by which it is implied that persons may become subjects to other powers, and that by such election to depart from their natural allegiance they become, and it does seem to me properly so, aliens to their native country for so long time as they shall chuse to continue their new subjection; but, if they elect to become subjects again to England, they may have the king's writ, which will entitle them to be reinstated in all their former rights and immunities as Englishmen, upon their residing again in England. The next material statute is in the reign of James the First (3 Jac. 1 cap. 4 sec. 18, 22, 23), which enacts, that if any natural born subject be withdrawn from his allegiance, as therein mentioned, he shall be guilty of high treason. The 18th section of that statute refers to persons serving any foreign prince which bears relation to military men. The 22d section adjudged it treason for any person to seduce Englishmen to become subjects, to another country; this, I think, implies it had been the usage theretofore to withdraw their allegiance, and at that time it was found expedient to stop the extensive progress it was making by the above statute, which in the latter section clearly admits the right of expatriation. And the 23d section makes it in the like manner penal for any person to become subject to another country, within the meaning of the 22d section. If, therefore, the person withdraws his allegiance of his own mere motion, and not at the request or solicitation of another, or is seduced by that other person, I apprehend he is not subject to the penalty of high treason, enacted by the statute, as the 23d section expressly says, "any such person as "aforesaid, withdrawn as aforesaid," it, therefore, does not essentially disannul the implication and inference of the statute of Henry. The next and last statute which I shall mention, was made in the reign of George 1st. (5 Geo. I. chap. 27) and relates to artificers, an indefinite and very general

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term, going into foreign countries, and not returning within six months after warning given them by the British ambassador, where the emigrant may be resident, shall be deemed aliens; by which statute we see that Englishmen are expressly allowed to become subjects to other powers; they are by this statute alienated from England, and consequently, may enrol themselves as subjects to a foreign nation, and participate in its privileges; the legislature unequivocally permits them to withdraw their allegiance.—Now, Mr. Cobbett, do you not think with me, after the above inconsistent doctrines, in which the ablest lawyers, and even law itself materially differ; that it would be well to set the subject at rest for ever. Does it seem that the character of British subject is unalienable? Is it reasonable it should so seem? But, whether it is rational or irrational, I deem it absolutely requisite, that it be declared unequivocally by the legislature, or by the executive in every treaty, whether a British subject can or cannot expatriate himself. It is requisite, because should a war break out between this country and a foreign power, we might be involved in all the horrors of a civil war, if a British subject swearing allegiance to a foreign nation, cannot according to the laws of England expatriate himself; and that man, if taken in arms by *either* country, would be subject to the penalty of high treason. It is requisite also, because it has been held by persons sitting in judgment upon the claims of creditors on individuals of a foreign nation, that "although the character of *British subject is* "*unalienable* by the individual," yet the "*acceptance of that of subject of* another "country, bars all right to complain of the "acts of the latter." Now, what is this but saying that a British subject *cannot* expatriate himself, but that *having expatriated* himself, he must no more look to his parent country for redress against the acts of his new task masters; here is a declaration that a British subject cannot withdraw his allegiance in one line, and in the next, an admission that he may accept the character of a foreign subject, or in other words, that he may *alien* his *unalienable* rights.—It is matter of serious reflection, that not only as to the present subject, but to a variety of other topics, we see the common law of England uncertain and mysterious, and the written law of the nation swelled to a most enormous bulk, in efforts to elucidate the common law, but oftentimes tending to perplex the subject. When after a lapse of several years the book is opened, it is found that twenty years are not sufficient to enable us to reconcile difficulties, and expound truly the intent of the statute law as was originally proposed. The statute above mentioned of Henry 8th, apparently admits not of the least ambignity, until that of James, the enacting of which casts some suspicion upon the existing authority, in such full and ample manner as it was construed prior to the passing of that act. This statute it is not doubted, was intended to prevent persons being reconciled to the Popish religion, but it imports as well the penalty to be extended to persons being withdrawn from their allegiance under certain circumstances, and not in pursuance of their own free and uncontrouled will and pleasure; and the statute of George 1st. allows expatriation; had not the statute of Henry 8th been sufficiently strong, that of George seems calculated to free persons from their allegiance, most clearly and unequivocally declaring, that they shall be deemed aliens to all intents and purposes, and be treated as it afterwards enacts aliens are used and dealt with.—As a general doctrine, I agree that it is essential to the good government, and well being of society, that man be considered upon his birth as enlisted in that state where such birth happens to be, but that by such his birth he becomes a vassal to the soil; that he is for ever incapable of afterwards electing his place of residence; are ideas too monstrous and absurd to be seriously adopted; but, however, granting such to be the case, upon what mutuality or rational ground is it that this United Kingdom shall countenance that doctrine of permission to subjects of other countries to become her subjects, and yet will not extend the principle where her own subjects are concerned, and desire to become subjects of another country. If such has been considered to be the old law, (indeed I know it has been thus acted upon) it is time that the evil and pernicious tendencies of such absurd doctrines be done away. If our circumstances, our political interests, our connections are not what they were some hundred years since, our conduct should be new modelled; we have undergone repeated changes, and we no longer dread incroachments upon absurd doctrines.—A law clearly and unequivocally prohibitory of the removal of Englishmen to foreign countries, (with intent to expatriate themselves) does not in the catalogue of statute law or custom exist, and such a law appears to me if it were to exist, subversive of the principles of nature and society. Still, however, our common as well as statute law from my foregoing observations, cast obscurity upon the right of expatriation; and it is meet that by a declaratory

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law or stipulation in the treaty, the inconveniences now resulting from inconsiderate expatriation should be guarded against. Would it not be a melancholy thing, for example, if an individual had left this United Kingdom, and become a member of another government, with intent wholly to relinquish any claims upon the British government, but those that every government is bound to extend to the individual of another; or, suppose an Englishman marries a foreigner, (which I believe to be the case with our present ambassador in America), and he chuses to reside in the country where his wife was born, and where her connections and property may be, (the act of marrying a foreigner entitling him to participate in all the privileges of such foreign country), and that a war should break out between the two countries, and the expatriated man is found in arms against his native country, and the only consideration remaining is, whether that man is to be dealt with as a traitor to his native country. A doubt, however, should not remain for a moment upon such a serious matter, for many hundred persons are in a situation similar to the above. May the horrors of a second war with America be averted: this country has not yet forgotten the evil effects of the first, although more than thirty years have passed away since that took place. But, many Englishmen have sworn allegiance to America, and renounced their native country, and may be brought into serious difficulties in consequence.——I admire the law of America as it stood in 1791, and I believe stands at this time, permitting foreigners to become subject to her: by relinquishing their native countries, *pro tempore*, they elect to become citizens of the United States, and conforming to certain forms; and that country likewise consents to the new subject continuing subjection no longer than he pleases; for by going into a court and delivering in a resignation of the rights of citizenship, the person is by the law to which I allude immediately expatriated.—The law of England upon such a momentous point should be in like manner clear and unequivocal, either expressly allowing or prohibiting expatriation, and prevent the evil consequences which may ensue by reason of the doubtful tendency of the above mentioned topics, otherwise persons unintentionally may commit errors detrimental to their country as well as themselves, which errors may instead of venial faults be construed into crimes.——S. V.——*7th Sept.*

IRELAND'S INTERNAL SITUATION.

Letter 2.

SIR,——Your having done me the honour of inserting my letter upon the internal situation of Ireland, in your last Register, of the 28th of August, encourages me to address you again; not that I have any ambition that my own words should appear in print, but I only wish to put you in possession of some things that have occurred to me, which, if worth laying before the public, you will, I hope, do in your own plain and forcible language. In my letter above alluded to, I asserted, that it was my opinion, that to give encouragement to manufacture in Ireland, was the chief, if not the only thing, to be done for the benefit of that country. Now, Sir, on the contrary, with regard to England, I am of opinion, that the overstrained (if I may use such a phrase) encouragement given to manufactures and commerce, has contributed *to increase the poor rates*, and to render a very considerable part of our population indigent and miserable. From some observations you have occasionally made in your Register, I believe, in this case, you think as I do; but, I perceive in general that you lay most of the blame to the taxes. In my mode of thinking, considerable mischief arises from the taxes, but not so much as may be supposed. The taxes (as I conceive) are part of the wealth, or capital of the country taken from the people, to be applied to feed, clothe, arm, &c. those who add nothing to the common stock. If the whole, or part of this capital, remained with the different individuals from whom it was received, some would be employed in encouraging useful labour, some in giving encouragement to what would be useless, or pernicious: that part of the capital which would have given encouragement to useful labour, must of course be a national loss. Now, Sir, as I apprehend that manufactures and commerce have been carried to too great an extent in England, I doubt if any part of the capital taken by the taxes, are a loss to the nation, except that part which would have been employed in agriculture. I do not mean to infer from this, that the lands now in a state of culture are badly managed; far from it; generally speaking, they are quite otherwise: and truly, I find little fault with the farmers, except when I see them running into the Irish system, and cultivating *potatoes and grain*, without keeping a due proportion of cattle and sheep upon their lands: but I should not blame the farmers on this account, as I consider the alteration in their former excellent practice, as *arising from an act of the legislature.* You may recollect, Mr. Cobbett, at the time of the scarcity, when the lower classes of our manufacturers, and others,

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were reduced to the greatest distress; that many well meaning people filled the newspapers with receipts for potatoe bread, &c. not considering that these experiments in the art of cookery, were more likely to diminish than add to the short stock of provisions then to be divided among us. We had also soup shops, which aggravated the evil, by supplying the idle with what the industrious wanted. Potatoes were recommended to be more cultivated. At length Parliament thought it necessary to interfere. When I heard that this was to be the case, I certainly had hopes—not that I expected that speeches, or acts of Parliament, would lead to an immediate supply of food—but I was in hopes, that the *forest laws and common rights would at length be got rid of*; and that those people who received parish relief, and others who were struggling to support themselves, by labour in towns, would find employment in cultivating the *waste lands of the island*; and I was also in hopes that, instead of the military being permitted any longer, by their idleness and bad example in quarters, to injure the morals of the people, that *they* also would come in for a share of useful labour. I figured to myself that I saw them encamped, or hutted, upon the wastes of the country, and sometimes employed in cultivating the earth, and at other times attending to their military duties. I imagined I saw the artillery horses drawing the plough, and at other times the cannon. I could not help following, in my mind's eye, his Majesty (who is so fond of farming), in his tours to review his troops, sometimes as soldiers, sometimes as agriculturists. *How glorious would it be (thought I) for the King to restore what William rendered useless! How easy would it be for him, at any time, to indemnify himself for the loss of Hanover by promoting the cultivation of the New Forest and the numerous wastes of his kingdom.* Alas! Mr. Cobbett, how have my hopes been blasted; for instead of the legislature passing an act to simplify the laws relating to the inclosure of commons and wastes, and by that means giving encouragement to the bringing into culture *a greater breadth of land*, in order to supply more of the necessaries of life for the numerous soldiers and sailors in the King's service; for the sailors also in the merchant service, together with the merchants themselves, the manufacturers, and trades-people; for the host of idle gentlemen and gentlewomen, who keep innumerable idle servants and idle horses, to consume the fruits of the earth; and lastly, in order to supply provision *for our aged, indigent, and infirm poor* — the Parliament, after much debating, thought that the best method to be adopted was, to give every possible encouragement (and, I believe, a bounty) to farmers to grow potatoes. One person (I think his name was Buxton) made an objection to this measure: he said, that it would induce farmers to grow that root on land better suited to other crops. I conclude he was aware that, by encouraging the culture of potatoes, we might possibly increase the price of butchers' meat, together with the raw materials absolutely necessary for the manufacture of articles in common use in countries in a state of civilization. I apprehend, from what has come to pass, it has been proved, he had sufficient reason for giving the opinion he did; for, notwithstanding we have had abundant crops since that time, and no disease or failure among the sheep or the cattle, yet meat has kept up at an enormous price. Many persons now farm their lands with much less stock than they used, and cultivate alternate crops of potatoes and grain, sending both to market. Some *few* keep back the potatoe crops, and apply them to the fatting of cattle: these last ought to be the best judges whether they answer better than turnips or other roots, but it is acknowledged they are not fit for sheep. Before the legislature interfered, and *forced* the cultivation of potatoes, the practice, upon all tillage farms, was, to intermix corn, artificial grass, and root crops: the root crops (generally turnips) as well as the grasses, were invariably consumed by the farmer's own stock; by which means there was a constant supply of manure upon the farm, and the land was continually improving, instead of being exhausted. The farmer likewise, with the assistance of the miller, maltster, brewer, baker, butcher, clothier, tanner, shoemaker, and tailor, actually furnished almost every necessary of life. Under the Irish potatoe and grain system, without stock, some of these trades must fail. There can be no objection, however, to potatoes as a crop, if, in their raw state, they are found to be as good for sheep and cattle as turnips, cabbage, carrots, or any thing else: *all I contend for is*, that they should not be made the chief food of the lower classes here, as well as in Ireland, which they are gradually becoming. Neither does the population, I apprehend, require to be checked (as I have heard it asserted) in either island: nor should any of the inhabitants *(or would they with proper management)*, that is, encouraging manufactures in Ireland and cultivating the wastes in England.

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long continue to be fed upon roots. I shall now observe, that it is not the little niceties, and the little intricacies of farming, that are of such consequence: for instance, whether the land should be ploughed with a swing or wheel plough; whether the broad cast or drill husbandry is the most advantageous; whether the South-down, Leicester, or the cross between the two, are the best sheep, and such like matters: but it is absolutely necessary, if we design to have a large army and well-manned and numerous fleets, and that our taxes should produce what they have done, and that our poor rates should be lessened, and that we should not be in dread of famine by one deficient crop, *that we should cultivate a greater breadth of land.* In England we want more sheep, more cattle, more roots, more artificial grasses, more grain, more hay: in Ireland, coal and manufactures. I therefore say, that if Buonaparté should force us, by shutting us out of the ports of Europe, to employ our capital and industry in cultivating the commons and wastes of England, he will, I think, after all, deserve well of this country, as he will thereby increase our resources.——I am, Sir, &c.

Sept. 5, 1807. M. H.

SINKING FUND.

(Being C. S.'s fifth letter, which is particularly submitted to the most serious attention of the Stockholders, Landed and Mercantile interests of the nation.)

SIR,——As the charges, if I may so express myself, which I have already made against the funding system and sinking fund (see Political Register, Vol. IX. and X. March 15th, April 19th, August 23d, and Oct 18th, 1806), remain unanswered, and, I believe, unanswerable; and, as you may be, perhaps, satisfied that it is not for want of knowledge, but for want of *principle*, that your own, and the hints of different writers, given at different times, in the Political Register, as to what the security of the state directs to be done with those funds, have not been attended to, you may hold it as an opinion, I grant, that I ought to have dropped the subject, and leave sufferings and disappointments to correct those evils which have been hitherto incorrigible to reason and reflection. Perhaps I ought to have done so, because to pursue an useless and a thankless line of conduct is, in all cases, folly in practice, however wise in theory. But, as you have revived the subject, on July the 25th, by the insertion of A. G.'s analysis of Lord Henry Petty's new plan of finance; as the circumstances of the times may incline your readers a little more, to consider the subject of these funds otherwise than a dry and barren study which belongs to statesmen exclusively; and as my object is to shew, upon the authority of Lord Henry Petty, if he is fairly reported, that we have more obstinacy than ignorance to contend with on the part of those who contend for the advantages of the funding system and sinking fund, I see no harm I can do by reverting again to the subject, if I do no good. For if there be cases in which errors and delusions, frauds and oppressions, can lead to the happiness and security of the deluded and oppressed, I defy the ingenuity of man to apply any of them to the funding system and sinking fund, and shew that their operations can secure similar advantages to the nation. With respect to the sinking fund, as being the immediate subject of my remarks, I have long held it as an opinion that no man, possessing the common powers of reason, could for a moment mistake its present pernicious and ultimate ruinous effect, if he would but attend to the whole of its operations and consequences; to its action and reaction on the nominal value of all real property; and then to the effect of that nominal value upon the real and relative condition of all classes of the community. Unalterably fixed in this opinion, and so far back as the year 1800, when I attempted to draw the public attention to the discharge of the national debt, as contributing its share, in common with speculation, and deficient crops, towards the paper manufacturing dearness of that and the preceding year, the sinking fund appeared to me in no other light than that of an engine invented by sheer ignorance, or employed by interested design, to create false appearances of national power; to raise false hopes of national relief from the confessed, at last, oppression of the funding system; to increase our nominal wealth, or, medium of exchange; and, therefore, to depreciate its exchangeable value, that is, to raise the price of all exchangeable articles, in the proportion which the capital discharged, and consequently thrown into trade, bears to that which was in circulation or trade before any part of the debt was discharged. The idea of discharging the debt, and that of throwing its capital into trade, cannot be separated. As the stockholders cease to be public annuitants they must, generally, become private traders to some description. And as the capital in trade is by that means increased, so are those calamities, both public and private, heightened, which as naturally result from its depreciated value, as that depreciated value results from any increase of its quantity

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which is not balanced by a corresponding increase in the productions of agriculture and manufactures. As every article of trade or commerce is already in the possession of owners, the annuitants who go into trade must buy before they can sell. For instance, then, the quantity of goods in the market at any given time, is the same in quantity at another given time, but the sum of money owing to the increase of buyers is doubled at the last period. Consequently, (admitting the prudence or necessity of laying out the whole of their money) the price is advanced 50 per cent. to all traders; and to the consumer more in proportion to the profit they charge upon their capital; which is a clear deduction from the profits of the old traders. Whereas, had the quantity of goods in the market been doubled also, the price would not have risen any, or rather, the value of money would not have fallen: for, in this case it is not, as commonly expressed, the goods that rose, but the money that fell in value. On this principle, which is irrefutable in itself, and undeniable in its application to the subject of our inquiry; and presuming, that it is naturally impossible to increase the productions of agriculture and manufacture in a corresponding proportion to the increase which the sinking fund, or discharge of the national debt must make in the circulating medium, or capital in trade, it follows, as cause and effect, that the depreciation of its value, with all its consequent ruin to the funded, landed, and mercantile interests, will be in the proportion in which the increase of capital will exceed that of the productions of agriculture and manufacture, when the sinking fund succeeds in discharging the national debt. How far the increase of capital may exceed the increase of these productions, when this admirable fund accomplishes its object, must depend upon the extent to which the agriculture and manufactures of the nation is carried beyond their present state. At this extent I will not even guess; sufficient it is for those to know, who would not go blindfoldedly to destruction, rather than part with the interest which they have in the oppression and plunder of their country, that such extent cannot be equal to the extent of capital which the sinking fund will throw into trade. But, supposing, for the sake of argument, that our agriculture and manufactures, have already found their limit, or, are incapable of extention; 2. that the present capital in trade amounts to 100 millions †, and that no addition is hereafter made to it by the ability of the bank and country banks, to supply the insatiable cravings of speculation; and, 3. That the funded property amounts to 660 millions; when the debt is discharged, the capital in trade will amount to 760 millions; the depreciation of it will therefore be in the proportion of seven to one of its present exchangeable value; and the effect will be, could human nature endure the wretchedness and torments of the case, that the quartern loaf which now sells for a shilling, must then be sold for 7*s.*; that the taxes and tithes, which now amount to above 70 millions, must then exceed 490 millions, if the present establishments are in existence; that the labour lost to agriculture and manufacture in coining and managing the circulating medium, must be seven times greater than it now is; and that the paupers which now amount to above 1,200,000, must then exceed 8,400,000, supposing the depreciation of money, in its various bearings on the condition of the people, to be the exclusive cause of pauperism. We can admit, Sir, for the sake of argument, that the sinking fund, fed as it may be with paper currency, can liquidate the claims of the public upon government and give it time; nay, in 24 hours, if the money could be counted in so short a time; but, as it will produce the effects I have just described, if our agriculture and manufacture be incapable of extention, one of which is to give government a claim upon the public for taxes to the amount of 490 millions annually, the public will have gained nothing but wretchedness, and the loss of the difference between that sum and the taxes which they now pay. Yet, it is impossible to retreat, and go on with the funding system, because its interest would amount to the same sum in the course of time, and produce similar effects to the public. What then is to be done since we can neither advance or retreat without plunging ourselves deeper into difficulties? Can we stand still? No! for then the Emperor of the French would tax us *still heavier*, than we are, or can be; seize upon the commerce of the world, and give the laws upon the sea, as well as upon the land. But something must be done, we must either go backward or forward, or stand still, for we cannot fly up into

† When Lord Sidmouth introduced the property tax, he gave the annual income of the nation, money in circulation, or capital in trade, at only 80,000,000. To take it at 100,000,000, will therefore make the depreciation appear less than really it will be when the debt is discharged, admitting even that no increase is otherwise made in the circulating medium.

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the air and suspend ourselves between heaven and earth; what then must that something be? Why, Sir, you have frequently recommended a national bankruptcy, or the stoppage of those annuities, the loss of which would not convert the annuitants into paupers, as the only means of relief; and of power to contend with any rational prospect of success, against the more unbounded ambition of Buonaparté; for we *would not* like him give the law upon land if *we could*, we are satisfied with the dominion of the sea. But, for this recommendation, Sir, you were publicly rebuked by Mr. Sheridan, I believe, upon the hustings in Covent Garden; and by others of the regiment you were daubed with the titles of Jacobin and Leveller, because, to preserve the independence of your country you would strip such annuitants of their annuities, violate public faith, and ruin public credit; that is, the credit of "the Regiment." O! Mr. Cobbett! you are a bad one; I had almost said a stupid dunce; for what is the independence of your country, when the credit of the Regiment is gone? Cannot you see in a moment, if you are willing, how far the credit of the regiment has diminished the number of our paupers within the last century, or how much greater that number would be if they had no credit? But, to be serious, Sir, and to distinguish the voice of reason from the snarlings of those "who owe their "greatness to their country's ruin," when the annuitants whom you would strip of their annuities, come to compare the small portion of the necessaries of life which the interest of their stock now gives them to what they formerly received from it, can they mistake that *true* faith *is not* kept with them? And when they look forward to the time when the attempt to maintain faith with them, by means of the Sinking Fund, will leave them but 1-7th of that small quantity to subsist upon,—will saddle them with their proportion of 490 millions of annual taxes, and reduce them, with a moral certainty, to beggars and paupers, will they not, of their own accord, withdraw their credit from the regiment? will not their fate induce the survivors in the general wreck to withhold their credit also? and will not both join in cursing the day when they became the dupes of their own credulity, and the victims of public credit? On the principles of cause and effect, this will certainly be the result, if the productions of our agriculture and manufactures be not increased to seven times their present weight and measure, or, at least, it will be so in the proportion in which the increase of capital thrown into trade by the operations of the Sinking Fund, exceeds the increase of these productions. To increase them, however, in any sensible degree, is a thing which I believe cannot possibly be done, by any other means than that of employing the stockholders, and other idlers, as to productive industry, in farming and manufacturing for their own use. To this they must come sooner or later, or, go to the workhouse and none to feed or clothe them. Why then call us jacobins and levellers because we would take from them every thing that would not reduce them to paupers, and so save their country and themselves? Why then thus hypocritically attend to their pecuniary prejudices at the expence of their future happiness? Why should not they, as speculators suffer the consequences of their own speculations? If they had not lent their money, neither they or us should have suffered as we now do and must yet do. I strongly suspect, as before stated, that the Sinking Fund is supported more from obstinacy or design, than from ignorance and conviction. In support of this suspicion, I shall quote Lord Henry Petty, as reported in the Times newspaper, of the 30th of January, when he brought forward his new and captivating plan of finance: on the folly and inefficiency of which, your correspondent A. G. has left no possible doubt. "When the Sinking Fund was established," says his lordship, "Mr. Pitt *foresaw* the in-"*convenience* and *mischief* which might "arise from the extinguishing at once a "very large portion of the National Debt. "If the two Sinking Funds," (the original million a year, and the one per cent. upon all the loans) "had been allowed to ac-"cumulate to their full extent this mis-"chief would have followed, that at one "and the same time an immense capital "would have been *destroyed*. In fact, by "returning all their capital to the holders of "stock, capital itself *would cease to be of* "*value*, and the nation might be nearly "ruined by that which at first sight might "appear a great advantage," (to whom? not surely to men capable of legislating for a people) "however paradoxical it might "sound" (to whom? I again ask) "he con-"sidered that the sudden extinction of the "National Debt would be an evil almost "amounting to a national bankruptcy." I say, to worse than a bankruptcy, which would not reduce any of the annuitants to paupers. "It was not merely that the stockholders "would find themselves materially distress-"ed by having all their capital returned to "them at once, at a time when no employ-

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" ment could be found for such an immense " capital, but all those who were engaged in " trade would feel the mischief of it. Their " fair and reasonable prospects *would be de-* " *stroyed*, and all their advantages of no avail, " if such an immense capital were all at " once thrown upon the market, and they " were exposed to such a competition, that " would not allow them either to buy their " goods at the same price they formerly did, " nor to enjoy the same profits; for the " stockholders, in such case, not knowing " how to employ their capital to better ad- " vantage, would be *most formidable* com- " petitors. It was for these reasons that " he stated that the sudden extinction of " the National Debt would not only be a " most serious injury to the stockholders, but " to the trading part of the community, and " that it would produce the greatest and most " extensive mischief and calamity." Now merchants, traders, and stockholders, I put it to your most serious consideration, whether this be not a complete confirmation of all my arguments, and of all that ever was said or can be said, as to the destructive and calamitous effects of the sinking fund; except as to their notions of the counteracting influence of time. Pitt, the canonized institutor of this fund, and Lord Henry Petty, the trumpeter of his fame, conceive or seem to conceive, that to discharge the debt a little at a time will enable the stockholders to employ their capital with more advantage to themselves, and less disadvantage to the trading part of the community, than they could do if the debt was discharged at once. But, how is *little at a time*, or time itself to enable them to do this? Why neglect to shew how? They know, you see, upon the principle of numbers and quantity, as well as we can tell them, that if the discharge of the debt, *now that traders and capital is not wanted*, will add but one stockholder in a year to the number of our traders, and but one pound in a year to our capital in trade; the competition would be as formidable, and the destruction of the capital as complete, when all the stockholders and their capital came into trade, as if they were sent there at an hour's notice. And, therefore, they know, with a similar degree of certainty, that the only influence which time has in this case is, 1. that of making the progress of our destruction imperceptible to our senses; and, 2. that of dividing our opinions as to the cause of our suffering, that we may be ruled with greater ease, if this be not the policy of their not having followed up their insinuations, as to the advantages of time, with the proof, what other reason can they have? A very good one, they have no proof to give. But be this as it may, Sir, it is not now so likely, as it was seven years ago, when I first took up the subject, for the purpose already stated, that our labour to produce a belief in the inefficiency and mischief of the Sinking Fund, will be lost. The question of its merits, even in parliament, now turns upon a single point, *the counteracting influence of time.* And therefore if our answer to that question cannot be refuted; if we are not refuted when we answer, that to increase tradesmen and capital however slow, is to ruin both where neither is wanted; and that our country, *is that where, in the present state of her trade and capital*, such answer is infallibly sure to strike conviction, and create that union which is indispensibly necessary to ave the inevitable mischiefs and calamities of the funding and unfunding systems.—Mischiefs and calamities, I am most positively convinced of, before which all that policy could suffer the unrelenting hand of a conqueror to inflict sink into nothing.—— C. S.——*August* 4, 1807.

LOTTERIES.

Sir,——Permit me to trouble you with a few remarks upon the new lottery plan—I thought there was no good to be expected from it; and though it might be called the most beneficial scheme ever offered to the public, I was pretty well convinced, when I saw the word supplementary added to the old plan. It was more calculated to deceive the public, than really to hold out to it, in these its sapient speculations, any more solid advantages, than have hitherto been experienced, by this cozening mode of collecting a few pounds. I was, therefore, sorry to see this innovation upon the old plan; but reflecting, at the same time, that I had no power to alter it, I lamented that there was a necessity of having recourse to such measures, and so it passed. But to-day I saw, at the bottom of one of those precious morsels, a lottery advertisement, the following N. B.—" Not two blanks to a prize, and the prizes paid on demand." Hollo, says I, how I have been mistaken in my judgment of the new supplementary plan; only two blanks to a prize! why, in the old plan, there were generally nearly four blanks to a

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prize. I must have a little bit of a look at you, Mr Supple, and see if you are really what you are represented to be. I believe I conned over it twenty times in about as many minutes, before I could understand it at all: however, I think at last I have discovered who will be most benefited by this new plan; and, by your permission, I will state to you the most prominent features of this paragon of virtue; by which it will appear, instead of its being a better plan for the public, it is infinitely worse, in point of the chance of getting the money back again laid out in this speculation; and in addition to this, it has a very considerable increase of deception, which I apprehend cannot be considered as a recommendation; and particularly so, it being known to be the offspring of those into whose hands the reins of government have been entrusted. First, then, instead of only two blanks to a prize, there are nearly thirteen blanks to a prize in the principal lottery; that is, 14,000 tickets will give 1085 prizes (out of the 20,000 tickets, which is the whole of what the lottey is composed of); and the aggregate of these 1085 prizes will amount to £137,000, and the remaining 6000 tickets will give 6000 prizes at £10 each. But then the holders of these 6000 £10 tickets are not to receive the money; but instead of which, are to have a chance in another, or supplementary lottery, when they may get £20,000. But it is four to one they do not get more than £15, and nearly four to one they get any thing by their speculation. The deception here held out to the public is of two kinds; the one, that £257,000 is to be divided as prizes, when in fact it is only £200,000; and the other, that there are only two blanks to a prize, when in fact, adding the chance in the principal and supplementary lottery together, there are even then nearly eight blanks to one against every purchaser of a ticket or share; and with this chance of eight to one against him, he can only get £15. If he has an eye to any of the capital prizes, he will find his chance of obtaining any of them from 15,000 to 19,000 to 1 against him—Now, to say nothing about the pernicious effects of lotteries, what is the sum that government will receive by this new plan? Why only about £140,000 at most, and out of which, no doubt, much must be deducted before it can be called net revenue. But the lottery-office keepers, and who are between twenty and thirty, will divide amongst them the sum of nearly £60,000; and this is the sum the country pays them for collecting so small a part of its revenue as £140,000, and which is at the rate of 57 per cent.—In God's name, if we are to have lotteries, let them be conducted in a way more beneficial to the public. There can be no doubt but the business now done by the lottery-office keepers might be done by government, and quite as well, to answer every purpose, for about 5 per cent.; and which, in each lottery, would be a saving of at least £50,000. I shall be very glad, then, to hear some of the advocates of the present mode of conducting lotteries, say, why the country is to pay between twenty and thirty individuals a salary, to each of them, at least of £10,000 per annum, when the business might be done for one twelfth part of that sum? Who, let me ask, would not be struck with the impropriety of government's granting such patents as were granted in the reign of Elizabeth; and however different such patents and the present lottery plans may appear on first view, they will be found, upon investigation, to be very similar in their effects. These patents gave to particular persons the exclusive sale of some of the most necessary articles of life, and as such they may appear to have acted with more security in their operation than a lottery tax, the money expended in which is considered quite voluntary. But I think the old adage may with much propriety be applied here—"that an open enemy is not so much to be dreaded, as a false and insidious friend."——I am, Sir, your obedient servant, X. Y.

London, Sept. 7, 1807.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have seen a paragraph in the Morning Chronicle, in which it is stated, that T. Bish will, if the contractors persist in holding out such fallacious advertisements to the public, make them, by his explanations, all Quakers. We may, perhaps, then see, when honest men fall out, rogues will get their own.

PUBLIC PAPER.

COMMERCE WITH RUSSIA.—*Memorial presented by the English Merchants in Russia to the Marquis Douglas, concerning the renewing of the Treaty of Commerce.*

The most essential point to be established in concluding a Treaty of Commerce in respect to the subjects of Britain who reside in Russia, is that of being permitted to be owners of all kinds of property, and to negociate in wholesale in many respects upon the same footing as native subjects or foreign merchants, of whatever class and of whatever nation they may be, without being inscribed in any mercantile Guild, subject to pay either a tax upon their capital or any other duties prescribed by law.—This

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privilege (without which all others would be of little worth) has been granted to them by the Government of Russia since the first commercial undertakings between the two nations; and it is certain it never was of so great importance to them as since the publication of the Manifest, dated 1st January of the present year, by which several important articles are established as general, fundamental, and immutable laws, hitherto unknown in the commerce of this empire, which have not, and do not tend to any other object but that of diminishing the advantages, at the same time that they increase the heavy charges of all classes of foreign merchants, not exempted as we would wish to be, from their prejudicial consequences, by a particular Treaty of Commerce.—According to the 8th, 3d section, all foreigners whatever are totally excluded from enjoying the prerogatives of the Russian Guilds, as they were before permitted, without becoming subjects of this empire for ever.—In consequence of the 9th, it is permitted, as a special favour, to all foreigners who are now inscribed in different Guilds, and who having already paid the tax, have obtained the right to expect the enjoyment of the prerogatives of their Guilds until the expiration of the present year, to determine within the space of six months either to become subjects for ever, or to choose between the two new classes of the foreign Guest, or of the travelling Merchant, as they are described in the 10th and following articles. By the 10th, all foreigners, without exception, have no other alternative but of incorporating themselves in one of the two classes, or entirely abandoning trade within the space of six months. In being inscribed in either of these classes, it is only permitted that they shall negociate in wholesale with the natives of this empire, not among themselves, nor even to make any kind of negociation in retail. The Guest is subjected to pay a tax of 1½ per cent. on a declared capital which must exceed 50,000 roubles, and the travelling Merchant must pay the same per cent. on a capital also above 25,000 roubles, on which footing the latter cannot remain beyond one year.—According to the 11th, the foreign Guest will become liable to town dues, and other taxes and accessary charges, which are to be levied in an unlimited manner, at the pleasure of the Magistracy, or of the Town Hall, to which Assembly, however, he has no vote; besides that, it is ordained, upon quitting the country, to pay the tax upon his actual capital for three years in advance.—By an ancient law, he is even besides that exposed to a deduction of one-tenth of the amount of his actual property upon retiring from the Burgership, or in case of death.—By the 12th, each partner of a commercial house, composed of two or more partners, is obliged individually to pay the tax upon the capital, and all commercial houses alike are subjected to the same regulations relating to partnerships in trade, which are established for the native Russians, without the exception of producing them before the Magistracy or the Town-Hall and by such means to the Minister of Commerce; in one word, to publish to the world the conditions of their partnership, the extent of their capital, and other minutiæ, the disclosure of which is not required in any other country; and which ought rather to cause disgust than encourage the plan of partnerships in trade, which they would wish to favour by this edict.—The privileges of a travelling merchant are in like manner limited by the tenor of the 13th, as well in their extent as in their duration, that the least advantage cannot exist for a permanent establishment.—By the 14th, the term of negociation in wholesale ought to be defined into a new sense, and establish from it two different kinds; one in respect to foreign merchants, and the other for the interior trade. This short citation of the principal regulations, without many comments, clearly demonstrate how the tenor of this manifest will prove prejudicial to the interests of all strangers in general; and, in some degree, the conditions required of a Guest, or of a travelling Merchant, and still more the rank of a perpetual subject, become incompatible with the duties, the principles, and the sentiments of a Merchant of our country in particular.—If an augmentation of the Revenue of the Crown was only intended, it could easily be effected by some other stated tax, and we should find nothing to object to an imposition of certain customs on the extent of our commerce, or rather, in preference, on the amount of our duties; for, sooner than we will submit ourselves, whether to the arbitrary taxes of a Magistracy, where we have no vote or influence whatever, whether to the declaration of our funds, and of the particular conditions of our commercial partnerships, before a tribunal, of which the members are our rivals, whether to the payment of a heavy tax every time we shall wish to revisit our native country; or, in fine, to all the other fetters, not less burthensome, which are the consequences of such a subjection, if even privileges and advantages infinitely more flattering were attached to it, the greater part of our countrymen, for such a length of time residents

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in Russia, and many other creditable and respected foreigners, we have every reason to suppose, would believe themselves, through the influence of this law, compelled to quit the empire.—After that, it is scarcely probable that other individuals from our nation would dare to undertake to replace us in those commercial situations, which we have believed right to abandon.—Commerce could then only be continued either by a direct correspondence of the commercial houses established in Great Britain, with the native Merchants of Russia, as yet imperfectly initiated in the affairs of trade of other countries, or with strangers, who would submit to constraints to which we absolutely cannot conform.—There would appear an open presumption, and perhaps be even superfluous, if we should pretend to discuss the advantages or disadvantages which will accrue to Russia from this new system. We have no right to combat the opinion, which we believe to have remarked in this Manifest, as well in regard to their own subjects as in relation to their commercial resources; if we should speak what is our own opinion, it is to be feared that we should be accused of egotism, of jealousy, and perhaps of pride; otherwise we would not hesitate to affirm, that this very opinion, which has been insinuated by the authors of this innovation, is by no means well founded, as it aims at removing a body of Merchants, who, as well by their education as by their long experience, have proved themselves to be best capable to direct a trade, established and carried on upon the principles of wisdom and honour; instead of accelerating the progress of commerce of this empire in general, it would at one blow destroy the salutary effects which the enlightened and well-conducted politics of their predecessors have produced. For if we consult the annals relating to their trade with foreigners, the registers of duties and of merchandize exported and imported, the cultivators of products in their raw state, the artists and traders of every description (great and small), who are found dispersed in their extensive empire, it will be without doubt confessed that this country is not a little indebted for its present improvement to the English nation; or can it even with justice pretend that it is already in a situation to excel those who have been their very support in every commercial point of view, in capital and in foreign credit. It is as if they would wish us to believe (if we may be allowed to make use of a metaphor just in itself and not too forced), that unto-forth their wretched axe alone could [illegible] possession all the beautiful works of the cabinet-maker, for the accomplishment of which, until this period, they have been supplied with tools introduced by foreigners. Facts so impressive ought to render other arguments useless.—We flatter ourselves, that it is yet not too late for your Excellency to confute this system, or at least to object to those consequences arising from decrees, which, in every point of view, will not be less prejudicial with respect to the whole body of Merchants, than to that of our nation in particular. Your Excellency, undoubtedly, will deign to employ all possible zeal, and make use of every effort to this effect.—The present situation of affairs requires the most speedy and decisive measures, and with submission, it appears to us that the talents of your Excellency can scarcely be directed towards an object more important in its consequences, both commercial and political, to Russia and to Great Britain. (Signed by the Members of the British Factory.) *St. Petersburgh*, (dated) *March* 1807.

The original Memorial was written in the English Language, which his Excellency caused to be translated to the French. The above is a translation from the latter.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

ANNUAL EXPOSITION OF THE STATE OF THE FRENCH EMPIRE.——At eleven, in the morning of the 24th of August, his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, being seated on his throne, received a solemn deputation from the Legislative Body, and another from the Tribunate. Upon this occasion, M. Fontanes, the president of the former assembly, delivered the following interesting address.

SIRE,——The Legislative Body lays at the foot of your Majesty's throne, the address of thanks, to which they have unanimously agreed. It is offered, not so much to the conqueror, as to the pacificator of Europe. Let others, if possible, justly describe the wonders of your last campaign—the rapid succession of triumphs, by which a monarchy was overthrown—and the still more heroic firmness, which patiently knew how to wait for, and prepare the day of victory, in the midst of so many impediments thrown in the way by fortresses, troops, and the inclemencies of the season. Let them direct our attention to those soldiers, who, equally indefatigable as their chief, lay encamped with him six months together, in the bleak fields of the North, braving alike the frozen winters of Poland, and the glowing summers of Syria. Finally, let them picture that state of continually threatened repose, which was at length to terminate in a dreadful explo-

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sion—and, above all, that decisive moment, previously announced by yourself, when these frozen climes, having become somewhat more temperate, favoured your genius with the opportunity of completing the victory, and compelling the vanquished to accept terms of peace. It is not our province to blazon forth such performances and military achievements. Whatever claim they may have to our admiration, they have been purchased with tears, and they have inspired the conqueror himself with feelings of commiseration, which gave him an additional title to our affection and esteem.—We direct our views to much more cheering scenes. We would rather follow you to the banks of that river, where divested of the pomp of war, two boats received two Emperors, and with them the future destiny of the world. A memorable day! A day to be celebrated in all succeeding ages! The two armies drawn up exactly opposite to each other, along the respective banks of the Niemen, contemplated with astonishment so interesting a meeting, after so many destructive engagements; and, in one instant, 400,000 soldiers composed of Italians and Dutchmen, Scythians, Sarmatians, Germans and Frenchmen, laid aside their arms, and the two greatest sovereigns on earth, met each other on a raft in the middle of the river, to adjust personally the affairs of their states, and mutually stretched forth their hands as a pledge of their reconcilement. Alexander and Napoleon are united—the war is at an end—and a hundred millions of people again taste the blessings of peace.—The interests of futurity itself are possibly connected with this celebrated interview, which was so worthy of the youthful successor of the Czars. From one single individual he may have been furnished with more examples, and received more information respecting the art of government, than formerly could have been obtained by Peter the Great, when, with the view of self-instruction, he undertook a long journey, and visited all the courts of his royal contemporaries. The treaty of Tilsit has left behind no further pretence for a continental war. On that great day it was, that kingdoms and nations, the old and the new powers, took their fixed stations—it was then that every thing became solid and secure.—The nation, Sire, may now flatter itself with the hope, that it will not henceforth be, for so long a period, deprived of your presence, and that its internal welfare and prosperity will continue to increase under your paternal superintendance. The nation has well merited your care and affection. At every epoch of your government, and particularly the present, they have been solely occupied in emulating the greatness of your exploits, by the extent of their sacrifices and their devotion. We have henceforth the assurance, that we shall gratify your majesty, by intermingling the homage which we owe you with the praises of that great and good people, as you have so justly denominated them.—The hearts of all of us are warmed by the proofs you have given us of your attachment to the French. The benevolent expressions which you uttered from the throne, have already filled the poorest cottages with joy. In talking of you it will one day be said—and it is the finest trait in so wonderful a history—it will be said, 'He occupied himself with attending to the condition of the poor, who dispensed the fate of so many kings;' and that, on the termination of a long war, you diminished the public burthens, whilst your triumphant hand so gloriously dealt forth crowns to those officers of the first rank who fought by your side.—It is our first duty to bring to your recollection that magnanimous promise which will not have been made in vain. Whilst you are creating around you new dignities, and those intermediate ranks, which are the appendages of monarchy, and serve to augment its lustre, it shall be our care to draw closer our ties with that people, of whose sentiments we are the interpreters. In this we shall find a species of greatness, which, though not so dazzling, is not less honourable.—We swear, Sire, that we will never belie the sentiments which have been stamped with your approbation. We swear it in the presence of that throne which is established on the basis of so many trophies, and which governs all Europe.—And how is it possible that you should not receive with a favourable ear expressions which are as remote from slavery as from anarchy—you, Sire, who have availed yourself of the right of conquest only to restore peace to the vanquished, and who have reinstated the inhabitants of the Banks of the Vistula in all their former privileges? The legislative body will zealously, and to the utmost of its power, promote the grand plans of improvement which occupy your mind.—Under the eye of your genius we shall speedily see our civil and political institutions perfected. You will affix to them that stamp of greatness and stability which distinguish all the other creations of your superior understanding: and, to crown your glory, genuine freedom, which cannot exist but under a pure monarchy, will become more and more secure, under the government of an omnipotent prince.

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The Address of M. Fabre, President of the Tribunate, was to the following effect:

Sire,——Whilst your Majesty was conducting your armies to new triumphs, and overthrowing, creating, and erecting thrones, your faithful subjects, ever animated with confidence in the genius and fortune of your Majesty, calmly applied themselves to their respective occupations, accelerating the periods of the departure of their children for the armies, and feeling no other regret than that of not being able to share in their dangers and glory, and breathing no other wish than for the preservation and happy return of your sacred person.—Grand and astonishing spectacle, which has displayed to the view of the world all your energies, and all our affections!—You have, Sire, seen that extatic affection beam forth, in those unanimous rejoicings, those heartfelt ejaculations, which neither fear nor flattery can ever dissemble. Ah! what monarch ever had a greater, a better, claim upon the feelings of his people? In the midst of camps, nay, even in the field of battle, the minutest particulars of internal government were present to the mind of the conqueror of Eylau and Friedland. Already, though the maritime war still continues, owing to the blind obstinacy of our eternal enemy, the prosperous state of our finances has permitted your Majesty to diminish considerably the public burthens; and at the same time, to give that relief to the landholders, and to bestow those embellishments on our cities, which no other sovereign, before you, has been able to accomplish. Thus shall the promise of the most beloved of your predecessors, Henry IV. be performed, nay, exceeded; the wish of his heart is enhanced by the grand conceptions of your mind. Your Majesty has created imperial titles, both with a view of decorating the throne, and of for ever destroying all hopes of the restoration of a feudal government. Those institutions, connected with that of the legion of honour, so fruitful in beneficial results, will complete a grand system of encouragements and rewards. So much prosperity and so much glory, so many acts of beneficence, renewed in perpetual succession, are duly and strongly felt; but how can that gratitude which they call forth, ever express itself in adequate language? May you, Sire, in the long career which you have to run, establish, on a firm foundation, the institutions which your creative genius has conceived, for promoting the glory and happiness of your states! May they, on the other hand, daily give your Majesty new and splendid proofs of their confidence, attachment, and devotion!

Both these Deputations were most graciously received by the Emperor, and were conducted with the same solemnities with which they were introduced.

The Minister of the Interior, M. Crétet, having been introduced to the Legislative Body, accompanied by the Counsellors of State, Jaubert and Bigot Promeneau, presented a REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE EMPIRE; the principal passages of which are as follows:

Fifteen months have elapsed since the deputies separated, in order to return to their homes. At that period, the Emperor seemed to have approximated the moment when he was to taste the fruits of his glorious labours.—The German princes were, for the most part, in alliance with France; Prussia was in the number of her friends; the differences with Russia were terminated by a treaty of peace; our tranquillity seemed to be equally secured abroad as at home, and numerous deputations flocked from all quarters of the empire, to bring the Emperor the homage of their admiration and gratitude; the heroes of the army had already arrived, to attend the festivals to be given at Paris, in celebration of our victories; the Emperor directed all his attention to the internal affairs of government, when England, accustomed to seek her own safety in the misfortunes of other nations, induced Russia to depart from her pacific inclinations, so lately confirmed by a treaty, and precipitated Prussia into a war, without reason or object, contrary to the judgment of the ministers, and very possibly against the wishes of the king. An army of 130,000 men, eager for the combat, commanded by the king and his veteran generals, and formed in the school of the Great Frederick, was almost annihilated in the first battle, and the remains were melted down in the ranks of the Russian army. France, calm and tranquil, while the tempest burst over the distant regions where it was formed, saw the career of internal improvement, commenced during a period of peace, maintained and advanced. The conscription-law was carried into effect with more zeal than ever; the taxes were punctually paid; the National Guards gave proof of their ardour; the public spirit retained all its purity; the Government was, in the highest degree, satisfied with the conduct of the Mayors.—The gifts and donations to the various charitable foundations, in the year 1806, formed a capital of 2,300,000 francs, and have been further augmented, by a fresh act of bounty on the part of his Majesty, with a sum of 15,600,000 francs. The sufferers by the maritime war have been in

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demnified by his Majesty.—The Government has begun to direct its attention to the means of repressing mendicity. The Abbies of Contevrault and the Ursulines of Montpelier, are already prepared for the reception of the mendicants belonging to the Departments; and that of Villars Cotteret, which is nearly completed, will be sufficient for those of the capital and the environs.—Thirteen thousand four hundred miles of road have been repaired and improved. These labours have been bestowed on 6127 highways, leading from the capital to all the frontiers of the empire.—The navigation of eight principal rivers or streams, among these the Loire and Charent, have been improved.—Four bridges have been finished during the last recess, or will shortly be finished. The building of ten others is actively going forward; among which are those of Bouanne and Tours.—Ten canals, almost all of them commenced under the present Government, are worked at without intermission. Of that of the Ourq, about three fourths are completed. The two cuts from that of Saint Quintin, which unite the Seine with the Scheld, and Paris with Holland, are completed, and will be navigable in eighteen months.—The sea-ports are also restored. Antwerp recovers its ancient celebrity, and will form the centre of the marine service. For the first time, that part of the Scheldt has seen upon its stream vessels of 74 and 80 guns. Fourteen ships are on the stocks at Antwerp.—Flushing, having been enlarged, is now capable of containing a squadron. At Dunkirk, the Western Jetty has been rebuilt. At Cherburgh, the two moles have been raised; and the battery, Napoleon, placed in the sea, defends the harbour, both against the waves and the foe. At Rochefort, a scientific apparatus has been erected, by which vessels of all rates may be taken in or out at any time of tide.—Agriculture has also constantly occupied the attention of Government. The national sheep-folds preserve their breeds in the highest purity. The shepherds will be instructed in the art of managing their flocks. The restoration of the breed of horses is in forwardness. Twelve depots of stallions are already formed, consisting of 900 of the finest animals. The breeding of black cattle is placed under regulation in a great number of the departments, and the veterinary schools are in a flourishing state.—A commercial code is digesting, with the view of combining what is good in the regulations of the old ordonnances with existing customs, of protecting credit, and preventing the disgrace of bankruptcy.—Our cotton-spinning establishments have, within the last 20 months, recovered from their inactivity; and the decree of the 22d of February having reanimated them, they now furnish our manufactories with those materials which we procured from abroad.—It is the desire of the Emperor, that the capital, become the metropolis of the world, should correspond with its destination. The bridge of Austerlitz is completed; that of Jena is begun. In the Place de Vendome will be erected the Column of the Grand Army; in the Place des Victoires, the Monument of Dessaix; and the Statue of Haultpoit will decorate the Place des Vosges. The Palace of the Legislative Body will be adorned with a collonade; opposite will be erected the Temple of Victory; and in the mid-way will be reared the Sovereign's Palace; so that the Throne will occupy a central position between Justice and Glory. The works at Saint Genevieve are going forward; those of St. Dennis are nearly finished.—The tomb of Dessaix is erected on the Alps, between France and Italy, where it demonstrates to the two countries the honour conferred by their common deliverer on his comrade and friend, who died amidst those victories which determined the fate of both nations.—The French School is occupied in representing, in marble or on canvas, the most renowned events of the present reign.—The war has retarded the institution of a General School: but the Emperor will still accomplish the project.—Several colleges have been established in the course of the year, to the number of 35. They contain 18,000 scholars. Of these, 3700 owe their education, in whole or in part, to the national bounty. Twelve schools of jurisprudence are opened, and 12,000 students occupy them at present.—The labours of the meridian circle of Barcelona and of Baleares are renewed, and will be continued this winter. The Observatory of the Pantheon is restored, and that of Turin is again devoted to Astronomy.—The Emperor desires that the sciences may have a part in the amazing improvements which have been communicated, like an electric shock, to every thing great and interesting. He desires that the French language, now become that of Europe, shall continue to support that noble privilege, by its beauty, its purity, and the interest of its productions. He desires that the public sentiments shall encourage the developement of talents, and preserve the latter against calumny and malignity; and that in future there shall be no sects among the learned; that there shall be no longer

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any political parties in the state; that learning and morality, and good taste, shall be in unison, and that these only shall form the basis of their prosperity and improvement. He wishes that criticism should maintain a respect for decency, in order to be useful; and that men who are called to the sublime office of enlightening and improving the community, should depise idle flattery.—The Government cannot but be contented with the members of the church in general. The same purity of morals, toleration, and disinterestedness and zeal, distinguish all ranks, and evince the devotion of all.—The Jews, who now bear the name of Frenchmen, in consequence of the gracious dispositions of his Majesty in their favour, have become worthy of that name.—Such is the exposition of the improvements, which have been brought to perfection in the interior, since the last sitting. Several other branches of the Government have been advanced, and are now in a situation the most advantageous. France, among all the States of Europe, is the only one without paper-money. Its commerce, interrupted by unavoidable circumstances, preserves the hope of renovation in the seed that remains. The arms of France have been carried to the farthest extremities of Europe; its influence extended beyond the Bosphorus, and into the centre of the Continent of Asia: the most complete order prevails in our interior, England alone remaining overwhelmed with the burden of the war, and the hatred of nations: these are the effects of one year, and the encouraging prospect of that which is to follow."

M. Fontanes answered: "That the statement which was laid before the Legislative Body was made up from the exploits of a prince who was a lover of peace; that if the Emperor, 500 miles from his capital, had effected so much in favour of his people, and the glory of the arts, what would he not have performed in the bosom of peace, and in the midst of his capital? The improvements that have been introduced into the various branches of the internal Government, prove that the irresistible power which overturns empires and establishes thrones, is still far inferior to that wisdom which has established morality upon the immoveable basis of the law."

The Legislative Body ordered the Exposition of the State of the Empire to be printed, together with the speech of the President; and that six copies of them be distributed to each Member.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

BUENOS AYRES.—*From the London Gazette Extraordinary, dated Downing street, September 12, 1807.*

Lieut. Col. Bourke, deputy quarter-master general to his majesty's troops serving in South America, arrived this morning at the office of the viscount Castlereagh, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from the Rio de la Plata, with a dispatch from Lieut. Gen. Whitelocke, addressed to the Right Hon. W. Windham, of which the following is a copy:

Buenos Ayres, July 10, 1807.

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his Majesty, that upon being joined at Monte Video on the 15th of June, by the corps under Brig. Gen. Craufurd, not one moment was lost by Rear Admiral Murray and myself in making every necessary arrangement for the attack of Buenos Ayres. After many delays, occasioned by foul winds, a landing was effected, without opposition, on the 28th of the same month, at the Enfineda de Barragon, a small bay about 30 miles to the eastward of the town. The corps employed on this expedition were 3 brigades of light artillery, under Capt. Fraser; the 5th, 38th, and 87th regiments of foot, under Brig. Gen. Sir S. Achmuty; the 17th lt. drag. 36th and 88th regiments, under Brig. Gen. the Hon. Wm. Lumley; 6 companies of the 95th regt.; and 9 light infantry companies, under Brig. Gen. Craufurd; 4 troops of the 6th drag. guards, the 9th light drag. 40th and 45th regiments of foot, under Col. the Hon. T. Mahon; all the dragoons being dismounted, except 4 troops of the 17th, under Lieut. Col. Lloyd. After some fatiguing marches through a country much intersected by swamps and deep muddy rivulets, the army reached Reduction, a village about 9 miles distant from the bridge over the Rio Chuelo; on the opposite bank of which the enemy had constructed batteries, and established a formidable line of defence. I resolved, therefore, to turn this position, by marching in two columns from my left, and crossing the river higher up, where it was represented fordable, to unite my force in the suburbs of Buenos Ayres. I sent directions at the same time to Col. Mahon, who was bringing up the greater part of the artillery under the protection of the 17th lt. drag. and 40th regt. to wait for further orders at Reduction.—Maj. Gen. Leveson Gower having the command of the right column, crossed the river at a pass called the Passo Chico, and falling in with a corps of the enemy's, gallantly attacked and defeat-

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ed it, for the particulars of which action, I beg to refer you to the annexed Report. Owing to the ignorance of my guide, it was not until the next day that I joined with the main body of the army, when I formed my line by placing Brig. Gen. Sir S. Achmuty's brigade upon the left, extending it towards the Convent of the Recoleta, from which it was distant 2 miles. The 36th and 38th regiments being on its right; Brig. Gen. Crauford's brigade occupying the central and principal avenues of the town, being distant about 3 miles from the great square and fort; and the 9th drag. guards, 9th light drag. and 45th regt. being upon his right, and extending towards the Residencia. The town was thus nearly invested, and this disposition of the army, and the circumstances of the town and suburbs being divided into squares of 140 yards each side, together with the knowledge that the enemy meant to occupy the flat roofs of the houses, gave rise to the following plan of attack.—Brig. Gen. Sir S. Achmuty was directed to detach the 38th regt. to possess itself of the Plaza de Toros, and the adjacent strong ground, and there take post: the 87th, 5th, 36th, and 38th regiments were each divided into wings; and each wing ordered to penetrate into the street directly in its front. The light battalion divided into wings, and each followed by a wing of the 95th regt. and a 3 pounder, was ordered to proceed down the two streets on the right of the central one, and the 45th regt. down the two adjoining; and after clearing the streets of the enemy, this latter regt. was to take post at the Residencia. Two 6 pounders were ordered along the central street, covered by the carabineers and 3 troops of the 9th l. drag., the remainder of which was posted as a reserve in the centre. Each division was ordered to proceed along the street directly in its front, till it arrived at the last square of houses next the River Plata; of which it was to possess itself, forming on the flat roofs, and there wait for further orders. The 95th regt. was to occupy two of the most commanding situations, from which it could annoy the enemy. Two corporals with tools were ordered to march at the head of each column for the purpose of breaking open the doors; the whole were unloaded, and no firing was to be permitted until the columns had reached their final points and formed; a cannonade in the central streets was the signal for the whole to come forwards. In conformity to this arrangement, at ½ past 6 o'clock of the morning of the 5th inst. the 38th regt. moving towards its left, and the 87th straight to its front, approached the strong post of the Retiro and Plaza de Toros; and after a most vigorous and spirited attack, in which these regiments suffered much from grape shot and musketry, their gallant commander, Brig. Gen. Sir S. Achmuty, possessed himself of the post, taking 32 pieces of cannon, an immense quantity of ammunition, and 600 prisoners. The 5th regt. meeting with but little opposition, proceeded to the river, and took possession of the church and convent of St. Catalina. The 36th and 88th regiments, under Brig. Gen. Lumley, moving in the appointed order, were soon opposed by a heavy and continued fire of musketry from the tops and windows of the houses; the doors of which were barricadoed in so strong a manner, as to render them almost impossible to force. The streets were intersected by deep ditches, in the inside of which were planted cannon, pouring showers of grape on the advancing columns. In defiance, however, of this opposition, the 36th regt. headed by the gallant general, reached its final destination; but the 88th, being nearer to the fort and principal defences of the enemy, were so weakened by his fire as to be totally overpowered and taken. The flank of the 36th being thus exposed, this regiment, together with the 5th, retired upon Sir S. Auchmuty's post at the Plaza de Toros; not, however, before Lieut. Col. Burne, and the grenadier company of the 36th regt. had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, by charging about 800 of the enemy, and taking and spiking two guns. The 2 6 pounders moving up the central streets meeting with a very superior fire, the 4 troops of the carabineers, led on by Lieut. Col. Kingston, advanced to take the battery opposed to them, but this gallant officer being unfortunately wounded, as well as Capt. Burrell, next in command, and the fire both from the battery and houses proving very destructive, they retreated to a short distance, but continued to occupy a position in front of the enemy's principal defences, and considerably in advance of that which they had taken in the morning.—The left division of Brig. Gen. Crauford's brigade, under Lieut. Col. Pack passed on nearly to the river, and turning to the left, approached the Great Square with the intention of possessing itself of the Jesuits' College, a situation which commanded the enemy's principal line of defence. But from the very destructive nature of his fire, this was found impracticable, and after sustaining a heavy loss, one part of the division throwing itself into a house which was afterwards not found tenable, was shortly obliged to surrender, whilst the remaining part, after enduring a dreadful fire with the greatest intrepidity, Lieut. Col. Pack its

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commander being wounded, retired upon the right division commanded by Brig. Gen. Craufurd himself. This division, having passed quite through to the River Plata, turned also to the left to approach the Great Square and Fort from the North East Section, of which it was distant about 400 yards, when Brig. Gen. Craufurd, leaving the flank of his left division, thought it most advisable to take possession of the Convent of St. Domingo, near which he then was, intending to proceed onwards to the Franciscan Church which lay still nearer the fort, if the attack or success of any other of our columns should free him in some measure from the host of enemies which surrounded him. The 45th regt. being further from the enemy's centre, had gained the Residencia without much opposition, and Lieut. Col. Guard having it in possession of his battalion companies, moved down with the grenadier company towards the centre of the town, and joined Brig. Gen. Craufurd.—The enemy, who now surrounded the Convent on all sides, attempting to take a 3-pounder which lay in the street, the lieut. col. with his company, and a few light infantry under Major Trotter, charged them with great spirit. In an instant, the greater part of his company and Major Trotter (an officer of great merit) were killed, but the gun was saved. The brig gen. was now obliged to confine himself to the defence of the Convent, from which the rifle men kept up a well directed fire upon such of the enemy as approached the post; but the quantity of round shot, grape, and musketry to which they were exposed, at last obliged them to quit the top of the building, and the enemy, to the number of 6,000, bringing up cannon to force the wooden gates which fronted the fort; the brig. gen. having no communication with any other columns, and judging from the cessation of firing that those next him had not been successful, surrendered at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.—The result of this day's action had left me in possession of the Plaza de Toros, a strong post on the enemy's right, and the Residencia, another strong post on his left, whilst I occupied an advanced position opposite his centre, but these advantages had cost about 2,500 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The nature of the fire, to which the troops were exposed, was violent in the extreme. Grape shot at the corners of all the streets, musketry, handgrenades, bricks, and stones from the tops of all the houses, every householder with his negroes defended his dwelling, each of which was in itself a fortress, and it is not perhaps, too much to say, that the whole male population of Buenos Ayres was employed in its defence.—This was the situation of the Army on the morning of the 6th instant, when Gen. Liniers addressed a letter to me, offering to give up all his prisoners taken in the late affair, together with the 71st regiment, and others taken with Brig. Gen. Beresford, if I desisted from any further attack on the town, and withdrew his majesty's forces from the River Plata, intimating at the same time, from the exasperated state of the populace, he could not answer for the safety of the prisoners, if I persisted in offensive measures. Influenced by this consideration, (which I knew from better authority to be founded in fact,) and reflecting of how little advantage would be the possession of a country, the inhabitants of which were so absolutely hostile, I resolved to forego the advantages which the bravery of the troops had obtained, and acceded to the annexed Treaty, which I trust will meet the approbation of his majesty.—I have nothing further to add, except to mention, in terms of the highest praise, the conduct of rear Admiral Murray, whose cordial co-operation has never been wanting whenever the army could be benefited by his exertions. Capt. Rowley, of the Royal Navy, commanding the seamen on shore, Capt. Baynton, of his majesty's ship Africa, who superintended the disembarkation, and Capt. Thompson, of the Fly, who had the direction of the gun-boats, and had previously rendered me much service by reconnoitring the river, are all entitled to my best thanks.—As his character already stands so high, it is almost unnecessary to state that from my second in command, Major-Gen. Leveson Gower, I have experienced every zealous and useful assistance; my thanks are likewise due to Brigadier-General Sir S. Auchmuty and Lumley, and to col. Mahon, and brig-gen. Craufurd commanding brigades. I cannot sufficiently bring to notice the uncommon exertions of Capt. Fraser, commanding the royal artillery, the facility of whose mind, zeal and animation, in all cases left difficulties behind. Capt. Squires of the Royal Engineers is also entitled to my best thanks; nor should I omit the gallant conduct of major Nicholls of the 45th reg. who on the morning of the 6th instant, being pressed by the enemy near the Residencia, charged them with great spirit, and took two howitzers and many prisoners. Lieut-col. Bradford, Deputy Adjutant General, has likewise a great claim to my approbation as a gallant and promising officer.—The officers of my personal staff, lieut. col. Torrens, Military Secretary, Captains Brown, Foster, Douglas, and Whitting-

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ham, Aides du Camp, must also be mentioned by me in terms of just regard; the knowledge which the latter possesses of the Spanish Language has been eminently useful to me.—This dispatch will be delivered to you by lieut. col. Bourke, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, who has afforded me that assistance which might be looked for from an officer of his military talents and attachment to the service; to whom I beg to refer you for any further particulars respecting the military operations in this part of the world.—I have the honour to be, &c. J. WHITELOCKE, Lieut. Gen.

Return of the Killed, Wounded, and missing of the Troops under the Command of Lieut. Gen. Whitelocke, between the 28th of June, the day of the landing at Ensinada, to the 4th of July, 1807, inclusive.

Light batt. 1 lieut. wounded.—87th reg. 5 rank and file, killed.—88th reg. 8 rank and file, killed; 1 lieut. 8 rank and file, wounded.—95th reg. 1 Serjeant, 1 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 1 lieut. 1 ensign, 2 serjeants, 10 rank and file, wounded.—Total 1 serjeant, 14 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 3 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 2 Serjeants, 18 rank and file wounded.

Officers of the Light Battalion severely wounded.—87th reg. lieut. Crowe.—88th reg. lieut. Thompson.—95th reg. Capt. Elder; Lieutenants Noble and Coane.—(Signed) THOMAS BRADFORD, Dep Adj. Gen.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, on the attack of the city of Buenos Ayres, the 5th of July, 1807.—Royal navy, 1 lieut. wounded; 2 seamen missing.—Royal Horse Artillery. 3 rank and file killed; 1 serj. 1 drummer, 6 rank and file wounded; 3 rank and file missing.—Royal Foot Artillery. 1 lieut., 2 rank and file wounded.—Gunner Drivers. 3 rank and file killed.—6th Dragoon Guards. 1 captain, 1 serj. 13 rank and file killed; 1 lieut. col., 1 serj., 19 rank and file wounded; 1 quarter-master, 2 rank and file missing.—9th Light Dragoons. 1 staff, 3 rank and file killed; 1 lieut., 2 serj., 1 drummer, 13 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—Light Batt. 1 major, 1 lieut. 3 serjeants, 24 rank and file killed; 2 lieut. colonels, 7 captains, 5 lieutenants, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer, 57 rank and file wounded; 62 rank and file missing.—5th Regt. 1 serj. 1 drummer, 12 rank and file killed; 1 major, 1 serj., 2 drummers, 43 rank and file wounded; 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 21 rank and file missing.—36th Regt. 2 captains, 25 rank and file killed; 3 captains, 4 lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 2 drummers, 39 rank and file wounded; 2 staff, 11 rank and file missing.—38th Regt. 1 lieut., 8 rank and file killed; 1 ensign, 1 volunteer, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 38 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—40th Regt. 2 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file wounded.—45th Regt. 14 rank and file killed; 1 capt., 1 lieut., 4 serjeants, 41 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—47th Regt. 1 rank and file killed; 1 lieut., 2 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—87th Regt. 2 captains, 1 lieut. 1 staff, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 51 rank and file killed; 1 major, 4 captains 5 lieutenants, 1 staff, 8 serjeants, 1 drummer, 108 rank and file wounded; 14 rank and file missing.—88th Regt. 1 lieut., 1 ensign, 1 staff, 6 serjeants, 70 rank and file killed; 1 major, 4 captains, 6 lieutenants, 1 staff, 7 serjeants, 98 rank and file wounded; 2 drummers, 98 rank and file missing.—95th Regt. 1 capt., 2 serjeants, 2 drummers, 36 rank and file killed; 2 majors, 1 captain, 5 lieutenants, 8 serjeants, 2 drummers, 73 rank and file wounded; 2 serjeants, 2 drummers, 39 rank and file missing.—Total. 1 major, 6 captains, 4 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 3 staff, 17 serjeants, 4 drummers, 365 rank and file killed; 3 lieutenant-colonels, 5 majors, 15 captains, 30 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 2 staff, 1 volunteer, 41 serjeants, 11 drummers, 540 rank and file wounded; 2 staff, 1 quarter-master, 4 serjeants, 5 drummers, 196 rank and file missing.

Names of officers killed.—Light Batt. Major Trotter, of the 87th; Lieut. Hamilton, of ditto.—6th Dragoon Guards. Capt. Burrell.—9th Light Dragoons. Veterinary Surgeon Landers.—36th Regt. Captains Williamson and Johnson.—38th Regt. Lieut. Fallon.—87th Regt. Captains Confidine and Johnson; Lieut. Barry; Quarter-Master Buchanan.—88th Regt. Lieut. Hall; Ensign M'Gregor; Assistant Surgeon Ferguson.—95th Regt. Captain Jenkinson.

Names of officers wounded.—Lieut. Squarey, of the royal navy, slightly. Lieut. Maconochie, Royal Artillery, ditto. Lieut. Col. Kingston, 6th Dragoon Guards, severely. Lieut. Cowdall, 9th L. Dragoons, slightly.—Light Batt. Lieut Col. Pack, 71st Regt., slightly. Lieut. Col. Cadogan, 18th Regt., ditto. Lieut. Smith, 40th Regt. severely. Capt. Greenwell, 45th Regt. ditto. Lieut. Cox, 87th Regiment, slightly. Lieut. Nickle, 88th Regt. ditto, Lieut. Bury, of ditto, slightly. Capt. Brookman, 71st Regt. dangerously. Lieut. Adamson, of ditto, severely.

5th Regiment.—Hon. Major King, slightly.

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36th Regt.—Capt. Swain, severely. Capt. Vernon, slightly. Capt. Wingfield, severely. Lieut. Cotton, ditto. Lieut. Challoner, slightly. Lieut. White, severely. Lieut. Whittel, ditto.

38th Regt.—Ensign Wiltshire, severely. Volunteer Henry de Waal, ditto.

45th Regt.—Capt. Payne, severely. Lieut. Moore, ditto.

47th Regt.—Lieut. Rutledge, severely.

87th Regt.—Major Miller, severely. Cap. Rose, dangerously. Capt. Blake, slightly. Capt. Des Barres, ditto. Capt. Gordon, severely. Lieut. Love, slightly. Lieut. Hill, ditto. Lieut. O'Brien, severely. Lieut. Budd, slightly. Lieut. Fitzgerald. Assistant-Surgeon Buxton, dangerously.

88th Regt.—Major Iremonger, slightly. Capt. M'Pherson, ditto. Capt. Chisholm, ditto. Capt. Dunn, ditto. Capt. Thomson, ditto. Lieut. Adair, severely. Lieut. Graydon, ditto. Lieut. Whittle, ditto. Lieut. Buller, ditto. Lieut. Mackie, slightly. Lieut. Gregg, ditto. Adjutant Robertson, ditto.

75th Regt.—Major M'Leod, slightly. Major Travers, ditto. Capt. O'Hare, severely. Lieut. Cardoux, ditto. Lieut. M'Lead, ditto. Lieut. Scott, ditto. Lieut. Turner, ditto. Lieut. M'Cullock, slightly.

Names of officers missing.—36th Regt. Surgeon Boyce. Assistant-Surgeon Read.

RECAPITULATION. *Killed.*—1 Major, 6 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 3 Staff, 18 Serjeants, 4 Drummers, 279 Rank and File—316. *Wounded.*—3 Lieutenant-Colonels, 5 Majors, 16 Captains, 33 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 2 Staff, 1 Volunteer, 48 Serjeants, 11 Drummers, 558 Rank and File—674. *Missing.*—2 Staff, 1 Quarter-Master, 4 Serjeants, 5 Drummers, 196 Rank and File—208.—Total—316 killed, 674 wounded, 208 missing—1198.—The Light Company of the 71st Regiment, attached to the Light Battalion, suffered severely, but no correct Return of their Loss has been received. The Prisoners have all been exchanged.

A DEFINITIVE TREATY *between the Generals in Chief of His Britannic Majesty and of His Catholic Majesty, as per the following Aritcles.*

I. There shall be from this time a cessation of hostilities on both sides of the river Plata.—II. The troops of his Britannic Majesty shall retain, for the period of two months, the fortress and place of Monte Video, and as a neutral country there shall be considered a line drawn from San Carlos on the west, to Bando on the east, and there shall not be on any part of that line hostilities committed on any side, the neutrality being understood only that the individuals of both nations may live freely under their respective laws, the Spanish subjects being judged by theirs, as the English by those of their nation.—III. There shall be on both sides a mutual restitution of prisoners, including not only those which have been taken since the arrival of the troops under Lieut. Gen. Whitelocke, but also all those his Britannic Majesty's subjects captured in South America since the commencement of the war.—IV. That for the promptest dispatch of the vessels and troops of his Britannic Majesty, there shall be no impediment thrown in the way of the supplies of provisions which may be requested for Monte Video.—V. A period of ten days, from this time, is given, for the re-embarkation of his Britannic Majesty's troops to pass to the north side of the river La Plata, with the arms which may actually be in their power, stores, and equipage, at the most convenient points which may be selected, and during this time provisions may be sold to them.—VI. That at the time of the delivery of the place and fortress of Monte Video, which shall take place at the end of the two months fixed in the second article, the delivery will be made in the terms it was found, and with the artillery it had when it was taken.—VII. Three officers of rank shall be delivered for and until the fulfilment of the above articles by both parties, being well understood that his Britannic Majesty's officers who have been on their parole, cannot serve against South America until their arrival in Europe.—Done at the Fort of Buenos Ayres, the 7th day of July, 1807, signing two of one tenor, ——JOHN WHITELOCKE, Lieut. Gen. Commanding. GEORGE MURRAY, Rear Adm. Commanding. SANTIAGO LINIERS. CESAR BALBIANI. BERNARDO VELASCOS.

Canal of Miserala, July 3, 1807.

SIR,——I have the honour to report to you, for the information of the Lieut. Gen. Whitelocke, that the advanced corps under my command, consisting of 3 companies of the 95th light battalion, 36th and 88th regt. with 2 three, and 2 six pounders, advanced from the position I had taken up in front of the village of the Reduction, and after making a considerable detour from the badness of the roads, I crossed the Chuelo at the Chico Pass, from thence I continued my route, though very strongly inclosed, and difficult ground, till the head of the column arrived at the junction of two roads, about 500 yards from the Canal of Miserala. At the same moment that we discovered the enemy, they commenced a heavy though af-

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ter the first round not well directed fire of shot and shells, my artillery having been left in the rear, under the protection of 3 companies of Brig Gen. Lumley's brigade, owing to the inability of the horses to bring it up at the same rate at which the infantry marched, I directed an immediate attack to be made on their left flank with the bayonet, which was executed by Brig. Gen. Craufurd in the most perfect manner with his brigade, and he was so well seconded by the gallantry of Lieut. Col. Pack, and Major Travers, the officers and men of the 95th, and light battalion, that in 5 minutes the enemy's force, though strongly posted behind hedges, and embankments, gave way, leaving about 60 killed and 70 prisoners, with all their artillery consisting of 9 guns, 1 howitzer, 3 tumbrils with limbers complete.—I beg to state that the conduct of every officer and soldier engaged was admirable; and that I am also under great obligations to Brig. Gen. Lumley for his exertions to take a share in the action, but which alone the very exhausted state of his regiments, from the severity of the march, prevented. Immediately after I formed, I found that he had taken a good position on the right of the light brigade to support it in case of re-attack.——I am happy to add our loss has been but trifling, not exceeding 14 rank and file killed, 5 officers, and 25 rank and file wounded. The exact returns I have not been able to obtain.——I have the honour to be, &c.—(Signed) J. Leveson Gower, Major General.—Lieut. Col. Torrens, Military Secretary.

[*To be continued.*]

Capitulation of Copenhagen and Surrender of the Danish Fleet.—*From the London Gazette Extraordinary, dated Downing-street, Sept. 10, 1807.*

Dispatches of which the following are copies, have been received by Viscount Castlereagh, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from Admiral Gambier and Lieut. Gen. the Right Hon. Lord Cathcart, K. T. the commanders of his majesty's naval and military forces in the Baltic Sea.

Prince of Wales, Copenhagen Roads, Sept. 7, 1807.

My Lord,——My letter, of the 5th inst. will inform your lordship of the progress of the operations of his majesty's forces against Copenhagen to that period. I have now the honour and satisfaction to add, that previous to the hour intended for opening our batteries on that night, an officer, with a flag of truce, came out from the town, with proposals for an armistice to settle terms of capitulation. This was accordingly done, after a correspondence * between the Danish General and Lord Cathcart and myself, of which I transmit a copy; and your lordship will be informed of the stipulations agreed upon by the inclosed copy of the Articles. †—Our army has accordingly been put in possession of the citadel and the arsenal, and the most vigorous exertions are commenced for equipping and sending to England the Danish navy. I have the honour to be, &c.—J. Gambier.

Citadel of Copenhagen, Sept. 8, 1807.

My Lord,——It has fallen to my lot to have the great satisfaction of forwarding to your lordship, the ratified Capitulation of the Town and Citadel of Copenhagen, including the surrender of the Danish fleet and arsenal in this port, which are placed at his Majesty's disposal.——The object of securing this fleet having been attained, every other provision, of a tendency to wound the feelings or irritate the nation, has been avoided; and although the bombardment and cannonade have made considerable havoc and destruction in the town, not one shot was fired into it till after it was summoned, with the offer of the most advantageous terms; nor a single shot after the first indication of a disposition to capitulate; on the contrary, the firing, which lasted three nights, from his Majesty's batteries, was considerably abated on the 2d, and was only renewed on the 3d, to its full vigour, on supposing, from the quantity of shells thrown from the place, that there was a determination to hold out.—On the evening of the 5th Sept. a letter was sent by the Danish General, to propose an armistice of 24 hours, for preparing an agreement on which articles of capitulation might be founded. The armistice was declined, as tending to unnecessary delay, and the works were continued; but the firing was countermanded, and Lieut. Col. Murray, was sent to explain that no proposal of capitulation could be listened to, unless accompanied by the surrender of the fleet.——This basis having been admitted by a subsequent letter, on the 6th, Major Gen. Sir A. Wellesley, whom I had sent for, for this purpose, from his command in the country, where he had distinguished himself in a manner so honourable to himself and so advantageous to the public, was appointed, with Sir Home Popham and Lieut. Col. Murray, to prepare and sign articles of capitulation; and those officers having insisted on proceeding immediately to business, the capitulation was drawn up in the night between the 6th and 7th.——The ratification was exchanged in the course of

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* Given in Lord Cathcart's dispatch.

† The Articles are in Lord Cathcart's dispatch.

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the morning, and at 4 in the afternoon of the same day, Lieut. Gen. Burrard proceeded to take possession.——The British grenadiers present, with detachments from all the other corps of cavalry and infantry, under the command of Col. Cameron, of the 79th regiment, with two brigades of artillery, marched into the citadel, while Major Gen. Spencer having embarked his brigade at the Kalk Brandiere, landed in the Dock Yard, and took possession of each of the line of battle ships, and of all the arsenal; the Danish guards withdrawing when those of his Majesty were ready to replace them, and proper officers attending to deliver stores as far as inventories could be made up.—The town being in a state of the greatest ferment and disorder, I most willingly acceded to the request that our troops should not be quartered in it, and that neither officers or soldiers should enter it for some days; and, having the command of possession from the citadel, whenever it might be necessary to use it, I had no objection to leaving the other gates in the hands of the troops of his Danish Majesty, together with the police of the place.—We have consented to the re-establishment of the post; but all arrivals and departures are to be at and from the citadel.—— This work is in good condition, very strong, and well stored with ordnance and ammunition. The amount of the garrison of the town, is not easily ascertained. The regular troops were not numerous; but the number of batteries which fired at the same time, together with the floating defences, prove that there must have been a very great number of Militia and Burghers, with other irregular forces; and their ordnance was well served. Considering the advanced position in which His Majesty's troops have been placed for the last fortnight, our loss (highly as I prize the value of every Officer or soldier who has fallen or been wounded) has been comparatively small. The zeal, spirit, and perseverance of every rank in the army, have been truly characteristic of the British nation; and the King's German Legion are entitled to a full share in this commendation. All the Generals, and indeed each Officer, has rendered himself conspicuous in proportion to his command, and the opportunities which have occurred, and opportunities have occurred to all. The Staff have done themselves the greatest credit, and been of all the service that could be desired in their several departments. Col. D'Arcy, the Chief Engineer, and every Engineer under him, have given the most unequivocal proofs of science and indefatigable industry; the works under their direction have gone on with fresh parties without ceasing. Gen. Bloomfield, and the Officers and corps of Royal Artillery, have done great honour to themselves, and to that branch of His Majesty's service, of which their fire upon the gun boats, and the rapidity and success of the mortar practice, afford sufficient proofs; nor is the distribution of battering ordnance and of so much ammunition at so many points, in this extensive line, in so short a period, a small proof of the method and resources of that Corps. Lieut. Col. Smith, with the 82d Regiment under his command, held the post at the Windmill on the left, which for the greater part of the time, was the most exposed to the gun-boats and sorties of the enemy; and the unremitting attentions of that Officer claim particular notice. By the naval blockade, the force opposed to us has been limited to the resources of this and of the adjacent islands, separated only by narrow ferries, and almost every wish of assistance has been anticipated, and every requisition of boats, guns, and stores, has been most amply and effectually provided for with the greatest dispatch and the most perfect cordiality; and every possible attention has been paid, and every accommodation given, by every Officer, in that service, from Admiral Gambier downward. A battalion of seamen and marines, with three divisions of carpenters, were landed on the 5th, under Captain Watson of His Majesty's ship Inflexible; and had the effort been made, which would have been resorted to in a few days, if the place had not capitulated, their services in the passage of the ditch would have been distinguished. I send this dispatch by Lieut. Cathcart, who has become for some time my first Aid-du Camp, who has seen every thing that has occurred here and at Stralsund, and will be able to give any further details that may be required. I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) CATHCART.

List of killed, wounded, and missing.—Killed. 4 officers, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 36 rank and file, and 3 horses. Wounded. 6 officers, 1 serjeant, 138 rank and file, and 25 horses. Missing. 1 serjeant, 4 drummers and 19 rank and file.—Names of officers killed. Lieut. Lyons, of the Royal Artillery. Ensign Robt. Dixon, of the 82d Foot. Lieut. Rudoff, of the 1st regt. Light Dragoons, King's German Legion. Ensign Jennings, of the 23d foot, or Royal Welch Fuzileers.——Names of officers wounded. Capt. Hastings, of the 82d foot. Lieut. Suter of ditto. Capt. During, 1st battalion King's German Legion. Lieut. Gen. Sir D. Baird, in the shoulder and hand, slightly. Ensign Bilson.

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ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION for the town and citadel of Copenhagen, agreed upon between Major-General the right hon. Sir A. Wellesley, K. B., Sir Home Popham, Knight of Malta and Captain of the Fleet, and Lieut. Col. George Murray, Deputy Quarter-Master-General of the British Forces, being thereto duly authorised by James Gambier, Esq. Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's ships and vessels in the Baltic sea, and by Lieut. Gen. the right hon. Lord Cathcart, Knight of the Thistle, Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Forces in Zealand and the North of the Continent of Europe, on the one part, and by Major-General Walterstorff, Knight of the Order of Dannebrog, Chamberlain to the King, and Col. of the North Zealand Regiment of Infantry, Rear-Admiral Lurken, and I. H. Kerchoff, Aid-du-Camp to his Danish Majesty, being duly authorised by his Excellency Major-General Peyman, Knight of the Order of Dannebrog, and Commander in Chief of His Danish Majesty's Forces in the Island of Zealand on the other part ——Art. I. When the capitulation shall have been signed and ratified, the troops of his Britannic Majesty are to be put in possession of the citadel. Art. II. A guard of his Britannic Majesty's troops shall likewise be placed in the dock-yards. Art. III. The ships and vessels of war of every description, with all the naval stores belonging to his Danish Majesty, shall be delivered into the charge of such persons as shall be appointed by the commander in chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces, and they are to be put in immediate possession of the dock-yards, and all the buildings and storehouses belonging thereto. Art. IV. The store-ships and transports in the service of his Britanic Majesty are to be allowed, if necesary, to come into the harbour for the purpose of embarking such stores and troops as they have brought into this island. Art. V. As soon as the ships shall have been removed from the dock-yard, or within six weeks from the date of this capitulation, or sooner, if possible, the troops of his Britannic Majesty shall deliver up the citadel to the troops of his Danish Majesty, in the state in which it shall be found when they occupy it. His Britannic Majesty's troops shall likewise, within the before-mentioned time, or sooner, if possible, be embarked from the island of Zealand. Art. VI. From the date of this capitulation, hostilities shall cease throughout the island of Zealand. Art. VII. No person whatsoever shall be molested, and all property, public or private, with the exception of the ships and vessels of war, and the naval stores before mentioned, belonging to his Danish Majesty, shall be respected; and all civil and military officers in the service of his Danish Majesty shall continue in the full exercise of their authority throughout the island of Zealand; and every thing shall be done which can tend to produce union and harmony between the two nations. Art. VIII. All prisoners taken on both sides shall be unconditionally restored, and those officers who are prisoners on parole, shall be released from its effect. Art. IX. Any English property that may have been sequestered in consequence of the existing hostilities, shall be restored to the owners ——This capitulation shall be ratified by the respective commanders in chief, and the ratifications shall be exchanged before twelve o'clock at noon this day.—Done at Copenhagen, this 7th day of Sept. 1807. (Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY, HOME POPHAM, GEORGE MURRAY. Ratifié par moi (signée) PEYMAUN.

Admiralty-office, September 16, 1807.—Captain Collier, of His Majesty's ship the Surveillante, arrived at this Office this morning with a dispatch from Admiral Gambier, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels in the Baltic, addressed to the Honourable William Wellesley Pole, Secretary of the Admiralty, dated Prince of Wales, in Copenhagen-Road, 7th Sept. 1807, of which the following is a copy:

Sir—The communications which I have already had the honour to transmit to you, will have made the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty acquainted with the proceedings of the fleet under my command, down to the 2d instant; I have now to add, that the mortar batteries which had been erected by the army in the several positions they had taken round Copenhagen, together with the bomb vessels, which were placed in convenient situations, began the bombardment in the morning of that day, with such power and effect, that in a short time the town was set on fire, and by the repeated discharges of our artillery, was kept in flames in different places, till the evening of the 5th, when a considerable part of it being consumed, and the inflagration having arrived at a great height, threatening the speedy distruction of the whole city, the General commanding the garrison sent out a flag of truce desiring an armistice, to afford time to treat for a capitulation. After some correspondence had passed between the Danish General and Lord Cathcart and myself, certain articles were agreed upon, of which I have the honour to trahsmit you a copy. From these their Lordships will perceive that all the Danish ships and vessels of war

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(of which I inclose a list), with the stores in the arsenal, were to be delivered up to such persons as should be appointed to receive them on the part of his Majesty. I accordingly appointed Sir Home Popham for this purpose, and having made the necessary arrangements for equipping them with the utmost dispatch, I have committed the execution of this service to Vice-Admiral Stanhope, in whose ability and exertions I can place the fullest confidence.—I am happy on this occasion to express the warm sense I entertain of the cordial co-operation of the army, by whose exertions, with the favourable concurrence of circumstances, under Divine Providence, ever since we left England, our ultimate success has been more immediately obtained. I must also convey to their Lordships, in terms of the highest approbation and prnise, the conspicuous zeal and earnest indeavours of every officer and man under my command for the accomplishment of this service; and although the operations of the fleet have not been of a nature to afford me a general and brilliant occasion for adding fresh testimony to the numerous records of the bravery of British seamen and marines, yet the gallantry and energy displayed by the advanced squadron of sloops, bombs, gunbrigs, &c. which were employed under the command of Captain Puget to cover the operations of the left wing of the army from the Danish flotilla, ought not to be passed over in silence. I have beheld with admiration the steady courage and arduous exertion with which, on one occasion, in particular, they sustained, for more than four hours, a heavy and incessant cannonade with the Danish batteries, block ships, prams, and gunboats, in a situation, where, from the shoalness of the water, it was impossible to bring any of the large ships to their support.—I feel it my duty to make a particular acknowledgement of the aid I have derived from Sir Home Popham, Captain of the Fleet, whose prompt resources and complete knowledge of his profession, especially of that branch which is connected with the operations of an army, qualify him in a particular manner for the arduous and various duties with which he has been charged.—I herewith inclose an account of the killed and wounded.—I beg leave to refer their lordships to Captain Collier, whom I have charged with this dispatch, for any further particulars they may desire to know.—I have the honour to be &c. J. GAMBIER.

An account of killed and wounded on board the advanced squadron, on the 23d of August, 1807.—Cruizer Lieut. Woodford, killed: Fearless 2 seamen killed; lieut. Williams (slightly) 1 seaman, and 4 marines wounded: Indignant 1 seaman killed; 1 seaman wounded: Urgent 1 seaman and 1 marine wounded: Valiant's Launch 3 seamen wounded: Africaine's Boat 1 seaman wounded: total 4 killed, 13 wounded.

List of the killed and wounded by the explosion of the Charles armed transport, attached to the advanced squadron, on the 31st August, 1807.—Belonging to the Valiant 2 seamen, killed; lieut. N. Rowe, Mr. Philip Tomlinson, master's mate (since dead of his wounds,) and 12 seamen, wounded.—Belonging to the Transport—Mr. James Moyase, master, and 7 seamen, killed; 7 seamen, wounded. J. GAMBIER.

A list of the Danish ships and vessels delivered up by the Capitulation of Copenhagen to his Majesty's forces, Sept 7. 1807.

Christian the seventh, of 96 guns, built in 1803; Neptune, of 84 guns, built in 1789; Waldemaar, of 84 guns, built in 1798; Princess Sophia Frederica, of 74 guns, built in 1775; Justice, of 74 guns, built in 1777; Heir Apparent Frederick, of 74 guns, built in 1782; Crown Prince Frederick, of 74 guns, built in 1784; Fuen, of 74 guns, built in 1787; Oden, of 74 guns, built in 1788; Three Crowns, of 74 guns, built in 1789; Skiold, of 74 guns, built in 1792; Crown Princess Maria, of 74 guns, built in 1791; Danemark, of 74 guns, built in 1794; Norway, of 74 guns, built in 1800; Princess Caroline, of 74 guns, built in 1805; Detmarsken, of 64 guns, built in 1780; Conqueror, of 64 guns, built in 1785; Mars, of 64 guns, built in 1784.—Frigates, Pearl, of 44 guns, built in 1804; Housewife, of 44 guns, built in 1789; Liberty, of 44 guns, built in 1793; Iris, of 44 guns, built in 1795; Rota, of 44 guns, built in 1801; Venus, of 44 guns, built in 1805; Nyade, of 36 guns, built in 1796; Triton, of 28 guns built in 1790; Frederigstein, of 28 guns, built in 1800; Little Belt, of 24 guns, built in 1801; St. Thomas, of 22 guns, built in 1779; Fylla, of 24 guns, built in 1802; Elbe, of 20 guns, built in 1800; Eyderen, of 20 guns, built in 1802; Glackstadt, of 20 guns, built in 1804.—Brigs, Sarpe, of 18 guns, built in 1791; Glommen, of 13 guns, built in 1791; Ned Elven, of 18 guns, built in 1792; Mercure, of 18 guns, built in 1806; Courier, of 14 guns, built in 1801; Flying Fish, built in 1789.—Gun-Boats, Eleven with 2 guns in the bow; fourteen with 1 gun in the bow and one in the stern.—J. GAMBIER.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 13.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1807. [PRICE 1OD.

"Look at Scotland! See her enviable state with regard to her Poor! That country is the theme of panegyric "amongst all who have visited her, on account of the situation of her labouring classes. The Poor-Laws "are almost totally in disuse, and all is regularity and order! What was the day-star which shone forth "and calmed her troubles? Education. Such was the effect of Education upon Scotland, and I will "prove to you that that effect was produced by Education alone."—— Mr. Whitbread's Speech on the Poor Laws Bill. PARL. DEBATES, Vol. 8, p. 879.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

POOR LAWS (continued from page 388). ——When, at the page, here referred to, I made some observations upon the unjust reflection, which, in the preamble to his bill for the education of the poor of England, Mr. Whitbread had thrown upon this country, I was pretty certain, that those remarks would not be long without calling forth the animadversions of some Scotch correspondent; for, an ardent zeal on the side of their own particular part of the kingdom is one of the laudable characteristics of the inhabitants to the north of the Tweed. My expectations were not disappointed. A letter, which will be found immediately after this Summary, will shew the reader, that what I said has been felt, and that it has kindled some little anger. The writer does, indeed, throw out a sort of *threat*, that, unless I insert his letter, he will cause it to be inserted elsewhere, a threat which has made me balance for some time, whether I should print it or throw it into the fire. A similar *threat*, but more distinct, has been sent me by way of post-script to a most rude and insolent letter, coming evidently from one of the Berwick Smack statesmen, whose letter I will, however, publish, if he will send me, instead of the fictitious name of "ANTI-CAPITOLINUS," his real name and place of abode. ——The first of these letters I have inserted, because it contains what one defender, at least, of Mr. Whitbread's project has to say; but, I think it right here to observe, once for all, that, of all those, who choose to make use of threats to "print elsewhere, and shame the rogue," I shall shew my contempt by leaving them to execute their threats. If "ANTI-CAPITOLINUS" will send me, post paid, to No. 5. Panton Square, his abusive letter, leaving out the threats of publication elsewhere, I will publish it; otherwise I shall leave him to his other means of publication.——Before I enter upon my reply to the letter of SCOTO-BRITANNUS, which is the name taken by the Scotch correspondent above-mentioned, it may not be amiss to insert the preamble to Mr. Whitbread's bill, which preamble has given me, and all those who think with me, upon this subject, so much offence: "Whereas the *instruction* of youth tends "most materially to the promotion of mo-"rality and virtue, and to the formation of "good members of society, whereof we "have the most convincing proof, by long "experience, in that part of the United "Kingdom, called Scotland; and, it is ex-"pedient, that provision should be made "for the instruction of the children of the poor "of England and Wales; may it please your "Majesty, that it may be enacted, &c "—— Now, if this means any thing describable, it means, that the poor of Scotland are more moral, more virtuous, and better members of society than the poor of England are; and this, I say, is false, and grossly insulting to the people of England.——The article, which I have referred to, at the beginning of this sheet, contains my reasons for this assertion, and also my reasons for objecting to Mr. Whitbread's project of parochial schools. Scoto-Britannus differs from me upon both points, as the reader will see, choosing, however, to invert the order, which I followed, and to attack first that which he regarded as hostile to his own country. Indeed, he has followed no order at all; and, really, one might well be excused from replying to any answer, wherein a confusion in the arrangement of the several points necessarily renders the reply four or five times as long as it otherwise might be.——I will follow my arrangement, and will, taking argument by argument, see how each has been answered by Scoto-Britannus.——1. I expressed my dislike to the assumption, that the *poverty* of the labouring people arose from their *vices*, and observed, that no position could be more convenient for those, who, from whatever motive, were desirous of supporting the taxing system. I added, that the paupers of England and Wales had increased three-fold, since Pitt became minister; that, to

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this argument of experience might be added the undeniable truth, that, if, by any system, no matter what it be called, the fruit of the labour of some be drained away to keep others without labour, the poverty of those who labour must thereby be increased. ——Scoto-Britannus says, that I have *admitted* the fact, that vice is the cause of poverty. This is not true in the way that he represents it, I have not admitted, but have positively denied, that the poverty complained of by Mr. Whitbread has arisen from the vices of the people; and have, in terms most distinct, ascribed it to the other natural and all-pervading cause, the increase of taxation.——In answer to this argument relative to the effects of the taxing system, Scoto-Britannus, first observes, that the taxes bear equally hard upon the people of both countries; then he *asserts*, that the labourers in Scotland are in most delightful condition. This is *his* argument of experience; but, between mine and his there is this little difference, that I, in stating the increase of paupers, refer to documents which have been laid before parliament, whereas he refers merely to his own observation, confined, in all probability, to a small part of Scotland; and, therefore, here his argument is at once demolished by my denying the fact upon which it rests, and, I think, I am warranted in so doing, when I am able to shew, that the Scotch labourers are, in part, fed from the fruit of the labour of Englishmen, sent to them in grants annually made by parliament. But, aware of the weakness of this ground, he resorts to reasons drawn from the nature of the case, and says, "that the English la-" bourer, if he chooses to be industrious " and economical, may make a very com-" fortable livelihood; and that his profits " are *not drained away by taxes*, because " his establishment and income are so small, " that they *do not come within the range* " *of the taxing system.*" Upon reading this, one might almost be led to hope, that this system, as established here, has not yet reached Scotland; but, as that would be too much to hope, we must conclude, either that the poor in Scotland wear no shoes, no shirts, no hats; that they use neither tea nor coffee nor sugar nor spirits nor beer nor candles nor soap; that, in short, they go naked by day, lay upon the bare ground by night, dig up their food with their snouts or catch it after the manner of the hawk or the fox, and that their drink is pure water; this we must conclude, or we must conclude that Scoto-Britannus, who writes in so dogmatical a style, who quotes Latin, and who, to shew his contempt of it, I suppose, does, in several instances, scorn to write English, has never reflected, or is incapable of reflecting with advantage, upon the operation and effects of the taxing system.——II. But, said I, supposing for argument's sake, that vice has greatly increased, amongst the poor, of late years, schools, books, magazines, newspapers, &c. have increased ten-fold since the fatal reign of Pitt began; how, then, can Mr. Whitbread expect to eradicate vice, and thereby reduce the number of paupers by adding about twelve thousand to the number of schools already existing? Scoto-Britannus, with his usual modesty, begins his answer to this argument by asserting, that it is *fallacious*; " for," says he, " the increase of the publications *has not* " *proceeded from the extension of the art of* " *reading*, but from some of those, who " were able to read formerly, reading more " than they did; and from a very numer-" ous class, who could read formerly, now " using these publications, whereas they " never thought of them some years ago." He seems to have overlooked the great and glaring increase of *schools* in England and Wales, whence, I think, we may presume that there is a great increase of readers; and, indeed, for a writer seriously to contend, that the *readers have not increased*, does expose him to imminent danger of being set down for a person more intent upon contradiction than upon the discovery of truth. But, at any rate, *reading* has increased, the mass of reading has increased with the mass of vice; for, observe, it is he who contends that vice has increased, that being the very basis of the project; and, then, I repeat my question, if vice has increased with the increase of reading, how are we to hope, that vice will be diminished by a further increase of reading?——III. I said, that, if taught to read the Bible, the poor would not stop there; that they would read publications very well calculated to add to the stock of vice; and that, as to political matters, the little learned *must* derive injury from the works issuing from a press, under laws, by which a man may be put half to death for writing, or publishing, the truth. ——To this Scoto-Britannus gives no answer at all; but, in one part of his letter, he has the following observations: " It is " very plain, that, in a civilized period of " society, as we are, unless a habit of men-" tal amusement is acquired, the only enter-" tainment will consist in animal, and, " *consequently*, vicious gratification. Now, " from this *indubitable* principle, it *mani-* " *festly* follows, that, even the plough-

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" man, unless he can read, so as to " amuse himself when his work is over, the " ale-house will be his resort, where he " brings himself and his family to beggary. " You *may say*, indeed, that his reading " will corrupt his principles, both moral and " political; but, *rely upon it*, his want of " reading will lead him farther astray. " Pimps and demagogues and hireling de- " claimers are now too numerous, too anx- " ious, and too successful in deluding igno- " rance. The peasant's time would, at " least, harmlessly be spent in reading the " most immoral and factious publications; " and, *I am fully convinced*, would not be " in such danger as if he were left in igno- " rance" (this is to say, *without reading them*). " A taste, and a sight, *of vice*, be- " fore the deceiver comes, is the best anti- " dote against it". Go, go, thou Scotch Philosopher! Keep thy pimping books, thy prurience of debauchery and blasphemy, amongst the lads and lasses of thy own country; fortify them against the deceiver by giving them a foretaste of vice; but, come not, I pray thee, on this side the Tweed! As to the ale-house, properly used, it is as good as the *bake-house*, or bacon-house. The Bible will tell your pupils, that wine was given by God " to *glad* men's heart"; and, they will readily conclude, that, those who cannot get wine for that purpose, may safely take beer, without any offence to him who made it and them. But, upon the supposition, that the poor man's heart should never, even for one moment, be cheered by liquor, and that he never ought to set his foot into an ale-house, what, let me ask, is so likely to lead him thither as *the news-paper*? And, where will you find an ale-house without one in? Ask the landlord, why he takes the news-paper; he will tell you, that it attracts people to his house; and, in many cases, its attractions are much stronger than those of the liquor there drunk, thousands upon thousands of men having become sots through the attractions of these vehicles of novelty and falsehood. The principle, that all *animal amusements are necessarily vicious*, though "indubitable" with this northern philosopher, is a little doubtful with me; and, indeed, if one may venture to express an opinion in opposition to that of a writer, who speaks in so authoritative a tone, I should think, that animal amusements, generally speaking, are the least likely of the two to engender vice; and, as to the ploughman, sitting down to read his good book, after his labour is done, the idea never could have found its way into the mind of any one who knew what a ploughman was. Take a thousand ploughmen, set them down to their good books, after their day's work is done, and, in less than ten minutes, the whole thousand will be asleep. Animal amusement is the only amusement that such men *can* enjoy. They are up long before the sun; and, in the evening of the day, if they are not engaged in bodily exercise, they must be asleep, and asleep they would be, though a torrent of the philosophy of Scoto-Britannus were pouring down upon their devoted heads.—I asked, whether, within these last twenty years, *liberty* had increased with the increase of schools? Scoto does not answer this question, but he drops in upon the subject thus: " Would not reading", says he, " render the poor more *upright*, by ena- " bling them the better to understand those " instructions, which every Sunday the " church affords them? Ignorance" (which is a *want of reading*, observe) " has ever " been the constant attendant of slavery " and bigotry; and, on this account, uni- " versal education" (that is *reading*), " as " it would add to the beauty, so it would " also add to the *security* of the *British* " *Constitution*".——This word *constitution* is a very fine word. Scoto does not say to the *security of person and property*, because, perhaps, he was aware, that I should ask him what improvement *that* had received from his system of parish schools in Scotland; and that I should have put a question or two about the powers of a *Lord Advocate*, when exercised by a man of " *an ardent* " *mind*", as Pitt called it. That Scoto, who is, clearly enough, a schoolmaster himself, should see great beauty in the British Constitution I am not at all surprised, especially when I recollect, that the appointment of Scotch Schoolmasters is perfectly a *political* affair, as it would, in all likelihood, very soon become in England. At the probable effect of reading the Bible I before hinted; and, I think, it must be clear to every man who attentively considers the matter, that such reading, if universal, could lead to nothing short of universal schism, which, at present, is prevented, only by the general want of what may be called *study* in reading it. Those, amongst *the mass* of the people, who read the Bible, read it because they are told it is their duty so to do. Having gone over the words, they think they have done their duty, without troubling themselves as to the sense. This is an evil, because they are apt to regard it as *a work of propitiation*, and the effect is much about the same as that produced by the Roman Catholic's bidding of his beads. The Bible is a book for learned historians and profound

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thinkers to read. It is undeniably a book of *mysteries*. and is it, I ask any man who will speak sincerely, possible for *those who can barely read words*, to derive any real profit from the perusal of such a book? No: it is from the expositions and applications of the contents of the Bible, given by learned men, or by others who make use of those expositions and applications, that the people in general are to profit; these expositions and applications they will hear at Church and, for my part, I cannot perceive how the capacity of reading would tend to make them either more attentive or more docile.——But, if I doubt of the advantages of reading and writing, amongst those of the common people who are destined to labour in the fields, on the shop-board, or in the manufactory, I am quite certain, that, generally speaking, they are worse than useless in the army and the navy. Scoto has a bright idea about the "Sons of Mars and of "Neptune" rising, in virtue of their schooling, from the lowest to the highest ranks; but, besides the notoriety of the fact, *that this is not the case now*, is it not evident, that *all* men cannot so rise, that *all* soldiers and sailors cannot become officers, either commissioned or non-commissioned? And, this being the case, would not the "education", as it is called, of nine tenths of them tend to create discontent rather than a cheerful obedience? Upon this part of the subject I can speak with some little experience; and, I appeal to any commanding officer, who has continued long settled with his regiment, or to any captain of a man of war, whether your "scholars", as they are called, are not in general the worst of soldiers and sailors. The conceit makes them saucy; they take the lead in all matters of mischief; they are generally dirty and drunkards; and, the lash drives them to desert. So true it is, that "scholars" are not the best soldiers, that, though one third part, at least, of the men of every regiment can read and write, yet you will find, in every regiment, men chosen for non-commissioned officers who can neither read nor write. Reading and writing and honesty and good behaviour are all wanted in a non-commissioned officer! but, as the two latter are absolutely necessary, the commander is frequently compelled to appoint men who can neither write nor read; though he has hundreds of "scholars" in his regiment or his ship; and, it is curious to observe, that the "scholars" become the clerks of the "ignorant" non-commisioned officers, make out their reports and accounts for them, leaving them the trouble of merely scrawling their name. This practice is universal, throughout the army and the navy, and it is a striking instance of the superiority of intrinsic worth over acquired talent. The man of reading and writing is to be preferred, if he be equally good with his comrade in other respects; and the great convenience of his talents generally procures him a trial, before his comrade be thought of for promotion; but, in the end, the sober, cleanly, punctual, early-rising, vigilant, honest and unassuming man is sure to be preferred, because these qualities are indispensible, and because reading and writing can be dispensed with.——"But, *somebody* must read and write". Granted; and what I contend for, is, that the number will be quite large enough, if you leave the parents to their own taste and their own means. There will then be as many readers and writers as the state of things calls for; but, if you make *all* men readers and writers, you must produce an unnatural and disjointed state of things.——IV. I said, that the word *ignorance* was misapplied in using it as the opposite of book-learning. Scoto Britannus, however, insists, that, though a labourer may be as clever as it be possible at all the branches of husbandry, still he is to be accused of ignorance, unless he can read in a book. What, Scoto, would you have him to read about? The lawyer reads his cases; the physician reads medicine; the chemist reads chemistry; the parson reads divinity; and Mr. Whitbread reads the political economy of the Edinburgh Reviewers. These all read of matters connected with their several professions; and, doubtless, they become wiser, or, at least, more deeply skilled in their professions, by reading. But, what reading could possibly render the labourer more skilled in his profession? The old story about the judge and the sailor is quite apt to our purpose here. "Not know the meaning of the "*implication*," said the judge, "what an "*ignorant* fellow you must be."—"Well," continued the sailor, after the interruption, "as I was saying, he took hold of the "*painter*."... "The *painter*?" interrupted the judge, "what's the painter?" —"Oh, lord!" exclaimed the sailor, "not know what the *painter* is? what an "*ignorant* man you must be!" If this story be true, the sailor, doubtless, was committed to jail; but, that did not make his conclusion more erroneous than that of the judge. According to the notion of Scoto-Britannus; a man may first become completely skilled in all the business of husbandry; he may next learn to fell and hew

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timber, and convert the several woods of the coppices into hoops, staves and shingles; then he may take the corn into the mill and go through the several stages of making it into flour; next he may become a soldier, may learn all the laborious duties of that profession, marching, shooting, riding, sapping and mining; transferred from the army to the fleet, he may learn to hand, reef, and steer, to sound the sea, and to man the guns in battle; in the course of his life, he may see all the quarters and countries of the world, the manners of all the different nations, and may feel the effects of all the climates; and, yet, when he comes home, with his mind necessarily stored with ideas, of which that of his neighbour must be totally destitute, he is to be called *ignorant*, in comparison with that neighbour, if he cannot read in a book, and if that neighbour can read in a book. Such a notion never, surely, could have entered the mind of a man, whose trade it was not to teach reading, and who did not view what he calls education through the deceitful medium of self-interest. —— Having now replied to every thing which this writer has said in answer to what I offered respecting the poor-school project; and having, as I verily believe, given substantial reasons for the rejection of that project, I shall now proceed to reply to what my correspondent has said respecting the state of Scotland. And, here I must beg the reader to bear in mind, that my former observations were *provoked*: that the labourers of Scotland had been, in the preamble to an act of parliament, represented as better members of society than the labourers of England; and that herein was contained a *challenge*, on the part of Mr. Whitbread's instructors, against the people of England. A thousand instances of arrogance like this I have seen in Scotch publications, and have passed them over in silence as the effects of that *nationality*, for which the people of Scotland are so renowned, and which, though a fault, is certainly a fault upon the right side; but, when I found that this feeling was operating in a way to become the foundation of a law materially to alter the parochial laws and the manners of England, it was impossible to remain any longer silent. ——Scoto-Britannus begins by giving us a description of a Scotch labourer's dwelling, family, fare, and manners; and, I caution positively swear that this description is false, because I have never been in Scotland; but, as he refers me to the testimony of those who have been there, I will tell him, that the description which I have received from such persons is nearly as follows: a cabbin built of mud and thatch, having no floor but the earth, having no window of glass, but a hole to let in light, stopped occasionally with a board; a hole through one end of the roof to let out the smoke, and a division by a hurdle, to separate the family from the cow, or pig, where either happens to be kept. The bed is made of heath, placed the stems downwards and cut off smooth at the top, the elasticity of which renders it less galling to the body. The whole family have neither shoes nor stockings, and the children neither hats nor caps. The utensils are wooden bowls, horn-spoons, and a kettle or two. There are none of those places near the dwelling, which English cleanliness and decency always take care to provide; but a dunghill opposite the door is the receptacle for filth of every description, while a spot of ground, denominated a "*cale yard*" is all you perceive of the nature of a garden. This is the description, which I have received, from persons, upon whose word I place reliance; and, though there are many exceptions therefrom, I am sincerely persuaded, that, as a general description, it is perfectly just. I am told, too, that in Edinburgh, that emporium of learning and of virtue, the lower classes of the people throw from their windows into the street all that we send away without offending any one of the senses; and that, if it be unhappily your lot to ascend their stair-cases, which are very lofty, you must take special care to tread precisely in the middle, each corner of each step being loaded with filth. The old sayings, too, about that tormenting disorder of the skin, which for the sake of Scoto-Britannus, shall here be nameless, seem to correspond with this account of a want of cleanliness in Scotland. When a term of reproach is taken up, it is generally much strained in its application; but, it seldom prevails to any extent, and for any length of time, if it has not *some* foundation in truth. I remember also, that, when Scotch recruits were brought up to Chatham Barracks, it was the *invariable* practice to send them to a particular ward in the *hospital*, there to be anointed and rendered clean, before they were permitted even to set their foot in the Barrack rooms. I never saw this precaution taken with respect to recruits of any other country; and I am compelled to believe, that there was some solid reason for the distinction. ——But, if it be really true, that the state of the labourer in Scotland is what Scoto has described it to be, how happens it, that we hear of no emigration to that country?

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We hear of emigration *from* it, indeed, and of that we will speak by-and-by; but, how comes it, that we hear of no emigration *to it*; plenty and happiness being commodities which are, of all others, the surest to draw customers? The Picts' wall is surely not standing? No: that cannot be, because the Scotch emigrate in great numbers to England, that is to say, according to Scoto and Mr. Whitbread, from plenty and virtue to poverty and vice, a practice wholly at variance with the theory, except we suppose, that they who emigrate hither are all school-masters coming from motives of pure philanthropy, to teach us how we may obtain plenty and banish poverty and vice. —— Scoto-Britannus tells me, that there are as many Scotchmen as Europeans of all other nations in the West Indies, and more in Hindostan, and this he produces as a proof of the enterprize of his countrymen, owing, as he says, in great part, to their plan of education. I admit it all, without the least reserve; and, in order to convince me, that a similar plan of education is desirable for England, he has only to prove, that England would derive strength from the emigration of her most able-bodied sons, or that, remaining at home, slaves could, somehow or other, be found to work for them. But, he seems here to have forgotten, that Mr. Whitbread's intention was not to educate men for the East or West-Indies; not to educate them for East India collectors or West-India overseers, but for English labourers, upon whom he was for affixing badges. This remark of Scoto confirms, in a great degree, what I have said about the tendency of book education disinclining men to labour; for, while, as I before observed, we can be shewn no colony composed of Scotch labourers, we know of many composed, from their first settlement, of English, of Irish, and of Germans; and, it is notoriously true, that, of the American States, those only where the cultivation is carried on by slaves, have, for proprietors of the soil, any considerable number of Scotchmen, or the descendants of Scotchmen; whence comes the saying in America, that "Scotchmen make bad *soles* but "good *upper-leathers*;" and, as Mr. Whitbread's manufactory was professedly intended for soles only, the Scotch plan seems to have been the very worst that he could have adopted. —— My *two instances* of undeniable facts (see p. 336 and 337), have, as I anticipated, greatly puzzled the advocates of *Scotch example*. Scoto denies, however, that the emigration, founded upon the relative [illegible] to the taxes, as compared with the relative population, of England and Scotland, is a fair one; for, says he, many of my countrymen pay taxes in London. To be sure they do; but, will you attempt to persuade me, that it is from *Scotch labour* that they acquire the means of paying those taxes? *This* is the point to keep in view; for we are discussing, not whether the parish-school education tends to make good getters of money, but whether it tends to make good labourers, and to make a *country* productive. —— As this is all that Scoto-Britannus has offered in answer to argument, founded on the relative amount of the taxes, compared with the population, I think I may leave that argument as it stood before. —— As to the instance, founded on the fact of Scotch emigration to America, Scoto ascribes that emigration, to Sir John Sinclair's scheme of moulding small farms into large ones; but, insists, at the same time, that emigration is a proof of *enterprize* and *industry*. Well, then, as ten times as many Irish emigrate, the Irish must be still *more enterprizing and industrious*. Be it so, for argument's sake; but, again, I say, that Mr. Whitbread's plan was not intended to prepare the people for the exercise of industry in foreign countries, but to make them good labourers *at home*. —— One observation of mine, and that the most important of all, Scoto-Britannus has quite overlooked; and that was, that at the very time, that a law is proposed to be passed to educate the poor of England upon the Scotch plan, with a view of making them as moral, as industrious, and as happy as the poor of Scotland, large sums are annually granted out of the fruit of the labourers of England *expressly* to prevent the Scotch from emigrating, by *making work* for them at home. It is truly surprizing, that Scoto-Britannus should have overlooked so material a fact; because, without some very satisfactory reasons against it, we must conclude from this fact, that the "flourishing "state of Scotland," about which so much has been said, is a pure fiction; or that, from motives none of the best, the several sets of ministers have been guilty of partiality the most shameful. In the year 1806, there was granted, out of the taxes, of which Scotland pays *one seventeenth* part, 70,000 pounds to *make work* upon bridges and canals, in order to prevent the labourers from emigrating; and 17,000 pounds to *send food* to others of them. This is nearly a thirtieth part of the whole of the taxes that Scotland pays; and, observe, that these grants have been going on for years, and are likely to go on for years to come: Now, I should

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like to see Mr. Malthus apply his principles to this practice of ours; or, to see the Edinburgh Reviewers with Mr. Whitbread in their rear, endeavouring to persuade us, that the labourers of a country, who cannot support themselves without aid from the fruit of English labour, are proper to be held up as an example for English labourers. Nothing, surely, but folly bordering upon idiocy, urged on by importunity and impudence unparalleled, could have produced the insult, of which I complain, and which I should be ashamed of myself not to resent.—— When we, the lazy and vicious English, want bridges, roads, and canals, we are obliged to make them at our own private expence, and to *pay for acts of parliament* authorizing us so to do; but, the industrious, and virtuous Scotch are to be *paid out of the taxes*, that is to say, out of the fruit of Englishmen's labour for making these things for themselves, while others of them have, from the same source, food sent them to induce them to remain in their country; and to prevent a diminution in its population. Oh, wise system of political economy! A system which more closely connected with that of the Scotch *boroughs* (where, too, *virtue* is most conspicuous) than many persons seem to be aware.—— But, Mr. Whitbread must have had knowledge of these grants; he could not possibly have been ignorant of them; and, ought he not, then, to have stopped until he could have reconciled them with the assertion contained in his preamble, before he had advanced that assertion? Was it for a projector of great alterations in the manners of the people; was it for a deep reformer of morals and dispositions; was it for a law-giver, whose amendments stopped at nothing short of a radical revolution in the public mind, to expose the very basis of his schemes to the hostility of facts such as these, here produced and applied by an obscure individual?—— Believe "me, Mr. Cobbett," says Scoto, in conclusion, "the Scotch are an industrious, an in-"genious, and an enterprizing people." I do believe it, Sir; I know it to be so; I am well acquainted with the talents and the virtues of great numbers of them, and I have always regarded the whole of them as an excellent people. I scarcely ever knew a Scotchman, whose word might not be safely relied upon; I have generally found them, in very trying times, bold, amongst the bitterest enemies, in defence of the character of their country. They are acute, prudent, sober, faithful, though in general, not adventurous, yet never cowards; and, though cold in their manners, kind in their natures. But, Sir, it is not their parish-schools and their politically appointed pedagogues that have made them thus. This was their character long before those schools were thought of; and, while my anxious wish is, that those schools may not adulterate that character, I shall use the utmost of my endeavours to prevent their example, in that respect, from being followed in that part of the kingdom, to which I more immediately belong.

DANISH WAR.——If there be any thing, connected with the Copenhagen enterprize, which I see with pain, it is that great honours and rewards are, as is reported, to be bestowed upon the persons intrusted with the command of it. It was an enterprize requiring neither great skill nor bravery, and merely a very moderate share of discretion. To rank it, in point of honour, with the achievements of Lord Nelson or of Lord St. Vincent, would be like giving the Fox's brush to be worn by a man who had catched the poor animal at the mouth of his hole, when worried out by terriers. It is evident, that the *selection* of officers was peculiar; and, the rewarding of them, in the distinguished manner talked of, would certainly give rise to a suspicion, that will not operate much in favour of the motive. It was *morally certain* that the thing would succeed; and, if it was intended to reward the officers with high honours, such as had been distinguished for long and arduous services, both in the army and the navy, should have had the command.—— I see, too, that a *new set of Commissioners* are to be appointed to take account of Danish ships and property. I hope this commission will not, like the famous *Dutch Commission*, become *perpetual*. The Dutch ships and property have long ago ceased to exist, as such; the Dutch are become subjects of a king of the Buonaparté race; we have paid the Stadtholder for all his losses and for his no-losses, and yet this Commission sits; sit, too, it did, observe, as quietly as ever, under the administration of the all-reforming Whigs! For this, amongst other things, the Whigs are justly punished. They took good care to touch no abuse; but let every one remain, hoping to turn them to the same account that their applauded predecessor had turned them. They set the wishes as well as the interests of the people at nought; they mocked their mortification; and now they are justly loaded with their contempt.

BUENOS AYRES.——The following article, which has appeared in all the public prints, demands the immediate and earnest attention of the public: "The conduct "of the *Heroes of La Plata*, it is feared,

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" will prove as detrimental to the mercan-
" tile interest of the country, as it has been
" universally felt to be disgraceful to our
" military character. Under that impres-
" sion, an application has been made to the
" Chancellor of the Exchequer, to ascertain
" whether government was disposed *to*
" *grant any accommodation to the mer-*
" *chants, who have made such large ship-*
" *ments to that settlement.* Mr. Perceval
" declined giving any answer, until a state-
" ment be laid before the Treasury, of the
" grounds upon which relief is solicited.
" Such a statement has accordingly been
" prepared and submitted to the considera-
" tion of government; and the merchants
" interested in it have received an answer to
" the following effect:—" That all the at-
" tention would be paid to the statement
" which the important nature of it, both in
" respect to the facts which it alleges, and
" the principle on which it proceeds, appear
" to require; but he *declined still to give*
" *any opinion* whatever at present upon any
" part of the case, to avoid raising expecta-
" tions which *possibly* the ultimate decision
" of government may disappoint."——This,
it will be seen, comes from a ministerial pa-
per; but, as to the sneer at the " *heroes* of
La Plata," I would ask the Morning Post, if
he has never heard of any other *hero* that was
beaten, and that made a *disgraceful capitula-*
tion? What! has he lived till now, to disco-
ver, that such events as this are " *disgrace-*
ful to our military character?" Oh, the
baseness, the incomparable baseness of these
prints! Is it, indeed, Mr. Whitbread, from
increasing the capacity of reading these, that
you expect to produce public good? That
you expect to improve the morals of the
people?——But, what attracted my atten-
tion, in this article, was the apparent *indeci-*
sion of the minister upon the subject of
" granting *accommodation*" to the Buenos
Ayres Speculators. I hope, the answer as-
cribed to him may be considered as a *refu-*
sal; for, if any attempt be made to grant the
request, it will be one of the most shameful
and unjust measures that ever was adopted;
because it will be nothing short of robbing
the people of England to make up for the
losses of those, who, if they had *gained*,
would have kept all the gain to themselves.
By " *accommodation*" they mean, *lending*
them money out of the taxes; that is to say,
giving them part of the taxes, as Pitt did,
secretly, to Boyd and Benfield. And, upon
what ground can they ask this, other than
that, upon which every unsuccessful canal or
road company might ask for accommoda-
tion? If this be granted, when or where
shall we stop? What set of merchants, or
what single merchant, might not ask for
" accommodation" upon the same ground?
Observe, too, that this accommodation, if
granted, like the arrears due from the East
India Company, and like the accommoda-
tion to the Grenada merchants and planters,
creates a new set of dependents upon the
ministry of the day, who can, whenever
they please, demand the repayment of the
loan; so here is another glorious source of
silent corruption. Let the public have their
eye upon it. The Morning Chronicle says,
" the accommodation may be *proper*
enough;" but, it has had a taste of the good
things; it belongs to *the regiment*; and one
must confess, that, as towards *the public*, the
whole of that honourable body do most har-
moniously agree. I think, however, that
the ministers will not make this scandalous
grant, though promised, beforehand and
uncalled for, the approbation of the Morning
Chronicle. The swords and heir-looms,
which the Lloyds' men (whom the cowardly
Whigs suffered to remain combined) gave to
Sir Home Popham and his associates, should
first be given back, and brought to the ham-
mer. It will be too scandalous to attempt a
grant of this kind!

POOR LAWS.

SIR,——I had formerly the honour of ad-
dressing you on the " Learned Languages,"
under the name of Scoto-Britannus; and I
find it now incumbent upon me to address
you again, on a subject far different, but
much more applicable to my title, and to the
country to which it and I myself belong. In
your last number you have inserted a letter
from a correspondent, on the " Internal State
of Ireland;" and from what you have said
in the same sheet, it is absolutely necessary
to make some communications to you on the
internal state of Scotland. You will excuse
me for saying, *because you have shewn your*
idea of Scotland to be so egregiously erro-
neous, that unless this letter or something
equivalent be published, by parts, in whole,
or at least in substance, you will evince your-
self to be no longer the dispassionate Cob-
bett; and, although, by profession, not per-
sonally, yet to be, in reality, nationally pre-
judiced, which is so much the more intoler-
able, and dangerous, and which will make
you appear, if not a party, at least a public
hireling.—Scotland, generally speaking, is,
and has, for some years, been in a very flou-
rishing condition. Erudition of all sorts,
arts, liberal and mechanical, agriculture and
commerce; and, in short, every advanta-
geous national or political concern, are mad

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king rapid and steady advancement. Notwithstanding the load of taxes, and the tedium of war, which now gall the neck of Britain, wealth and refinement spread their fostering wings over the favoured mountains of Caledonia.—It is only, however, within these 20 years; since about the conclusion of the American war, that these happy times have blessed this northern climate. For some years before that period, Scotland may be said to have made some of these attainments; but, still, however, the mists which had arisen from the bustle of the union, and the heats of the two successive rebellions intercepted the rays of improvement. But now the peasant basks in the sunshine of prosperity and plenty, and the husbandman glories in the improvement of his crops and cattle. The education of the peasantry is one of the principal causes of this.—Every parish has a schoolmaster who can teach at least writing reading and arithmetic. These masters are appointed, and afforded a salary, and a free house by the heritors, or landholders of the parish; and with this, and their school-fees besides, together with the profits of a few boarders, whom many of them keep, they spend very happy lives. It is the universal practice, without a single exception, for every father of the lowest circumstances to send his children to be educated at the parish school, which he can do very cheaply, the fees being modified by the heritors. The consequence of this is, that every male; and nearly 3-4ths of the females, can at least, read, write, and cast accounts very dexterously. Every Scotchman can read, and actually does read, if possible to excess, that book, which our religion declares to be the standard of truth, and which unprejudiced, even antichristian philosophy must allow to be the most complete, most sound, and, at the same time, simplest system of morality which ever has, or, probably, ever will appear. Every Scotchman can read the history of his country, and while he does so, he is inspired with an indelible regard for the welfare of those liberties and possessions for which his warlike ancestors so long and so bravely fought. When one enters the habitation [whatever it may be called] of a Scotch peasant, instead of finding those "gardenless, floorless, and chimneyless cabins," [as you are pleased most erroneously to call them] all to the south of the Tay, one meets with nothing but a neat commodious small house, in many cases consisting of two apartments; there, placed around a heartsome *bleezing ingle*, one sees the happy master and mistress of the house, with upon an average not less than five fine healthy children. You are then placed in the *muckle chair*, and regaled with butter, cheese, and milk variously prepared for use, the productions of the excellent cow, which every *cottager* has, or, if you please, with the greater refinement of tea collations, all the tokens of hospitality and prosperity. Next, you are charmed with the alphabetical prattle of the children, while you cannot often but wonder at the philosophically sensible, and even very abstract conversation of the *goodman*: taking all together one cannot help exclaiming in the language of Virgil,

> "O! fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint
> "Agricolas! Quibus, ipsa, procul discordibus
> "armis,
> "Fundit humo facilem victum, justissima tellus!"

You may be apt to think, Mr. Cobbett, that this picture, drawn by *me*, is too flattering; but, I appeal to any of your Scotch acquaintance who is acquainted with the present real state of his country, if the colouring is brighter than the life. The English cottages may equal, but cannot surpass the greater part of the modern Scotch ones in neatness and convenience; but, it is to be recollected that Scotland is exposed to much greater severity of weather than England, and has, on that account, so much the more merit.—But, now, to make it the more appear, that the education of the lower orders is the principal cause of these things, I must, unwillingly, have recourse to some animadversions on your reasonings regarding Mr. Whitbread's bill.—I cannot, after impartial reflection, but agree with Mr. Whitbread, that "poverty arises from vice; and vice is propagated by want of education." You grant the first of these propositions; and I am astonished to see how in any way you can doubt the other. Besides many reasons for a want of education propagating vice, which for want of room I must now suppress; it is very plain, that in a civilised period of society, as we are, unless a habit of mental amusement is acquired, the only entertainment will consist in animal, and consequently, vicious gratifications, for which there are so many surrounding objects. Now, from this indubitable principle, it manifestly follows, that even the ploughman unless he can read, so as to amuse himself when his work is over, the alehouse will be his resort, where he becomes himself a beggar, and brings his family upon the poor's roll. You may say, indeed, that his reading will corrupt his principles both moral and political: but rely upon it, that his want of education will lead him farther astray. Pimps and demagogues, or, if you please, hireling

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declaimers, are now too numerous, too anxious, and too successful in deluding ignorance. The peasants time would at least harmlessly be spent in reading [to suppose the worst] the most immoral and factious productions; and, I am fully convinced, would not be in such danger, as if he were left in ignorance, which is the disgrace and the blindfolder of mankind. A taste and a sight of vice before the deceiver comes is the best antidote against it. In the next place, were the peasantry obliged, as is the case in Scotland, to educate their children, the school fees would employ the surplus part of their income, which would otherwise have been squandered in idleness, debauchery, and vice. You reason indeed, [P. R. p. 331] with regard to England, where the poverty of the lower orders has for some years been much augmented, that "pamphlets, reviews, magazines, newspapers, &c. have "encreased ten-fold;" and that, therefore, reading, and consequently education, must have also increased. There is, however, a fallacy in this argument. The increase of these publications has not proceeded from the extension of the art of reading, but from some of those who were able to read formerly, reading more than they did; and from others [which is a very numerous class] of those who could read formerly now using these publications, whereas they never thought of them some years ago. But, although you admit [P. R. p. 330] in an abstract point of view, that poverty arises from vice, and that, from a want of education; yet you argue that the poverty of the lower orders of England, proceeds from the "taxing system." In the first place, it is obvious that the taxes are equally severe in proportion upon the English and Scotch peasantry, yet the latter have been thriving, and are actually in the most flourishing state as I have described. To me it would appear that the peasantry are the only order of the community whom the taxes do not affect. The spirit of agriculture and commerce is, notwithstanding all the surrounding disadvantages, at present so brisk that labour is every where sought after. Every labourer, consequently, who chuses to be industrious and economical, may make a very comfortable livelihood: nor are his profits drained away by the taxes, because his establishment and income are so small that they do not come within the range of the "taxing system."—With regard to your ideas of the words ignorance and learning, [p. 331] I must beg leave to differ from you. Every man is supposed to be acquainted with that part of the business of life which falls within the sphere of his action. If he knows nothing more, if he is unpossessed of the power of reading and writing, which are the most compendious means of taking a glimpse of the general business of life, we correctly term him ignorant. The Californian, or the Otaheitan may be much more dexterous in every one of the acquirements of the most expert ploughman, yet none hesitate to call him both *ignorant* and *savage*. I cannot see why our letterless peasants, who might be better, are not much more deserving of these epithets. To me it appears, and I am sure would far less appear to Mr. Whitbread puzzling, to "suggest benefits that the peasantry might derive from an acquaintance "with letters." [p. 332] I have shewn already that it would keep them more sober, both by restraining themselves, and by depriving them of the means of vice in supporting the expence of their childrens education; and I may modestly ask, would it not make them more upright, in enabling them the better to understand those instructions which every Sunday the church affords them? With regard to Scotland, I am certain this question can be answered in the affirmative. Ignorance [in the sense I use it] has been the constant attendant of slavery and bigotry; and on this account universal education and learning, as it would add to the beauty, so it would also add to the security of the British constitution. "Men," as Mr. Whitbread, I think, justly observed, "might have risen in life had they been "taught reading and writing." Why, their reading or writing would lead them to the city, [as you think p. 332] it is impossible for me to perceive. A peasant who is conscious that he could neither write a letter to his master, nor keep an account, however skilled he may be in all the arts of husbandry, will have little emulation to improve himself, and far less to rise in life. It requires no great acuteness to observe besides, that the poor ought to be educated *solely for the advantage of the army and navy.* Our common peasantry supply the British sons of Mars and of Neptune; and when any of these, through real actual merit, are raised in rank, were they able to write and read, they would be capable to command their inferiors, and would add greatly to the glory and strength of the British arms, as tending to abolish that abominable practice of *purchasing*, which slights merit, and checks every laudable exertion.—The education of the poor is an abstract political subject; and must, therefore, be reasoned about on general documents. Your argument, therefore, [p. 334] founded on the particular case of

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Scotch colonies in America is, if not irrelevant, very feeble. Colonies have often a different character from their mother state; and, what is to be observed, the Scots, at the time these colonies alluded to existed, had not sufficiently reaped the fruits of their plan of education. I deny that the comparative amount of the taxes of England and Scotland, is "a fair criterion whereby to judge "of their relative ingenuity, industry, and "enterprise." [p. 335] Besides other objections to this criterion, it is a very strong one; that a great part of the taxes which are paid in London, &c. which is the emporium of Scotland, as well as England, are paid by Scotchmen, whose enterprizing genius makes them resort there for the greater advancement of their trade, which would otherwise be all levied in Scotland. As a proof of the enterprize of my countrymen, it is a well known and undeniable fact, that there are infinitely more Scotchmen than Englishmen in the West Indies, in proportion; and, I have been told by a learned Doctor, who resided a number of years in Hindostan, and who is now a member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, that there are actually more Scotchmen than Englishmen in the East Indies.—The practice, in the North of Scotland, introduced in a great measure by Sir John Sinclair, [see the Ed. Farmer's Magazine] of converting a number of small farms into one large farm, and letting that to a South of Scotland farmer, was the cause of the emigration of which you have taken notice, [p. 336] as affording a proof of the want of industry and ingenuity in the Scotch peasantry: but, I think it would be easy to prove the contrary from this event, because, to go to a foreign and unknown land, where houses are to be built, and the land probably to be cleared of wood before it can be cultivated for subsistence, argues more ingenuity, industry, and enterprize than to remain at home, deprived of agricultural concerns, and of both convenience and materials for practising a mechanical profession. The Scotch, at present, believe me, Mr. Cobbett, are an industrious, ingenious, and enterprizing people; and, after what has been said, I think it can hardly be doubted, or denied, that they owe these qualities, in a great measure, to their excellent plan of education, under the protection of the English constitution. Is it not probable then, à priori, that England would be benefited by something similar? To conclude, "a legisla-"tor occupied like the father of his country "with the happiness of his people, will "watch national education, to the end that "children may suck in with the milk, the "principles and maxims which may contri-"bute to the public good, and the prosperity "of individuals," which was the maxim of a politician, whose principles no one can controvert, and which is humbly recommended to your attentive and dispassionate consideration, by your constant reader and well wisher, ——SCOTO-BRITANNUS.

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

SIR,—Upon that most important subject, the Dominion of the Seas, a correspondent has, in the last number of your Register, contended, that "occupancy, or *first* possession, confers right;" but, it does not appear to me, that this proposition is laid down with sufficient precision; for we are left to conjecture to *what* it is that a right is conferred by occupancy, or first possession. Waving, however, for the present, the consideration of what the subject of the right may be, the doctrine, it seems, is, that the right itself may consist in occupancy, or in first possession: but, Sir, every one must see, that what is in the *present* occupation, or possession, of one man, may have been *first* possessed by another; so that two claimants thus situated would, upon resorting to your correspondent's rule, be, I think, somewhat puzzled to discover to which of them the right would be awarded; although they might exert to the utmost those endowments which, according to your correspondent, are possessed in the same high perfection since the fall of Adam as before; that is to say, "reason to see good from evil, and *to do* justice and *avoid* injustice."—Presuming, therefore, that occupancy, or *present* possession, which signifies the same thing, is meant, let us endeavour to ascertain what is the subject of the right which such occupancy is supposed to confer; and as the gentleman, in elucidating his doctrine, immediately observes, that the Creator "gave to man dominion over the sea and earth," and that the reason with which he was endowed shews that "it is just for man to enjoy those gifts," I am, I presume, entitled to say to him, upon your own ground then, occupancy, or actual possession, gives to us, who are now in possession of the Dominion of the Seas, a right to such dominion, and to a separate and exclusive enjoyment of such dominion, too; for you say yourself that it is "on this foundation that all separate and exclusive enjoyment of property is erected." But, your correspondent comes forward avowedly as being hostile to that conclusion which is the fair result of his own premises; and he

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must therefore *mean* something different from what his own remarks, in the outset of his communication, import; and, indeed, before one gets through the whole, it is sufficiently perceptible that *he means the* reverse to what his former observations mean; for after having finished his argument, he inquires if it is not proved that "those vessels which are on the sea acquire a temporary right to that part of it which they occupy, and that it is unjust to deprive them or molest them in the enjoyment of it?" This argument, however, not having had the effect, even in the slightest degree, of reconciling me to the doctrine, that we have not a right to the Dominion of the Sea, permit me to offer to your readers some comments upon the observations which your correspondent has made with a view to its support.—His argument, then, Sir, is, it seems, that the Omnipotent Being gave to man "dominion over the sea and earth," and that the reason with which his Creator endowed him shews that it is "occupancy which confers right," and to be sure, Sir, in the primitive condition of mankind, when all was in common, and the spontaneous productions of the earth profusely afforded the means of subsistence, notions of temporary right only, and not of permanent ownership in any determined spots, would be imbibed—a *right* to exclusive possession, which would cease when the *act* of possession ceased. But, with what consistency can the notions which were entertained by the itinerant tribes of old, be, in the present state of the world, twisted into any thing at all resembling argument to prove that we have not a right to the Dominion of the Seas? Your correspondent, Sir, has already enabled us to decide with tolerable accuracy: but he shall shew us more distinctly—"On what other ground," he asks, "can it be supported, that one man should be entitled solely to possess this or that portion of land, but that he *derived* it from the *first* man who had the good fortune to gain possession of it?" Now, can any thing be more consistent? The right of the possessor does not now, in this stage of the gentleman's argument, consist in the individual's own actual occupancy of the land, but because he derived it from the *first* possessor. How the first possessor could transmit to others, that right, which it stands confessed on all hands endured no longer than his own *actual* possession, your correspondent has not discovered to us; nor will I distress my brain by any attempt to guess. The answer to the question, however, is, that the title of an individual to any particular piece of land, arises, not from its having been awarded to him or his ancestors, by the dictates of natural reason, but, by the law of the country in which he lives. It would, indeed, be rather a difficult task to account for the right (for instance) of the eldest son to the inheritance of his father, in exclusion of all his brothers and sisters, upon any principle of natural reason and justice. But your correspondent fancies that he sees something applicable to the point in dispute in the case of an estate granted to John for the life of Thomas, where Thomas survives John. Here, the law of England not having provided for such a contingency, by bestowing the right upon any particular person, he who first gets possession of it after the death of John will be entitled to retain it until the death of Thomas; but not because the law of nature, dictated by natural reason, awards it to him—for the right which he conferred was to the possession so long as the occupant was disposed to keep it, which might be after the death of Thomas—but because the law of England did not allow of any person being turned out of possession, unless some other person could make it appear that he was by law entitled to it; which in this anomalous case could not be done. Let it, however, for the sake of the argument, be admitted, that the case of occupancy just now spoken of, and the temporary possession of a person in a theatre, or of a ship in a dock or river, to the particular seat or spot occupied, bears some resemblance—or, if your correspondent pleases, a complete analogy—to ancient occupancy; how will that serve him? What of argument is there in it to prove that we are not entitled to the Dominion of the Seas, we having fought for and acquired that dominion, and that dominion being, moreover, essential to our security? Absolutely nothing. If the argument be that dominion over the sea was the gift of God to all mankind, and therefore no nation in particular can justify the claim of absolute dominion over any defined portion of it, the short answer to it, is, that dominion over the earth was equally the gift of God to mankind in general, and that upon the principle upon which he contends against out dominion of the sea, Englishmen can have no better right to this island than the inhabitants of any other nation. If he tells me that we have acquired this country, and are entitled because we have continued to maintain the possession of it; I shall tell him in return, that we have acquired the dominion of the sea, and have never *as yet* abandoned that

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dominion, I say "as yet," Mr. Cobbett, for God knows how soon the fine-spun conceits of natural equity, which certain men in a certain quarter (who *call themselves* Englishmen, and Whigs, and patriots forsooth, are known to entertain, may be enabled to work the destruction of this firmest bulwark of our country's honour! Returning to your correspondent, it is to be observed, that he has not advanced any thing at all in the way of elucidation, which is, in the least degree, to the purpose; for in all the cases which he has stated (except that of the fisherman, which follows the principal question, and is governed by it) if the alleged right be infringed, there is a superior human power to punish such infringement, viz. the law of the country. But, suppose that when all things were in common, two individuals, or two tribes, were equally desirous of possessing any particular unoccupied spot or territory, and that they both arrive to take possession at the same time, natural reason would not dictate that it belonged to one of them rather than to the other; and there is no established law, in such a state, to be appealed to, or to which either would be bound to submit. What does the writer suppose would decide the point but FORCE. A nation is made up of a number of single families, united, with a view to their common protection and security, against other combinations of individuals, forming other nations. Well, then, suppose any particular nation to occupy a small island, which, by reason of its population being inferior in number, would be in danger of being over-run by more populous nations, unless it could preserve the Dominion of the Seas by which it is encircled; and the case supposed is not one merely fictitious, for it is the case of both Great Britain and Ireland at this day.—Is there a man living, and possessing at the same time a sane mind and an uncorrupt heart, who can either doubt our right to preserve that dominion, in which consists our own safeguard, or be so very lukewarm in the cause of his country, as to be willing to abandon it? Most truly is it said, in the motto to your last number, that "the sovereignty of the seas is the true defence of this kingdom;" and I do, Mr. Cobbett, most earnestly hope, that you will not cease to ring that tocsin in the ears of the dozing and besotted part of the community, that they may, in common with their more vigilant and reflecting fellow citizens, be roused to a sense and perception of that imminent peril which now threatens the honour of the nation, nay her very existence as an independent state and which will continue to lower so long as the Sovereignty of the Seas shall cease to be maintained with the same zeal and spirit by which it was originally acquired. Men may prattle about the rights of nations, and may iterate the crude hypotheses of the different theoretic writers upon those rights; but they will, I believe, find their noddles sadly perplexed to assign any solid ground or reason, why, at the call of other nations leagued together, any particular one ought to abandon that dominion in which its own protection against those very nations themselves manifestly consists.——I am, Sir, your well-wisher, WYOC.——*Lincoln's Inn, September 21.*

"DOMINION OF THE SEAS," AND "EXPATRIATION OF BRITISH SUBJECTS."

SIR,——I perceive in your last week's Register, the letters of two gentlemen 'learned in the law;' the one addressed to you on the "Dominion of the Seas," and the other on the "Expatriation of British Subjects:" the first gentleman favouring us with an illustration of the *practical law of occupancy* soon after the Deluge; and the second, less partial of antiquity, contenting himself only with some copious fragments from a great luminary of the law in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Now, Mr. Cobbett, though I feel extremely grateful for all legal lucubrations, and have considerable respect for those gentlemen who are schooled in forensic learning, yet, I shall in this instance, beg to enter my protest against both their opinions; particularly the author of the latter letter, whose principles I not only dissent from, but whose conduct in publicly asserting them, has my full measure of reprobation.—"DOMINION OF THE SEAS." As this subject necessarily embraces the consideration of the "Law of Nations," it will be of some utility to consider, what that self-same thing is, which falls under that appellation. It has been, I think, asserted by you, Mr. Cobbett, that that law must be nugatory which no tribunal can enforce or punish for non-acquiescence; to that proposition I cannot exactly concede. A law is a rule of action; and I apprehend a conscientious man may lay down for himself a rule of conduct, from which he will not deviate, though there should be no tribunal that could enforce his obedience, or even censure his aberration. I am of opinion, therefore, that in civilised society, there may be laws for whose disobedience no penalties can attach, and yet that they are far from nugatory. The social or moral duties of man, are laws, for instance, which the upright member of

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civilised society will feel it an imperious duty to observe, however he *might* neglect them with impunity. What is termed the *Law of Nations then, I look upon, to be such rules as wise and just men have considered, most conducive to the integrity and prosperity of nations, having for its basis, that great principle of self preservation, which the Lawgiver of the Universe, has for the wisest of purposes, implanted in the whole animal creation.* The consideration of what is just or unjust as between man and man, has by analogy, led such authors as Grotius, Puffendorff, Vattel, and others, to consider what is the duty, or rather, what line of conduct ought to be observed between one state or society and another, and such rules as they have judged equitable between nation and nation, and most likely to preserve the integrity of each, they have detailed under the appellation of the Law of Nations. With respect to the tribunal which must enforce the observance of these rules, the *interest* of the *whole* creates such tribunal, by producing a confederacy of the different states for that purpose. If in society, it would be dangerous to its welfare, to permit one member to be refractory with impunity, so among states, it would equally endanger their existence, if one were permitted to act contrary to the policy of the whole. Self preservation then, that great cement of society, would, so long as the different powers *were pretty well balanced*, have enforced an observance to these rules or laws; but when once a power like France became capable of violating those rules, without the possibility of punishment, I admit with you, Mr. Cobbett, that the law of nations was from that moment dissolved, and that the states of Europe must be considered as no longer called upon to act upon that system, which there is *no balance of power* to maintain against violation. Thus much for the Law of Nations.—Now, your correspondent contends that "occupancy or first possession confers right," in opposition to your principle, "that force alone confers right." Now, it occurs to me, that "*right*" in both propositions is improperly used. I neither think that occupancy confers right, nor that force confers it. It seems to me, that all that can be advanced is, *that occupancy gives an accidental advantage, which force alone must maintain*; but that neither occupancy nor force, have any thing to do with right. Suppose an association of men emigrating to South America, and that while wandering there, they should find a considerable territory uninhabited, of which they take possession, and that the spot so possessed, is in a state of cultivation to afford more than sufficient means of subsistence for three times the number of settlers; what right, let me ask, can such settlers have to refuse to an half-starved traveller the liberty of supporting himself by such surplus produce, or of adopting a part of that spot for his local habitation? If right be a virtue, and synonymous with justice and equity, which I have always considered it, I can discover none in the instance I have put. What! is accident to be said to confer a right in one man to starve another? Such an idea is revolting to the judgment. All this imaginary right then, resolves itself in this; that when accident has placed me in a more fortunate situation than my neighbour, *policy* dictates that I should use my best exertions to preserve my post against his and other aggressions. How absurd it is to suppose that the navigator who happens to discover an island in some hitherto unknown portion of the sea, sufficient for the support of a multitude of inhabitants, should by landing a few seamen upon it, thereby become possessed of the *right* of maintaining it against all the world. Having had the advantage of finding this uninhabited spot, if he can pursue the advantage, and prevent others from possessing themselves of it, it may be very well, but, to talk of a right, as if it were a divine right, which it would be unjust and impious to deprive him of, is perfectly farcical. The practice of nations fortifies this opinion. When a Portuguese discovered the Brasils, what did Portugal do? Merely inform the other European powers, that, by the discovery they had the right, and to that they all assent? No! She sends out a force to maintain the advantage which accident has given her; colonizes the place, and fortifies it with garrisons, and other means of defence; but, if it were an acknowledged right, and so recognized by all civilised nations, such precautions would have been superfluous, and merely an insult to the other powers. The principle of the Dominion of the Seas comes then, merely to this; that as from accidental circumstances we have become the occupiers of this island, and that we tolerably well approve the spot, common prudence dictates that we should adopt the best and safest mode of preserving it; and as Buonaparte's immense territorial acquisitions are such, that we are in imminent danger of being overwhelmed by his troops if he had any means of transporting them, *we are urged by every ray of* REASON *and* POLICY *to maintain the Dominion of the Seas*, and every argument to the contrary seems to droop under the pressure of its own folly. Thus much for

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the Dominion of the Seas ——"EXPATRIATION OF BRITISH SUBJECTS." The writer upon this subject has advanced a doctrine, that may suit the policy of some Englishman having a considerable property in the American funds; but, that it is a doctrine either consistent with the safety of any nation, or compatible with the judgment that the most superficial consideration affords, is, what I must be permitted to deny. A Frenchman in defence of revolutionary principles, in a revolutionary age, has advanced an absurd opinion which your correspondent has given us, and which is in substance this, "That a citizen, as an inhabitant of the world," (I cannot help observing by the way, that this chimerical Frenchman is an enemy to the idea of occupancy conferring a right, as upon that principle, it would be difficult to make out that every citizen is an inhabitant of the world,) "preserves a sort of natural liberty "to renounce his allegiance to his king and "country when he pleases, and to become "the adopted citizen of another with equal "facility; without which liberty man would "be really a slave;" that is, that when a man has been reaping for years all the benefits and privileges which the laws of the country in which he has resided has afforded him, and after he has realised a pretty large fortune, (the emoluments of some situation that have been paid out of the hard earnings of the people), he is to be at liberty to ship off the property to some foreign country, and return when he pleases afterwards, with a band of ruffians, to plunder us of our property and cut our throats. Now, this doctrine, says your correspondent S. V. is "certainly consonant to reason," and why it should not be adopted generally, and the spirit of it incorporated with the Law of Nations, he cannot conceive. Is it possible, Mr. Cobbett, for the most uncivilized wretch, or the most licentious of libertines, to promulgate a doctrine more repugnant to integrity, gratitude, and humanity than this? Were there no other memorial, characteristic of a Frenchman's disposition, this alone would indelibly stamp the truth of Voltaire's description of his countrymen, "that in "their exterior they are monkies, and in "their hearts tigers." In opposition to this Frenchman's doctrine, we have that of Sir E. Coke, that "no man can divest himself "of his allegiance to the country in which "he is born." S. V. who has given us this, as well as the former quotation, observes, that he finds upon investigation, that it was only a dictum of Sir E. Coke's. What is the doctrine, let me ask, of the Frenchman, Pecquet; is that any thing more than a dictum? God forbid that it should! If there be no black letter of the law, by which a Briton's incapacity of expatriating himself is laid down, it is, that the understanding of every man must have rendered it unnecessary. Only imagine, Sir, the case of a temporary dissatisfaction prevailing in a nation, and that inflamed with the intrigues of a country who has her destruction in view, and that every inhabitant was permitted to expatriate himself at pleasure, and shake off his allegiance; what is to become of the country in such a crisis? The fact is, that no reasonable man, unconnected with the interests of a foreign country, and having the welfare of his own nearest his heart, can for one moment entertain a doubt of the impropriety of such doctrine as that insisted upon by S. V. The only authority of S. V. (if it be not misusing the term when applying it to M. Pecquet) is the opinion of that French revolutionist, the foundation of whose opinion as stated by himself, is an insidious sophism: he says, unless a subject can shake off his allegiance he is really a slave. Why, no doubt every citizen of a country is subservient to the laws of that country; all governments being public compacts to which each inhabitant is a member; and as far as such compact restrains the natural liberty of the member, he is so far dispossessed of his freedom; but, then it is to be considered, that he has exchanged that freedom for some supposed equivalent. Universal freedom is inconsistent with political society. For the government of every society, however small, there must be laws, and in proportion as each member of the society is affected by those laws, so far he is deprived of his natural liberty; but whether that is a situation which the understanding contemplates when speaking of slavery, I leave to the judgment of the impartial reader. I presume, Mr. Cobbett, that your only object for inserting the letter of your expatriating correspondent, was to expose to your readers the danger of listening to the subtleties of those gentlemen who are so prone on all occasions to deprecate an American war, and to abuse this nation for every exertion in favour of her independence; if, so, I agree with you, Sir, that the letter of S. V. has been peculiarly fitted for the purpose; though when I call to my mind the observation of that same Lord Coke, who says, "*interdum fucata falsitas in multis est probabilitas, et sæpe rationibus vincit nudam veritatem*," I almost question the philosophy which has yielded to its publication.

CANDIDUS.

Lincoln's Inn, Sept. 22.

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DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

BUENOS AYRES.——*From the London Gazette Extraordinary, dated Downing-street, September* 12, 1807.

(Continued from p. 473.)

Abstract of Ordnance of Stores, captured from the Enemy in the Suburbs and City of Buenos Ayres, on the 2d and 5th of July, 1807.

43 Garrison and field pieces of different calibres, and mounted on travelling carriages.—About 25,000 round shot for field pieces, of various calibres; and about 1000 shells for mortars of various natures; and an arsenal, containing every description of ammunition and military stores; of which a return will be given as soon as possible.

(Signed) AUG. S. FRAZER, Capt. Horse Artillery, Commanding.

To his Exc. Lieut Gen. Whitelocke, Commander of the Forces.

Admiralty Office, Sept. 12, 1807.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies and extracts, have this day been received at this office from Rear Admiral Murray, addressed to William Marsden, Esq.

Nereide, off Barragon, June 30, 1807.

Sir,——I did myself the honour of informing you, by the last opportunity which sailed from Monte Video, of my proceeding from St. Helena until my arrival off Monte Video with the squadron and transports under my orders, a duplicate of which letter I now transmit.—Rear Admiral Stirling had made every necessary arrangement for the intended expedition before my arrival; it being necessary on account of the shoals in the river, that the line of battle ships should remain at anchor off Monte Video, as well as for the protection of that place, I directed Admiral Stirling to remain with them.—On the 17th inst. the second division of troops, consisting of all those who had come out with Gen. Crauford, being ready to proceed to Colonia, where Gen. Whitelocke wished the whole to be assembled, Capt. Prevost, in his Majesty's ship Saracen, taking with him the Encounter gun brig and Paz schooner, sailed with the transports.——On the 18th, 213 marines of the squadron were landed at Monte Video, by request of the General, to strengthen the garrison. I likewise ordered 440 seamen to be ready to land, under the command of Captains Rowley, Prevost, and Joyce, with a proportion of officers to assist in working the artillery, to go up in the frigates, and Capt. Bayntun to proceed up the North Channel to Colonia, in the Haughty gun brig, with 6 gun boats; (Spanish prizes captured at Monte Video;) the Medusa, Nereide, and Thisbe to receive the seamen intended to land, and 3 boats from each of the line of battle ships.—On the 21st, the wind moderating, I shifted my flag to the Nereide, and Gen. Whitelocke did me the honour of accompanying me; and having directed Capt. Bouverie, in the Medusa, and Capt. Shepheard, in the Thisbe, to proceed with the Rolla and Olympia, and the last division of the troops, at noon weighed and stood to the southward, where we anchored in three fathom water.——On the 24th we anchored between Ensinada de Barragon and the northern shore, the winds and weather having prevented our getting to the westward of the Oltez Bank before. The General and myself finding time would be lost by going with this division to Colonia, sent for the troops to join at this anchorage; Gen. Gower went for them, with orders from Gen. Whitelocke to evacuate Colonia, if he thought it necessary; Colonia was accordingly evacuated.——On the 27th the troops from Colonia joined, with the Fly, Pheasant, Haughty, and the gun boats. I ordered the Paz up the river, with directions to the Statinch and Protector gun brigs to join me.—The transports having the troops and artillery on board, being in three divisions, I directed Capt. Thompson, in the Fly, who had made himself acquainted with the river, and particularly the place intended for landing, which was near Barragon, to lead the first division, having with him the Dolores schooner and 4 gun boats; Capt. Palmer, in the Pheasant, to lead the second division, with the Haughty and 2 gun boats; and Capt. Prevost, in the Saracen, to bring up the rear of the third division; Captains Bayntum and Corbet to superintend the landing of the troops.—At day light on the 28th, the wind being favourable, I made the signal to the Fly to weigh with the first division, and immediately after a general signal to weigh, having ordered the Rolla to be placed on the west end of the bank, as a guide to the ships to join. I shifted my flag to the Flying Fish, and Gen. Whitelocke went in with me. As soon as the first division of transports anchored, I made the signal to get into the boats, and immediately afterwards to put off.——Soon after 9 A. M. the first boats, with Brig. Gen. Crauford's division, landed about a mile to westward of the fort, from which the enemy had some time before withdrawn their guns.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 14.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1807. [PRICE 1OD.

"The Adam and Eve of this young nation came out of Newgate."—Saying of a British Grenadier in 1776.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

DOMINION OF THE SEAS (continued from p. 422).——Upon this subject, there was a letter, from a correspondent, inserted in the Register of the 19th of September, at page 429, which letter I should have answered, in my last, had it not been done in so able and complete a manner by my correspondent, WROC, of Lincoln's Inn, whose admirable letter will be found at page 502. Thus is the ground of "occupancy, or first possession," completely demolished. ——A second correspondent, under the name of CANDIDUS, at page 506, takes up the same subject, and he differs from me merely upon the propriety of my definition of *law*; but, he has not, I think, satisfactorily shewn, that it is proper to denominate *law* that which no tribunal can possibly enforce. "A law," says he, "is a rule of action, and I apprehend, that a conscientious man may lay down for himself a rule "of conduct, from which he will not deviate, "though there should be no tribunal that "could enforce his obedience." Very true, but, this is using the word law in a figurative sense; and, as to the *force* of such a law, as applied to the affairs of nations, it would, I think, be very difficult to discover, in the history of the world, any, even the slightest, traces of it. My correspondent says, that, "as to the tribunal "for enforcing these rules, the *interest* of "the *whole* creates such a tribunal, by "producing a *confederacy of the different* "*states* for that purpose." But, here we revert to *might* again, to force, to mere power, to the "right of the strongest;" and, as I explicitly said before, the *only* defence of weak states consists in the opposite interests and the mutual jealousies of the strong ones ——With respect to the present state of things, however, Candidus agrees with me, that one power having swallowed up all the others, upon the continent of Europe, the law of nations, or the rules of conduct, were, from that moment, at an end, and that no state can *now* be called upon to act according to those rules.—— But, the chief reason for my reverting to this subject, at this time, was, that I thought it necessary to notice an article published in the Morning Chronicle of the 21st of September, which article I shall, according to a custom almost peculiar to myself, first submit to the perusal of the reader.—"A great deal "of *most unfounded clamour* has been raised "against the late Ministers, not only as "having been willing to concede, but as "having actually conceded, some of our "most important naval rights to the Americans. We venture to assert most positively, however, that in the Treaty "concluded in this country in the end of "last, or beginning of the present year, "not a single naval claim is conceded, and "that particularly the right of searching "for seamen is not given up. With respect to searching for seamen on board of "ships of war, it neither has been exercised, "nor, from the nature of things, can it "be exercised, without necessarily leading "to disturbance and irritation that would "render peace between two countries little "else than a feverish expectation of actual "war. Regulations may be requisite to "prevent the seduction of our seamen by "the Americans, but the identity of language, &c. which renders regulation "necessary, would render the right of "search on board of ships of war the worst "possible remedy for the evil complained "of.——We have contended that on this, "as well as other points arising out of what "we have been silly enough to call the "Laws of Nations, nations were to be considered, as to their rights, as on a footing "of equality. For this position we have been "assailed in that ill-mannered tone of personal invective, which now disgraces political discussion. We have been accused "of giving up the rights of the country, and "advocating the cause of our enemies. Nay, "the House of Lords itself, is censured "for not having negatived a motion, that "nations were entitled to be considered as "equal, as to their rights.——Such extravagant language is perfectly suited to those "who contend that there is no law, by sea "or land, but that of the strongest, and "who admit Bonaparté's right to subdue "the Continent, because he is able to do it,

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" and recommend that Great Britain should " exact tribute from every ship that sails " the sea, because she is able to do it. Our " readers, however, cannot suppose that " such doctrines ever were held by any " statesman or politician, or are likely to " be acted upon. The equality of nations " as to their rights, so far from being a new " or dangerous doctrine, is the doctrine by " which we have a Court of Admiralty " which determines causes by that very Law " of Nations which is called unmeaning " jargon. We can have no better authority " for this than Sir W. Scott, and those who " have been so loudly reviling us, have " in reality been attacking the principles of " that learned and respectable Judge.—— " In giving judgment in the case of the " Maria (the case of the Swedish convoy), " Sir William Scott says, " In forming that " judgment, I trust that it has not one mo- " ment escaped my anxious recollection " what it is that the duty of my station " calls from me; namely, to consider " myself as stationed here not to deliver " occasional and shifting opinions to " serve present purposes of particular " national interest, but to administer " with indifference that justice which the " law of nations holds out, without dis- " tinction, to independent states, some " happening to be neutral and some to " be belligerent. The seat of judicial " authority is indeed locally here, in the " belligerent country, according to the " known law and practice of nations. " But the law itself has no locality. It " is the duty of the person who sits here, " to determine this question exactly as " he would determine the same question " if sitting at Stockholm; to assert no " pretensions on the part of Great Bri- " tain which he could not allow to Swe- " den in the same circumstances, and to " impose no duties upon Sweden as a " neutral country, which he would not ad- " mit to belong to Great Britain in the " same character." Here is the opinion of Sir Wm. Scott distinctly in favour of the equality of nations. Mr. Cobbett reprobates the mention of such an equality. The judicious reader may chuse which he likes best. We cannot help hinting, however, that if Mr. Cobbett's authority prevail, the Admiralty Court may be forthwith abolished, and divers placemen cashiered.——We humbly apprehend therefore, and with great deference to Mr. Cobbett's deep learning, who judiciously quotes the trite and common-place Tory principle, that this country should affect naval dominion, and not fight upon the Continent, in order to establish the right of this country to universal naval property and dominion. The sweeping claims now made to the dominion of the sea is quite a different thing, and aims at different consequences from the old maxim of cultivating naval power, in contradiction generally to land force. At no time has this country claimed that dominion or property now talked of, and so strangely confounded with the encouragement of naval strength. We never claimed more than a sort of nominal superiority, confined entirely to the narrow seas, which by the Treaty with the Dutch in 1674, extending them as far as could be dreamt of, were defined to be the seas from Cape Finisterre to Cape Stat (in Norway). To this claim France never yielded, and America of course had nothing to do with it; but even this claim, if admitted to its fullest extent; if revived by a treaty containing the clause left out in 1802, is utterly foreign to the right claimed all the world over. Selden himself offers as an argument in favour of our British seas, that others have similar rights in their seas, as the Venetians in the Adriatic, and the Danes in the North; and he is very well satisfied with being able to make out a claim of a servitude in our favour over the seas belonging to the Danish sovereignty. To talk then of our ancient sovereignty of the seas is an abuse of the words. Indeed, though we had always claimed and obtained this sovereignty in the sense now alluded to, of a sovereignty over the whole ocean, it would avail nothing; for even when admitted in the narrow seas, it never has enabled us to exert the right of searching ships of war. If any proof of this were wanting, we might refer to the demand made by Cromwell, in 1653, after a war ostensibly entered in for the honours of the flag, and really originating in naval jealousy; a war, too, in which he had beat the Dutch in seven great sea-fights. He demanded, as the ne plus ultra of maritime claims, a right to visit Dutch ships of war in the British seas. The Dutch, almost ruined, and eager for peace, gave him all he asked, except this; this they positively refused, and the treaty 1654 was accordingly made without any such stipulation, though it yielded the honours of the flag in the narrow seas as fully as possible. ——If Sir W. Scott has now discovered the right of searching ships of war (which we do not believe he has), most certain-

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" ly it is a recent discovery.——He never " hinted at any such right in discussing the " affair of the Swedish Convoy, in the " case above alluded to. He confines his " argument solely to the right of searching " merchantmen, and denies that the mer- " chantship can lawfully refuse to be search- " ed. He goes on further than denying " that the presence of the ship of war can le- " gally prevent the search of the merchant- " men. The searching of ships of war (and " in such a case, on Sir W. Scott's autho- " rity, the right must be mutual), can ne- " ver be resorted to between the English " and Americans without nourishing heart- " burnings and enmities, of which surely " it is both humane and wise to remove the " causes. Besides, if we retain the right " of searching merchantmen, what possible " inconvenience can arise while America " is a neutral power, and has scarcely any " military navy at sea at all, from waiving " the right to search ships of war? What " is the number of our sailors that can be " detained in the American ships of war? " even if their whole crew were English, " the number would not be very great. If, " then, we have a right to search their mer- " chantmen, how can they in the present " circumstances rob us with impunity of " our sailors? The right of searching ships " of war, therefore, is now at least of very " little importance to us; but, on the other " hand if the right is claimed by us, it must " be conceded to the Americans; and in " that case, we apprehend that the Ame- " rican ships of war in exercising the right " of searching our men of war, would pro- " bably find a good many. But in retain- " ing and exercising the right of searching " merchantmen, we must say with Sir W. " Scott, that, considering the invidiousness " of such a proceeding, in all cases, and par- " ticularly to the Americans, almost in their " own harbours, "The right must unquestio- " nably be exercised with as little of per- " sonal harshness, and of vexation in the " mode, as possible." It is not very likely " that it will be so exercised when so " much pains are taken to raise both " the contempt and the hatred of our " navy against the Americans.——

——To take these observations in their order, I will first say, that I know of no *clamour* that has been raised against the late ministers, on account of concessions made by them to the Americans; but, I expressed my *fears*, that they had made such concessions; and, these fears were greatly increased by the tone which Mr. Whitbread took, the moment the affair of the Chesapeake was made known in England. It was the Whigs and the Morning Chronicle, who *began* the dispute here; they explicitly condemned the conduct of our naval officers upon the American station; it appeared to me, that the conduct of these officers was not only justifiable, but highly praise-worthy; and, in defending them, I was naturally led to examine the principles of those, by whom that condemnation had been passed. These principles I found to be subversive of our rights upon the seas, and I again expressed my fears, that some of those rights had been sacrificed, in the treaty, recently made with the American States. If they have not been sacrificed I am glad of it, but, however angry it may make the Morning Chronicle, I shall not ascribe the prevention of such sacrifice to its particular friends, but to the Grenville part of the late administration.——I am not aware, that I have assailed the Morning Chronicle in " an ill-mannered tone of personal invec- " tive;" but, what, other " than an ad- " vocate of the cause of our enemies," am I to call a writer, or a speaker, who *invariably*, is on the enemy's side? Who, in *every* dispute between America and Great Britain, has taken part with the former, though it is notorious, that America has taken every advantage that presented itself of shewing its hatred of us, and of evading the effect of stipulations that were intended to operate in our favour; and that, the people of England have to pay *millions of money* out of their taxes, owing to this conduct on the part of America. In spite of all this, as well known to the Morning Chronicle as to me, and I have at hand proofs of the facts, that paper has been constantly *on the side* of the Americans, and has censured every thing, said or done, by any body in the way of asserting our country's rights or claims, if those rights or claims were opposed to the interests of the Americans. What, else, then, than an advocate of the cause of our enemies am I to call such a print? " Nay," says this writer, " the House of Lords itself is *censured* for " not having negatived a motion, that na- " tions were to be considered as *equal*, as to " their rights." Their rights *upon the seas* was what I remarked upon. That all nations were upon a footing of *perfect equality* as to the rights upon the seas, was the proposition of Lord Stanhope. And how did I *censure* the conduct of the peers in not putting a direct negative upon this? " in my " opinion, said I, they should have met the " question, and given a direct negative to " the proposition." Does the Morning

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Chronicle call this *censure?* Was this so galling to his ardent loyalty and love of "social order," as to induce him to point me out to the attention of the Attorney General? There is no one so unjust, or so implacable, as a defeated disputant.——But, now as to my so much derided doctrine: "as to the "right of searching for seamen on board of "ships of war, it neither has been, nor "from the nature of things, can be exercised, without leading to disturbance and "irritation that would render peace between "two countries little else than a feverish "expectation of war." My "*learning*," at which the Morning Chronicle is pleased to sneer, whether "deep" or shallow, is sufficient to enable me to assert, without the fear of being contradicted, that this right has, when we thought necessary, been exercised *for centuries past*, and that we have lived in perfect harmony with the powers, with respect to whom we have actually exercised it.——Nothing is, by this candid writer, said about *the order*, which all our naval commanders have, to search *all ships*, without exception, for British seamen; nor until the question was agitated by me, does he appear to have known, that such an order was in existence. "*Learning*," Sir, properly so called, is *knowledge*; and, if I happen *to know more than you*, with regard to the subject upon which we are writing, I am, as to that subject, a more learned man, though my skin may be spot-less, and though you may still bear about you the marks of the blows, under which you acquired the knowledge of declining Latin nouns.——The proposition, that all nations are upon a footing of perfect equality, as to their rights upon the seas, is what I deny, and I have shewn before, that it is a proposition, not only unnecessary to be declared, but a proposition containing an abandonment of the ancient claims of our country. "The law of nations" is cited upon me by this antagonist. But, why should not *Selden's*, admirable book, sanctioned as it was by republicans as well as royalists, be considered as part of the code of public law? Why are we to rely upon Grotius, in answer to whom Selden wrote, more than we are to rely upon our own learned and excellent countryman? I should like to have a *direct* answer to this question. The book of Grotius contains merely the opinions of an individual; and, surely, Selden's opinions are full as good, considered as a rule of conduct for us.——But, this writer, as if overjoyed to have discovered a lapse in the claims of his country, hastens to tell us, that "we "never claimed more than a sort of *nominal* "superiority, confined entirely to the nar"row seas, which, by the treaty with the "Dutch, in 1674, extending them as far as "could be *dreamt* of, were defined to be "the seas from Cape Finisterre to Cape "Stat. To this claim France never yielded, and America" (dear America!) "of "course had nothing to do with it."—— And why of *course?* Because she was not then an independent nation? That is a poor reason; for, when she did become independent, she became a sharer in all the checks which England possessed the right of imposing upon the operations of other nations upon the seas. But, "France never yielded "to this claim of ours." Oh, gladsome circumstance! It is time, then, that she did yield; and, in the mean while, the *principle* remains unshaken by the circumstance of our having neglected to force her to a compliance; a neglect, too, which at the time referred to, might have arisen from the particular connections, subsisting between the kings of England and France. Selden, however, prescribes no such narrow limits; but asserts our right to dominion upon all the seas round about us, even unto the *opposite shores*; and not a mere "*sort of nominal* "dominion," but a real dominion, or ownership, including the right of opening, shutting, permitting, prohibiting, and demanding of tribute. And why, I ask again, are not the opinions and assertions of Selden as good, to the full, as the opinions and assertions of Grotius?——Against this doctrine of inequality, in point of rights, upon the seas, Sir William Scott is largely quoted; but, in the whole of the quotation, there is not one proposition hostile to the doctrine, for which I contend. He says, indeed, that he is to judge impartially; that he is to do by the Swedes, as he would wish the Swedes, in a similar case, to do by the British; but, acting fully up to these professions, he might have justified the searching of a Swedish flag ship for British seamen, and have denied a similar right to the Swedes; because we, having the dominion, or ownership of the sea, have a right thereon to do what other nations have not a right to do. Suppose Mr. Whitbread were to prosecute one of the lazy and vicious English labourers for carrying a gun in pursuit of game, and to make him pay a penalty of five pounds; and, suppose this man were, the next day, to prosecute Mr. Whitbread for carrying a gun, and were to find, that he would, have for his pains the payment of the costs. Yet the *act* would be the same. All the difference would consist in the rights of the parties respective-

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ly. There is, however, no such thing as beating it into the head of the Morning Chronicle (I hope this is not *personal*), that there is, or has been, or ever can be, any difference between our rights and the rights of any other nation, upon the seas; and, in this article before us, he coolly concludes, as if upon admitted premises, that, "if the "right of searching ships of war be claimed "by us, it *must be conceded to the Ameri-* "*cans*." Why it *must*, he does not, indeed, tell us, but goes unconcernedly on to observe, that, as the Americans have scarcely any ships of war, and as ours are very numerous, we should get but few men out of theirs, while they, in all probability, would get great numbers out of ours. Really, after this, one need not be much surprised to hear it contended, that, because the magistrate has the power to take up the vagrant upon suspicion, the vagrant ought to have the same power with respect to the magistrate, than which a more satisfactory proof of equality of rights could not, I think, be required, even by Lord Stanhope himself.——I agree, with Sir William Scott, that "the right of "search must unquestionably be exercised "with as little of personal harshness, and of "vexation in the mode, as possible;" but, says the Morning Chronicle, "it is not very "likely that it will be so exercised, when so "much pains are taken to raise both the "contempt and the hatred of our navy "against the Americans."——This I take to myself, and am ready to justify it upon the best of all possible grounds, that of *truth* employed in defence of my country's interest and honour. I appeal to my readers, whether this very Morning Chronicle had not conveyed to the public the paragraphs, contained in the American papers, abusive of our officers and of our country, before I said a word upon the subject; whether those paragraphs did not contain charges of cowardice and villainy against our officers, and threats against us, unless we instantly submitted to the American demands; whether this Morning Chronicle, and a weekly writer, who now condescends to borrow its plumes and fight under its wings, had not openly espoused the cause of these our revilers, and, tacitly at least, approved of their revilings? I appeal to my readers, whether this be not true; and was it not, then, my duty to show to the public, and to other nations, as far as I might have a chance of succeeding therein, not only that the charges against us were false, but also of what character our accusers were, and what were the motives of their accusations? Very tender is the Morning Chronicle of the reputation of the Americans and of Captain (I beg his pardon, *Commodore*, I mean) Barron; but, nothing chafed does it appear at hearing Admiral Berkeley denominated "a *piratical* "commander in chief," Captain Humphreys "a *murderer*," and Captain Douglas, one of the best even of British naval officers, "an insolent *ruffian*." Let the Americans abuse us in their own prints as long as they please; but, as often as their abuse is circulated by the prints in England, and, through those prints, is likely to find its way to other countries, so often will I, though single-handed, use my best endeavours to furnish an antidote to the poison, and, if I am not successful, the fault, I am resolved, shall not be mine. If the consequence of my animadversions upon these American attacks, be that contempt and hatred, of which the Morning Chronicle so feelingly deprecates the effects, the fault be with the agressor; for I have not yet brought myself to adopt the Quaker maxim, that it is the *second* blow which is most sinful, because it is that which makes the battle. My belief is, that pens as well as limbs, were given us for our defence, and that, if the attack be unjust, the defence is just. Suffer these aspersions, these bitter reproaches against us, to pass, in our own journals, unresented, and what is the consequence? Why, that the whole world will believe them to be just; or that we are so base and infamous become, that, from motives of party or of discontent at the conduct of our rulers, while many take delight in promulgating charges of foreigners against their country, there is not a man amongst us, who will move pen or tongue in its defence. I have a quarrel with abuses of all sorts; I have a quarrel with peculation and plunder, under whatever specious names they may be disguised; but, I have no quarrel with my country, which I live in hopes of seeing restored to all the liberties and blessings she formerly enjoyed. In all lawful endeavours to effect a reform of the destructive abuses that exist, "I will set my "foot as far as he that goes farthest," in the way either of labour or of sacrifice; I have so done hitherto; but, I trust, that nothing will ever induce me to act as if I thought to escape from my share of the reproach, due to those abuses, by throwing the blame upon the country instead of throwing it upon those who ought to bestir themselves for the restoration of her liberties and renown. The Morning Chronicle may resent, as long as it pleases, my imputations of coldness towards the country; but, cold and abstracted I must say it is, upon all questions wherein the country is a party; and, I will further say,

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that the whole of the *politicians*, belonging to the Whigs, have but too frequently discovered the same sort of feeling. It is but of late years that this feeling has crept in; this surprising *liberality*; this perfect *impartiality*. About four years ago, the editor of the *Booksellers'* Annual Register took occasion to remark that it was time *to lay aside*, the song of "*Britannia rule the waves*," as being *insulting* to foreign nations! And, it is truly curious, that this man's name was *Thompson*, whereunto he had, for the purpose, I suppose, of distinguishing himself from the immortal author of the song, prevailed, for what price I know not, upon the *learned* gentlemen of Edinburgh to add the title of *Doctor of Laws*. This proposition alone, published, as it was, in a book of wide circulation, is sufficient to stamp the character of the age. I am for our ruling the waves still, being confident, that, if we cease to do that, we shall soon be released from the trouble of ruling the land.

AMERICAN STATES.——The London prints have extracted from those of America, within these few days, several articles, which clearly show, that a considerable part of the people of that country are, as I said they would be, decidedly opposed to the assertion of those arrogant pretensions, of which the "*Revenge*" cutter is supposed to have been the bearer. One of these articles I cannot refrain from extracting. It is dated at Boston, August the 10th, and it will serve as a pretty tolerable good answer to all those, who have expressed such alarm at the prospect of a rupture with America.——"Some "of our warm democratic papers, consider "it a mere half-day's job to ruin Great Britain, and compel her to subscribe to such "terms, as in our humanity we may condescend to offer. Were it as easy to *do* as "to *talk*, we could have made England "long 'ere this, one of the territories of the "United States. Supposing, while they "are making their calculations, we also "make a few.——In the first place, it is "agreed, that the war will be on the ocean, "almost entirely: and on the ocean, let it "be seriously enquired, how *little* we *can* "gain, and how *much* we *must* lose. Great "Britain will not hazard her produce and "manufactures to the capture of our privateers. She will convoy together perhaps "an hundred sail of merchantmen, by ten "frigates, or even five. Can we capture "them? No. We are to trade to the West "Indies, to neutral ports, and to the ports "of her enemies, says one paper; but how "are they [illegible] for convoy? If "they should, it ought to be remembered, "that individuals in England, will fit out "privateers to match us, and will be backed by almost one thousand armed vessels "of the government. Our underwriters "would not demand a premium of less than "*fifty* per cent. to insure to France, Spain, "the Baltic, or the Mediterranean. And "what would they demand to insure to the "West Indies? Little less to the West Indies, after active engagement in war on "both sides.——What prizes are we to "take on the ocean? One privateer may "take another; but few American privateers will take a single English merchantman. So far from the country's being "enriched by privateering—so far from our "having "700 respectable privateers," as "our government paper declares, our "owners of vessels could not fit out one "hundred. They would want a prospect "of success: they would rather, from economy, permit their vessels gradually to "rot in their docks. Men engage not in "privateering, seamen enlist not in privateering, without an expectation, a strong "probability, of a balance of chances in "their favour.——But the Intelligencer is "told to say, that we are to receive an income equal to our revenue, from "700 "respectable privateers." What ideot believes it? Yet, if it were so, it is no income to the government. How is our "civil list to be paid? How our national "debt decreased? Aye, but the democratic "bawling for the necessity of lowering and "banishing the national debt, entirely "ceases, when we can hire money to ruin "ourselves, to ruin the British, and to aggrandize France. We can "hire money:" we have now a "national established credit," and can hire money. We "can afford to lose a revenue of a dozen "millions of dollars, and run in debt yearly "four millions. We once could not do so. "For French or Spanish insults, or spoliations, or aggressions on our rights, our "honour, or our territory, nothing could be "done; not even provision made for 4000 "men. The case is widely different. We "see it is. England is the insulter now. "The Spaniards, backed by the French, "and because backed by the French, may "shut the port of New Orleans; may keep "us with an armed force from territory "purchased; may carry off our citizens; "may exact and receive duties at the Mobile, when our government years since "by law established a custom-house to receive duties ourselves; may seize the military stores of the United States; may

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" kick our Plenipos down the back stairs of
" her ministers; in short, may do what she
" pleases; and our executive, with mule-
" like patience, takes the whips and kicks,
" talks big in his messages, and tells his
" private understrappers to talk little in the
" House of Representatives; and all this
" because Spain is France, and France,
" Buonaparté, and Buonaparté is ——,
" at the head of an "*enlightened* govern-
" ment."——We have no idea of succum-
" bing to the insults or injuries of either na-
" tion; nor do any but children and block-
" heads declare so; nor any but children
" and blockheads, believe, that those are
" "tories," or partial to Britain, because
" they wish to avoid war, if consistent with
" national honour, and our rights. Yet the
" whole answer, and the whole argument
" of certain democrats is, tories, tories, to-
" ries. With far more truth could we say,
" Frenchmen, Frenchmen, Frenchmen.—
" The National Intelligencer says, we are
" to make our fortunes by privateering,
" should a war take place with G. Britain;
" that its profits are to equal the present re-
" venue of the country from foreign im-
" ports; and that this immense sum, in-
" stead of going into the national trea-
" sury, is to flow into every man's pock-
" et. This is a charming picture of
" the solid resources of a great coun-
" try; and would be looked on with
" some complacency, could the agricul-
" turist, whose surplus productions would
" thereby be denied a market; could the
" mechanic and artificer, whose labour
" would cease, for want of employment;
" could the merchant, whose commercial
" speculations would entirely be suspended,
" unless exercised at a risk, that would for-
" bid even the hope of profit, be prevailed
" on to think as he thinks, and act as he
" advises.—The additional force ordered out
" by the executive of this commonwealth
" is, we understand, intended for the pur-
" pose of preserving order, in case of riots,
" illegal proceedings and disorders, and to
" assist the magistracy, should such distur-
" bances occur. It is often the case that
" acts the most illegal and unjustifiable are
" committed partly through violence, part-
" ly through ignorance, but mostly from
" the instigation of particular seditious tem-
" pers and the writings of such scribblers
" as are constantly endeavouring to disturb
" the peace of the town, through the
" Chronicle. This measure of the Com-
" mander in Chief is prudent, and highly
" praise-worthy.—The Intelligencer says,
" we have " the highest authority the case
" admits of," the President's Proclamation
" to prove they were American citizens.
" *With shame and with sorrow we say, we*
" *have an executive in whom we wish we*
" *could place more reliance.* We know
" not but that they are American; but Ad-
" miral Berkeley says NO in his Proclama-
" tion. Why will not the Intelligencer ob-
" tain from government *the documents* that
" induced the President *to believe* them
" Americans? They would give great sa-
" tisfaction."——My life upon it, they will
be found to be British subjects. I never be-
lieved the contrary, for one moment; and
this article confirms me in my first persua-
sion.——Party spirit may, for aught I know,
have had some influence with this writer;
but, his arguments are before us; of them
we can safely judge; and they tend to con-
firm all that I have said respecting the con-
sequences of a war to the American States.
——In vain would the American govern-
ment impose prohibitions with respect to
the supplying of our West-India Islands
with provision and lumber. The people of
America would supply them in spite of all
prohibitions. They would clear their ships
out for other ports and go to ours. They
would agree with English privateers to cap-
ture them in such or such places. They
would evade all the laws, if hundreds were
made, upon the subject; or, not being able
to evade them, the States to the north (or,
as they call it, there, to the east), would
openly set the general government at de-
fiance, and effect that *separation*, for
which some of them have long wished, and
which has even been proposed in print.——
Here, I think, the public mind seems to be
made up to war with America, rather than
yield the smallest particle of our rights to
her; and, indeed, the events, which have
recently taken place in Europe, so far from
rendering it advisable to yield in this respect,
must, unless the plans of the ministers be
partial and paltry, lead to an abridgement of
that liberty of navigation, which the Ame-
ricans have hitherto enjoyed upon the sea.
America is now the great trading neutral
power; the chief feeder of our foe; and,
though she is not to be blamed for thus con-
sulting her interests, we shall be compelled
to interfere with these her pursuits, or, we
shall soon fall under that foe. This is to be
done without a war, and even without a
quarrel. A declaration, on the part of the
king, applying equally to all neutral nations,
and stating broadly the necessity of exercis-
ing an absolute maritime dominion, until a
change should take place with respect to the
governing powers of those states of Europe,

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containing sea-ports and naval arsenals, would be quite sufficient to disarm of its power to do mischief the malignity of the Gallo-Americans. Such regulations as we ought to adopt, while they would most terribly annoy and distress our enemies, would do no injury at all to *the people* of America. Their goods, and their foreign freights or a considerable part of them, might still find free passage; and all the difference would be, that our enemies would have to pay ten times as dear for them.——In a former article, I made some remarks upon the proclamation of the Corresponding Society of American Merchants, issued from their court at Liverpool; and, I am now glad to have it in my power to communicate to my readers, the answer to that proclamation, given by a committee of American merchants, assembled at the City of London Tavern on the 21st of August, and which answer, prefaced by a letter from one of those merchants, will be found in a subsequent page of this sheet. This answer does great credit to the persons, by whom it was given; it pretty fully justifies my opinion of the proclamation; and, I hope, that the reception it has met with will tend to make the court at Liverpool less arrogant in its tone, upon future occasions. To say the truth, the sovereigns of that court received their impulse from the Morning Chronicle and Mr. Whitbread. They were alarmed for the safety of their cargoes and their debts, compared with which the honour and even the lives of Admiral Berkeley and his officers were in their eyes, mere trifles.——I think, for my part, that it would be best to have no treaty of commerce at all with America. I cannot see any good that it could possibly lead to. Let trade alone. I warrant the merchants will find out the way to carry it on between our several settlements and countries. The shackles upon the American trade with our West Indies are injurious to those colonies, without producing any benefit to our navigation. The main object is to prevent our *foes* from receiving, either directly or indirectly, though the means of the American ships, any supply of any sort, without paying an enormous price for them. While those foes have hundreds of American merchant ships in their service, they want none of their own; but, take these away, or load the supplies with heavy taxes (for every check operates as a tax), and the distress must be severely felt. Suppose all American ships, bound to France, or to any country under the dominion of France, were brought into our ports and taxed according to the value of her cargo; the consequence would be, that the consumers, when the cargo finally reached them, must pay that tax. "No catch you, no have you;" but, as no one would be sure to escape, all must *insure*, and that of itself, would be a tax to be paid by the consumer.——If, indeed, there be any idea still in vogue of trucking for dear Hanover, I am amusing myself with a dream; and, I see that Napoleon has kept dear Hanover in hand as an object of exchange. I fear that this will be the case, and that we shall soon hear the hireling prints, softening their tone gradually, tell us at last, that he is become *more moderate* in his views; and next, upon his evacuating some pitiful territories in the north of Europe, opening the Elbe again, and restoring Hanover, under the guarantee of Russia and Prussia, or some such nonsense, it is safe to make peace with him. This I predict will be the result of all the high language and apparent vigour of the day. I shall be glad to find myself deceived; but, *looking at the past*, I cannot but entertain these fears, so often expressed. Again and again I say, that I fear, that these ministers will do, what the Whigs proved their readiness to do, sacrifice the safety of England to the recovery of Hanover; and, if they do, it will be then evident to every man, that those who love their country have but *one way left* to provide for its security, and to prevent themselves from becoming slaves of France.——Just as I was about to enter upon my next article, the following paragraph, extracted from a Halifax (Nova Scotia Paper), dated on the 17th of July, reached me through the London prints——"Commodore Barron is said to have assured Captain Humphries, that his orders from his own government were to *receive no deserters*, and that there were not any men in his ship who answered the description; though it afterwards appeared that more than 120 British seamen were on board her at the time, most of whom had been recently in his Majesty's service. An officer (gunner) who was killed, had been *enticed* to desert from the Chichester; and two seamen who fell, but whose names do not appear in the American accounts, were deserters from the Halifax. J. Wilson alias Jenkin Ratford, who was taken out of the Chesapeake, had been master sail-maker in the Halifax, and, as a British seamen, had received 20 guineas bounty on entering on board that ship when in this harbour. W. Ward, D. Martin, and J. Strawn, alias Story, also taken from the Chesapeake, were deserters from the Melampus, and

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" have since declared that there were more " than 100 British seamen in the American " frigate, deserters from his Majesty's ships " on this station, and from British merchant " vessels, who were not taken out by Capt. " Humphreys, because his officers could " not identify them. ——The American " Papers mention only 3 men killed and 13 " wounded: the truth is, that 6 men were " killed, and 21 wounded; and it is obvious " for what reason the numbers were thus " misstated. The men whose names are " omitted were proved to have been deser- " ters from the British navy; and one of " them, the officer (gunner), lately from " the Chichester.——These facts being " well ascertained, the candid reader, in " America or any other part of the world, " may be left to draw his own conclusion— " whether commodore Barron has acted " consistently with the orders of his govern- " ment; or whether, forgetting his digni- " fied situation, he has stooped to evade and " prevaricate."——Now, if this statement be true, and I am strongly inclined to think it is so, away go all the American lies, and away go, too, all the fine calculations of the Morning Chronicle about the " *trifling* " number of seamen" whom we should lose by a forbearance such as it so strongly recommends for our adoption. I know how the American captains and news-papers will disfigure facts; I know that they will stick at no falsehoods; and I know that, on the part of our officers, heretofore, there has been but too much inclination to forego the exercise of their country's rights, in all cases where the Americans have been a party. I could mention the names of some, whom the Americans have recently disgraced by their praises, who appeared to me much more anxious about their money, *lodged in the American funds*, than about the interests of England. Admiral Berkeley and his captains have shown a different disposition; and, I trust, they will receive the support of the ministry and the gratitude of the country.

DANISH WAR.——The only part of the king's Declaration (inserted below), relative to his conduct towards Denmark, that I could wish had been omitted, is that wherein he speaks of *information*, which he had received with respect to the intentions of France. Of this information every one will form his own judgment; but, if the measure had rested upon the ground of *notoriety* and *necessity*, there would have been no room for any difference of opinion, which did not before exist. The introduction of this private information would seem to imply, that there remained a *doubt* as to the manifest intentions of Napoleon, and, of course, a doubt as to the necessity of the measure; which doubt ought not, in my opinion, to have been excited; for, I do not believe, that it existed before.——There has been much ranting upon the subject of the sufferings of the " unoffending Danes;" but, how could we avoid causing those sufferings, without abandoning the object? And here again we come to the original question of necessity. Upon this question I will just ask: do you, Sir, the editor of the Morning Chronicle believe, that, if this measure had not been taken, we should not have seen a confederacy of Russia and Denmark, sufficient to have taken forty thousand men on board, and to have kept employed forty sail of our line of battle ships with a proportionate number of smaller vessels? Do you not believe this? I should like a *yea*, or a *nay*, to this question: and, if you say *yea*, if you say that you do not believe it, and if you speak sincerely, then is your conduct upright; but otherwise it is not. ——The circumstance, too, mentioned in the Declaration, that the Danes pleaded the over-awing influence of France, in 1801, for entering into a similar confederacy, though in defiance of a positive treaty with us, is conclusive in justification of the present measure; and, with the knowledge of this fact, the ministers would have been guilty of the blackest treason, and would have deserved to lose their lives, infinitely more than Despard deserved to lose his life, if they had not acted in the manner they have done.——What may be the real intentions of Russia *now* I know just as much as the writers in London appear to know; but, she seems to have been staggered. I hope, however, that this operation of ours will not lead to a renewal of the war in the north of Europe, with all its curses of embassies and subsidies and commissaries and aides-de-camp and new plunder upon us. The Emperors of the East and of the West have got the continent between them; let them keep it, till they are disposed, through the means of our naval exertions, to give up some of the countries, having ports and arsenals, and their possession of which is dangerous to England. We have the full power of producing this disposition in their minds; and, if, for the sake of Hanover, or any such paltry object, we stop short of producing it, we ought to perish, and our name be blotted out of the catalogue of nations. ——The Morning Chronicle, in reverting to the subject of the Danish expedition, says " we are not *here* before an impartial tribu-

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"nal." And is this, Sir, the way, in which you get rid of the question? Is it true, that the *public* here are *always* on the side of the ministry, and so determined in this their partiality, as to render it useless to endeavour to put them right? This certainly is not the case; and, if it were, why not, at once, cease your endeavours upon *all* political questions? No; it is only, you will say, where the *advantage* of a measure is *apparently* in favour of the country, that the public are not impartial; but, why not endeavour, then, to convince them that it is not really so? They will, surely, hear you? The fact is, Sir, you are in a curious dilemma here; for, in this declaration of yours, you have tacitly allowed, either that the measure was *manifestly* advantageous to the country; or, that, not being so, you are incapable of making the contrary appear.

Poor Laws——Another Scotch correspondent has favoured me with his remarks (which will be found in another page of this sheet) upon the parochial-school subject, or rather upon my observation thereon. He sets out in the true style of Sir Archy Mc Sarcasm, which I should be very willing to forgive, if he offered me any thing to the point, accompanied with his personal reflections. His quotation of the opinion of Lord Buchan has no weight with me, being worth much about as much as the estimates of Gregory King, who was so minute as to include the number of *rabbits* in the kingdom. Does Sir Archy think, that the official documents that I refer to, and my calculations and arguments founded upon those documents, are to be answered by producing the mere random guess of a person, who, for ought I know, might be half mad? The "*colonies*", settled by Scotch labourers, of which he talks, are mere clusters of hovels, inhabited by people who seldom taste any thing but fish and potatoes.——Sir Archy, too, following the example of Scoto Britannus, takes no notice of the grants annually made to the industrious and virtuous Scotch labourers out of the taxes, raised from the labour of the lazy and vicious English labourers. This is a point which they appear to shun with as much care as a sailor shuns the rocks. What! take the fruit of English labourers and give it to *make work* for Scotch labourers, in order to enable the latter to live in their own country, and then come to that same wise assembly which is the instrument in the donation, and propose to it to declare (quite unnecessarily), that the former ought to look to the latter as an example of *industry*! Nothing, surely, was ever so outrageously impudent and insolent as this!——Sir Archy assumes that I am the agressor in this dispute; and so I should be, had not Mr. Whitbread framed his famous preamble, and *confessedly*, too, upon the authority of Scotchmen. This being the case, they are the agressors, and I think myself as much bound to resent their insults levelled against England, as I think myself bound to resent the insults of the Americans or the French. Since they have insulted us, too, they must not be surprized, if I go farther in showing, that Scotland, by one means or another, has been, and is, greatly favoured, in other respects, at the expence of England and Ireland. My wish is to drop the subject where it is; but, if new provocations are offered, they will, assuredly, be met, and in a way that Sir Archy, with all his vindictive sneers, would, I imagine, be but little able to withstand.

Expatriation of British Subjects.——This topic must be deferred 'till my next. It is important, not because it is likely that any law, or declaration, such as is recommended by my correspondent, in page 433, will ever be made, or seriously thought of; but, because the recommendation tends to show how anxious some amongst us are to be at perfect liberty to pursue their own interest at the expence of those of their country.——My other correspondent, in page 506, has given a good answer, upon general principles; but, I do not think, that he has gone enough into detail; and, I am pretty certain that he is not fully aware of all the motives which dictated the recommendation of S. V. nor with all the consequences, to which the adoption of it would lead.

Portugal.—Great alarm seems to be entertained respecting this state. The *factors* are, it appears, packing up their alls, ready to decamp at a moment's warning; and so, if we believe the wise men of the daily prints, are the *government* of Portugal! Was there ever any thing so foolish as this in the world! A whole *government* emigrating! The *Queen* and *Prince* might, indeed, be able to emigrate; and, even they, I am afraid, would lose their reckoning, and get *to England* instead of the Brazils; but, for a whole government, with all its constituted authorities, and all its *powers*, to emigrate, is surely, the wildest idea that ever entered into a sick brain.——If the Portuguese government be a good one; if the rulers are wise and considerate towards the people; if the people enjoy the fair fruits of their labour, it will be melancholy to behold, or to hear of, its overthrow; but, if just the

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contrary be the case, the event will not give me much pain. As I know nothing about the government of Portugal, I cannot, at present, venture to give any opinion, or express any wish upon the subject, other than that I do not think Napoleon can do *us*, the mass of the people of England, any harm in that quarter.

AMERICAN STATES.

SIR;—In your paper of the 22d ult. No. 8 Vol XII, in your letter to the Independant Electors of Westminster you have inserted certain resolutions, and a circular letter, from the American chamber of commerce at Liverpool, accompanied with observations which convey an opinion, that, the mercantile body generally would be ready to join in the cry which that publication was intended to excite; I have not heard of its effects in other parts of the kingdom, but I inclose a resolution of the committee of American merchants in London, passed on the 21st of the same month probably at the very time you were writing your letter, which I hope you will, with your usual candour, take an early opportunity of presenting to your readers. This resolution does not imply, that that body were ready upon the impulse of the moment to join their brethren at Liverpool in a cry in favour of the particular interests of the mercantile body in preference to objects of greater political importance. These important objects are in other hands, and I hope will be attended to with the respect due to an independant, although a young state. I also hope there is no intelligent merchant trading to America so ignorant of the national character, and of circumstances there, as not to know, that his true interest is to strengthen the hands of his own government by any means in his power, and that promptitude, and vigour in our councils, are essentially necessary, most especially in the present moment.—A MERCHANT.

"City of London Tavern. Friday, August 21.—At a meeting of the committee of American Merchants. Philip Sansom, Esq. in the chair;"

"The chairman stated, that he had received a letter from John Richardson, Esq. Vice-President of the American chamber of commerce, at Liverpool, accompanying certain resolutions of that board, and their circular letter, dated the 11th inst.; the same having been read, it was

"Resolved unanimously, That this committee will be at all times happy to receive any communications from the American chamber of commerce, at Liverpool, which may have a tendency to promote the commercial intercourse between the British Empire and the United States of America, *but with the knowledge that negociations of great political importance are pending between the Government of this country and the American states, they are of opinion, that any interference on their part, at the present moment, would be improper*; and this committee having no reason to believe his Majesty's Government to be indisposed to an amicable accommodation of the present differences, see no necessity for "associations being formed in the different manufacturing towns and seaports, for the purpose of collecting information as to the prospects of a good understanding, or otherwise, between the two countries." But if it should at any time appear that the efforts of this committee can be useful in promoting cordiality and harmony between the two Governments, they will be ready to do every thing in their power for the attainment of so desirable an object.—John Gray, Secretary."

DANISH WAR.

SIR,——At a moment when the event of the Danish expedition was yet uncertain, and that portion of our venal diurnal press devolved to administration, justified the measure by speculations, which (whimsically enough) one day charged upon the Danes an intended junction with the French, and on the morrow contained grave intimation that our fleet and army had been invited by the Danish court to garrison their capital, and place their navy beyond the reach of the iron grasp of Buonaparté; you, with that manly decision which forms a feature equally prominent and honourable in your character, bestowed on the project a warm and hearty approbation, upon the plain and intelligible ground, that the measure was necessary for the national safety, and as such fit to be adopted. I profess to follow the opinions of no man to the extent of an unqualified surrender of my own, and on this occasion in totally differing from you, experience all that a person may be supposed to feel, differing from another for whose understanding and integrity he entertains the highest respect. I with you am ready to uphold "the antient rights and practices of England upon the seas," and most cordially consign to execration that minister who shall waive one iota of them; but I am unable to found a justification of the Danish expedition upon any "right," nor, happily, does the

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British history afford an instance "in practice," of a similar conduct to any neutral nation under the canopy of Heaven. There are a class of persons who judge of all things by the event! With these gentlemen reasoning is thrown away! And there is another order of men whom I have as little inclination to trouble, I mean those profound politicians who hold for nothing all principles of good faith and integrity, when opposed to national advantage. An ingenious writer of the present day, in the following passage, has admirably described these sages, and from his pen I give you the well coloured picture. "When a measure is shewn to "them to be wicked, it is more than half "proved to be wise. Nay, their artificial "taste, like other unnatural propensities, "often acquires greater strength and more "powerful domination over reason and pru-"dence, than the natural one it has sup-"planted could ever have attained. If phi-"lanthropy has its enthusiasts, political im-"morality has its devotees, not so ardent "indeed, but more than equally blind and "irrational. There are fanatics in the "school of Machiavel, as well as in that of "Rousseau." I, for my part, profess to write neither to fools or knaves. My address is to men, who like you have no party but their country. If this (I trust no inconsiderable) portion of the nation, hold by their integrity, the country may yet be saved; but if they, the best hope and stay of Britain, become converts to the doctrine of expediency, the period is not far distant when their characters will be most deservedly brought on a level with those they most condemn. Once broadly admit the principle, "that national injustice may be the source of national benefit," and the doctrine of expediency will overwhelm you as a flood. At home, no matter what the form of the constitution might be in substance, the government of Great Britain would become as despotic as that of Turkey, and our power from (heretofore as in happier times) protecting the freedom, would degenerate into the scourge of Europe: and form, not "a northern," but a "universal confederacy," grafted on the only principle that ever yet held a confederacy together; that of self-defence, and a common interest. Nations like individuals are assailed by their necessities, temptations arise, check are requisite, and laws assented to for mutual preservation; and perilous is the situation of that people, who without "an extreme necessity" shall presume to remove these landmarks of the nations of the earth. And upon this case of "extreme necessity fairly made out," rests in my apprehension the justification or condemnation of the Danish expedition. For, as to the "glory" resulting from approaching the shores of an unsuspecting neutral, surprising him in the hour of profound peace, and by the aid of a superior and irresistible armament bombarding his capital and seizing his fleet; though that (since the success of the attack has been announced) has taken fast hold of the mind of the editor of the Morning Post; yet this feeling I am inclined to hope is almost exclusively his own —That Napoleon acknowledges no restraints as opposed to his interests, is unquestionably certain; and, that if so disposed, Denmark must have bowed to his yoke, I think probable. But that Russia would have consented to his holding the key of the Baltic, or he, without her assent would have taken such a step, appears of all things least likely. Napoleon, unfortunately for mankind, at once knows and follows his interest; his politics at present court Russia; he has much to do "with her" before he begins to "act against her;" add to which, if Napoleon appreciates the Danish fleet at the price we appear to set upon it, I think he will be found to reason less acutely than past experience has shewn him in the habit of doing. The situation of Denmark in common with her neighbours Sweden and Russia, is by no means favourable for great and successful maritime exertion; for a large portion of the year their fleets are confined by the ice to their own ports; their seamen though brave and hardy, unused to naval tactics have never ranked high. Moor them fast in line, and they will fire and be fired at till they are knocked to pieces; but afloat they are little formidable. Let me appeal on this point to every man who saw the Russian navy, when under the infatuated policy of Mr. Pitt they were brought on our coasts, to receive the benefit (at our expence) of the instruction and example of our own incomparable marine, or to the more recent instance which occurred in the action between a Danish frigate, and his Majesty's ship Comus. A further disadvantage occurs from their local position rendering the Baltic peculiarly liable to the inconveniencies of a blockade. If acquiring the hulls of the Danish navy was an object worth putting the character of the British nation to the hazard, I am satisfied it was not an object Napoleon would have risked much to obtain. With the permission of Russia, he would have thought them dearly bought at the expence of throwing into our lap the commerce and colonies of the Danes. If mere ships could wrest from us the trident of the main, our

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naval superiority would be short indeed; but our naval greatness rests on no such basis. The forests of Napoleon may yield timber, and the extent of his population afford abundant supplies of ship-builders; but this is a first and very short step to a powerful marine. Deficient in seamen, and deficient in officers, he may send out fleets to be dispersed by tempests, or defeated by our squadrons, a fate I am justified in predicting from the uniform result of every expedition that has left his ports during the present war. Our safety, thank God, does not depend on the possession of the hulls of a dozen Danish seventy fours, and as many frigates; nor does the importance of that possession in my mind, justify the measure by which it has been attained. The policy of Pitt, his constitutional buttresses, his commercial nobility, his bloated system of paper credit (so repeatedly and powerfully denounced by your energetic pen), have been a fruitful source of much suffering and disgrace; but, I deny that we are so broken down as to be reduced to the humiliation of avowing in the face of all Europe that our existence depends on a breach of those laws which hold together the frame of the civilized world. This were, indeed, 'to yield a base bondage to the power of Napoleon, and drink of the cup of shame to the very dregs!' Objecting as I do to the principle of the measure, the mode of its execution is with me a very secondary consideration. I am disposed to leave that question to the Post and the Chronicle; but, I own I am unfortunate enough here again once more to differ with you; near a fortnight was wasted before the attack was made, and when the enemy were reduced to an utter incapacity to further resist, a capitulation was granted, by which Denmark retains her seamen, and we stipulate 6 weeks to abandon his territory; and, already (if the public prints deserve credit) it has been found "expedient" to dispatch Capt. Cathcart with instructions "to extend" our possession.—Aye, Sir, extend our possession in the very teeth of the terms we have so recently granted.——Sir, these are means little calculated to save the country; the vile press are entertaining us with a negotiation for peace. I do not believe the report, nor do I believe (making all due allowances for difference of opinion among sensible and well informed men,) that one man in 100 of that description in the United Kingdom, imagine a safe peace to be a practicable measure. We are embarked in a severe contest, the continuation of which, I do not hesitate to declare, must in all human probability, be at least commensurate with the life of Napoleon. Vast exertions and great sacrifices must be made. The country must find its safety in high principles, and that magnanimous spirit which never yet existed where they were wanting. A reform founded on "the antient rights of Britons," and carried into effect agreeable to the "practice" of the British constitution, will in "our generation" enable us to abide "the pityless pelting" of the utmost rage of the storm that howls around us, and hand down to posterity a monarchy powerful and permanent. A nobility antient and honourable. A nation loyal and free. Or if destined to perish in the mighty conflict, let us fall as becomes our honour, without one unseemly wound, as fits the descendants of that ancestry from whence we are sprung:

> As to Sebastian, let them search the field;
> And where they find a mountain of the slain,
> Send one to climb, and looking down beneath,
> There they will find him at his manly length,
> With his face up to heaven, in that red monument
> Which his good sword had digged.

AN OLD ENGLISHMAN.

Sept. 26, 1807.

AMERICAN STATES.

SIR:——You are the only man, who has publicly expressed sentiments hostile to an arrangement in our dispute with the American States, unless it should be on terms which, I am afraid, our government is as little inclined to demand, as the Americans to grant.—Your opinions on this, as on most other subjects, is, as far as my observation goes, completely popular. A war with America, is not only wished for, but is looked upon by many, as a measure that would be ultimately beneficial to this country.—A comparison of the relative situations of the two countries, seems to offer every argument in support of this doctrine. Every body knows, that the rapid progress the Americans have made, is solely owing to the undisturbed repose with which they have been permitted to carry on their internal improvements; and to the safety with which from our forbearance, they have prosecuted their commerce with the different European States at war. They enriched themselves at a time when the means of subduing their enemies alone occupied the attention of other nations. Their success has made them insolent, and nothing will now satisfy them but that we must yield up rights which we ought never to abandon. These rights, the proud legacies, handed down to us after having been obtained in many a well fought battle, we are now asked to surrender, although we never were

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in a better situation to maintain them. But, Sir, I hope the government of this country are determined to preserve them entire in spite of every consideration, and if the Americans are not contented let them take war, the only other alternative that will be likely to please them. I am, however, well convinced, that matters would not be allowed to proceed thus far. Were we to shew a determination to support our rights, they would be very willing to accommodate the business in any way we might choose. I should be glad to know what resistance a raw and selfish government, with instruments despicable in the eyes of all nations, could oppose to British exertion under active and energetic management? What would be the issue of a war commenced against the greatest maritime power on the globe, by a people whose political existence depends upon foreign commerce, and particularly that part of it which is derived from being the carriers betwixt belligerent nations? Is it for a country relatively circumstanced as we are, to surrender rights which are the sources of our naval superiority, and which have been formerly inforced and maintained against the united efforts of the principal maritime states in Europe? These are questions which, I believe will be answered in one way only. We should not concede a single point in dispute that is not incompatible with our safety and honour. I never could see any good reason for permitting the Americans to be of so much consequence in the political scale. They enjoy a pre-eminence which they shew themselves wholly unworthy of possessing, and had their insolence been treated in the manner which it deserved, we should not at this day have to carry on a negotiation in which, I am afraid, not only the interests, but also the honour of the country runs the hazard of being disregarded. I never experienced any other feeling than that of contempt for the late measures of the American government. The House of Representatives are worthy the people represented. Every thing is conducted with *so much candour, moderation, and dignity*. The non-importation act, and the manner in which it was passed, were truly characteristical of these qualities. Never were legislators so disgraced as were the Americans on that occasion. That measure both on account of the temper and spirit with which it was conducted, will long remain a striking monument of madness and fanaticism. Ministers in allowing this famous act to pass unnoticed, were guilty of a great sacrifice of the dignity of this country, holding as they did the means of inforcing instant redress had these means but been resorted to. But consideration, it seems, for the interest of a few individuals who are engaged in the American trade, prevented their recourse to strong measures. No man who feels the love of his country yet unextinguished, can repress indignation when he sees its honour bartered for such pitiful ends. Would it have been believed in former times, that the government of Great Britain was to have been influenced by the meeting of some traders at the London Tavern? I believe all reasonable men will agree, that political considerations are of vastly greater importance than any commercial ones whatever; because the last have a reference to individuals only, the first to the community at large. The period is in all probability approaching, when necessity will inforce the conviction of this truth. We must give up part of our commerce for our political existence. As long as France domineers on the continent, our obvious policy is to deprive her and the countries under her controul of every external communication. This would bear hard against the Americans, Danes, &c. but the situation in which we are placed, completely justifies a measure that would be otherwise harsh and unjust.—R. M.——*Sept.* 15, 1807.

POOR LAWS.

Sir,——In reading your Political Register, I frequently meet with much good information, and, at all times, a vast deal of entertainment. It astonishes me to observe that, whether you happen to be on the right or wrong side of a subject, you are never at a loss for stout argument, and an abundant display of oratorical parrying. You certainly have good bottom, as they call it, Mr. Cobbet; for, give you never such a mauling to day, by Saturday again you are at it *tooth* and *nail*, and with as much courage and sans-froid as if you felt nothing at all of *your* bruises. Upon this redoubtable bottom of yours, you seem to place your chief confidence; and well you may do so, provided you be in that quarter equally unsusceptible of blushing, as you are in the non-sanguiferous lineaments of your frontispiece.—It was only yesterday it came to my turn to peruse your Register of Saturday se'night, in which, I find a miscellaneous paper containing remarks upon Mr. Whitbread's proposed alteration on the poor laws.——This paper may well be, in my opinion, called a *missileaneous* one; for, truly, Mr. Cobbett, you throw about you in all directions. You make a violent *thrust* at Mr. Whitbread; give the reviewers a *chopper*, and have *knocked down* a million and a half of my poor countrymen.

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With the burden of Atlas on your back, you are, at the same time, the greatest Hector I ever heard of. Not contented in adding America to the list of your enemies, you seem also to have no objections to end a truce with this peaceable part of the creation. But, go on, Mr. Cobbett, you know exceedingly well how to earn your bread and butter. And if you will only allow us fair play, be assured, we shall never propose to gag you. I wish, then, to correct you in a few points that you have either mis-stated, or not stated at all, respecting this *here* country. You say, that "the taxes, raised annually in Scotland amount to something less than one-seventeenth of the taxes raised in Great Britain," and that, "the population of Scotland amounts to something less than one-seventh of the population of Great Britain." And then, by your ready arithmetic, you tell us sneeringly, that "each person in England, (including Wales) each of these lazy vicious English, pays to the state annually much more than double the sum that is paid by each of those industrious and moral Scotch, of whom our labourers, &c. &c." Why so much irony, Mr. Cobbett? You will surely grant me that, according to the present system of taxation in Great Britain, every man pays (at least, as much so as possible) in proportion to his circumstances and situation in life. If two persons worth a thousand pounds each, pay together a hundred pounds in taxes, while another person worth two thousand pounds pays as much as both of them, have they not all equal credit for their contributions? May they not be all equally intelligent, equally useful, equally honourable members of the state, although towards the support of it one of them pays twice as much as the other two individually? Just so it is with Scotland. Our means when compared with England, are not in proportion to our population. But there is something more to be said on the subject, and I must request of you to take notice of the rapidity with which we have been improving for the last century. Lord Buchan says, (and I think the opinion of a strong anti-unionist may be pretty safely trusted) that "at the Union of England and Scotland, England is supposed to have been superior to Scotland as thirty to one in landed revenue, and forty to one in *general opulence*." Now, Sir, if in the course of a hundred years, we have from such a state of diminutiveness improved our resources, so as to enable us to pay a seventeenth part of the taxes for the support of our government, by applying one of your own rules in arithmetic, I find that this little nation of fifteen hundred thousand souls, should be capable in seventy four years hence, to pay a sum equal to England, "the *great nation*," with eight millions of rich subjects. I am surprised, Mr. Cobbett, to hear you talk so insidiously of Scotch industry. You say "you have seen colonies that have been settled by Englishmen, and some by Irishmen, but you never saw a country settled and cleared by the labour of Scotchmen." This, Mr. Cobbett, is not like your usual candour, for, although you may never have *seen* countries cleared by Scotchmen, you certainly must have *heard* of such places as Prince Edward's Island, near the coast of Nova Scotia, New Galloway in the state of new York in America, and many more, cultivated and inhabited by Scotchmen entirely. I cannot understand why you should have spoken in this manner, unless with a view to impress upon the minds of the *rich*, rather than the *poor*, that education has a tendency to give a people idle habits and to make them aspire to situations incompatible with the general interests of a nation. But depend upon it those notions are erroneous; no doubt, a person with some education will very soon acquire an ascendency over those that have none, but where all are nearly on an equality in this respect, there is no lawful occupation whatever but what will be filled even by persons who can read and write the English language very well. You never were in Scotland, I suspect, Mr. Cobbett. Should you come to this part of the country, it would give me much happiness to meet with you. And I shall engage to shew you Journeymen Butchers at their masters' stalls, and labourers working at the public roads, who can read and write as well as you can do.—I don't mean to say that they are able to *hammer* at hard words, or to *cut* up a *review* in such a style as Mr. Cobbett, I only allude to what may be called the mechanical part of their scholarship; yet these men are happy and contented, and perhaps not one in a thousand ever thinks of out-bounding his useful sphere.—I do admire, as much as any one, the good nature, the many virtues, and, generally speaking, the comfortable state, of the people of England—In several good things they are greatly before my country, particularly in cleanliness, which coming with propriety under the name of a domestic excellence, to the merit of it, I think your females are best entitled.—But in this respect, I am glad to say, we are also mending very fast—And now, give me leave, Mr. Cobbett, to lay before you something like a comparative statement of the crimes committed in both countries.

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—I have heard an affirmation made, and I believe it cannot be refuted, that take the whole number of criminals executed in Scotland in the last twenty years (including foreigners) they will not average in a year more than seven or eight. Need I say any thing of your Newgate Calendar? I think I may safely aver that in one County in England, with a population of three hundred thousand, there are more capital crimes committed annually, than in all Scotland in two years—And I have seen such hellish scenes in Lancashire, in their mode of fighting there, as, I am sure, would have chilled the blood of Rob Roy. Such feelings and conduct in Caledonians you surely will not attribute to any national timidity or want of valour. Without partiality I am rather inclined to place them to the credit of general education, and consequently, a general amelioration on the ruder passions of the mind in all classes of the community.—I am, Sir, &c.—A SAWNEY.—*Peterheard. September* 11, 1807.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

DENMARK.——*Declaration of the King of Great Britain, relative to the War with Denmark, dated Westminster, September* 25, 1807.

His Majesty owes to himself and to Europe a frank exposition of the motives which have dictated his late measures in the Baltic. His Majesty has delayed this exposition only in the hope of that more amicable arrangement with the Court of Denmark, which it was his Majesty's first wish and endeavour to obtain; for which he was ready to make great efforts and great sacrifices, and of which he never lost sight even in the moment of the most decisive hostility.—Deeply as the disappointment of this hope has been felt by his Majesty, he has the consolation of reflecting, that no exertion was left untried on his part to produce a different result. And while he laments the cruel necessity which has obliged him to have recourse to acts of hostility against a nation with which it was his Majesty's most earnest desire to have established the relations of common interest and alliance; his Majesty feels confident that, in the eyes of Europe and of the world, the justification of his conduct will be found in the commanding and indispensible duty, paramount to all others amongst the obligations of a sovereign, of providing, while there was yet time, for the immediate security of his people. His Majesty had received the most positive information of the determination of the present ruler of France to occupy, with a military force, the territory of Holstein, for the purpose of excluding Great Britain from all her accustomed channels of communication with the continent; of inducing or compelling the court of Denmark to close the passage of the Sound against the British commerce, and navigation; and of availing himself of the aid of the Danish marine for the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland. Confident as his Majesty was of the authenticity of the sources from which this intelligence was derived, and confirmed in the credit which he gave to it, as well by the notorious and repeated declarations of the enemy, and by his recent occupation of the towns and territories of other neutral states, as by the preparations actually made for collecting a hostile force upon the frontiers of his Danish Majesty's continental dominions, his Majesty would yet willingly have forborne to act upon this intelligence, until the complete and practical disclosure of the plan had been made manifest to all the world. His Majesty did forbear, as long as there could be a doubt of the urgency of the danger, or a hope of an effectual counteraction to it, in the means or in the dispositions of Denmark.——But his Majesty could not but recollect, that when, at the close of the former war, the court of Denmark engaged in a hostile confederacy against Great Britain, the apology offered by that court for so unjustifiable an abandonment of a neutrality which his Majesty had never ceased to respect, was founded on its avowed inability to resist the operation of external influence, and the threats of a formidable neighbouring power. His Majesty could not but compare the degree of influence which at that time determined the decision of the court of Denmark, in violation of positive engagements, solemnly contracted but six months before, with the increased operation which France had now the means of giving to the same principle of intimidation, with kingdoms prostrate at her feet, and with the population of nations under her banners.—Nor was the danger less eminent than certain. Already the army destined for the invasion of Holstein was assembling on the violated territory of neutral Hamburgh, and, Holstein once occupied, the island of Zealand was at the mercy of France, and the navy of Denmark at her disposal.—It is true, a British force might have found its way into the Baltic, and checked for a time the movements of the Danish marine. *(To be continued.)*

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"The natural-born subject of one prince, to whom he owes allegiance, may be entangled by subjecting "himself to another; but, it is his own act that brings him into these straits and difficulties, of owing "service to two masters; and it is unreasonable, that, by such voluntary act of his own, he should be "able, at pleasure, to unloose those bands, by which he is connected to his natural prince."——BLACKSTONE, Book I. Chap. 10.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

EXPATRIATION.——In the present volume of the Register, at p. 433, there is a letter, signed S. V., "on the necessity of a "declaratory law, or stipulation, with foreign powers, respecting the expatriation "of British subjects, particularly with the "United States of America."——To me, who know how many persons there are in this country, and how many more there are in America, who derive great emolument from acting the double part of British subjects and American citizens, it does not appear at all surprising, that a measure, such as that proposed by S. V. has met with an openly avowed advocate.——S. V. has begun by stating, in support of his doctrine, the opinion of a French writer, named PEQUET; but, of that opinion it will be best to speak, after we have taken a view of the *law* of England, in this respect, as far as the statutes go.——In order to show, that the statute law favours the supposition, that a British subject may expatriate himself, and may become, to all intents and purposes, an alien, and of course, justifiable in taking up arms against his native country, S. V. refers to the act of 14 and 15 Henry 8th, chapter 4, by which act such subjects of England, as had settled in other countries, and sworn obedience thereunto, should, so long as they should so remain, pay customs, &c. in England, "as other strangers paid." Whence this writer infers, that, "it is implied, that "persons may become subjects to other "powers, and that, by such election *to de-"part from their natural allegiance*, they "become *aliens to their native country* for "so long a time as they shall chuse to con-"tinue their new subjection; but, if they "elect *to become subjects* of England again, "they may have the king's writ, which will "entitle them to their former immunities "of Englishmen, upon their residing again "in England;" than which inference nothing, in my opinion, can be less warranted by the premises. The sole object of this statute was, to prevent such subjects as were settled abroad, and had sworn subjection to foreign states, from enjoying, during their settlement abroad, the rights and immunities enjoyed by their fellow-subjects, who, at the same time, remained at home. The act is purely *prohibitory*; and does, in no possible sense of the words, imply any relinquishment, on the part of England, of its claims to the allegiance of the persons, thus to be treated as aliens, during their settlement abroad, much less does it recognize any right, on the part of those persons, to become enemies of England. It supposes fairly and truly, that Englishmen may possibly become subjects of foreign states. The fact was so; nor was it then, nor is it now, to be prevented by the native country; for, a subject being once landed in a foreign country, what *power* have you over him, while he remains there? It is for the foreign country to determine, whether it will admit him to become its subject, and to share in its immunities; it is for you, while he remains, to deprive him, if you please, of the immunities of his native country, as was done by this act of Henry VIII.; but, you do not, thereby, lose any of your rights with respect to him, nor he any of his rights with respect to his country, in which, when he returns to it, he is precisely upon the footing that he was before.——The next act of parliament, to which he refers, is that of the 3d of James I. chapter the 4th. This was "an act for the better discovering and "repressing of Popish Recusants." Sections 18, 22, and 23, are those which apply to this question. The first of these sections makes it felony in any natural born subject of the king to enter into the service of any foreign prince, or state, without having previously taken the oath of allegiance and abjuration; the 22d section makes it high treason in any one to persuade any of the king's subjects to withdraw themselves from their natural obedience, or to move them to promise obedience to any other prince or state, particularly the Pope, or See of Rome; the 23d section makes it high treason in any

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of the king's subjects to be so willingly withdrawn or reconciled.——Here, to be sure, there is nothing *positively* in favour of the idea of the *right of a subject* to expatriate himself. Yet, does S. V. after the manner of my Lord Peter, make a shift to twist this act to his purpose; for, says he, though it is made treason in a subject to be "*so* with-"drawn, if the person *withdraws* his alle-"giance of *his own mere motion*, I appre-"hend he is not subject to the penalty men-"tioned in the 23d section." This statute, therefore, says he, "does not essentially "disannul the implication and inference "of the statute of Henry VIII.;" which last mentioned statute does, he says, in the last section, "clearly admit the right of ex-"patriation."——As S. V. draws no positive inference from this act of James I.; and merely introduces it for the purpose of disarming it of its hostility, we will leave it where it is, and see, for a moment, whether the last section of the act of Henry VIII. does "*clearly* admit the *right of expatria-*"*tion*." The words of that section I will insert, after having given the substance of the preamble and of the preceding section; there being but two sections in the act. The preamble states, that many subjects of this realm have gone with their wives and families into foreign countries, that they have there built houses and settled in trade, have sworn obeisance to the powers there, and have thus deprived their native country of the advantages, which she would naturally derive from their exertions and their wealth; that this tends to increase the opulence and strength of those countries, and to the diminution of the opulence and strength of England; wherefore, it is, in the first enacting clause, ordained, that, for the future, as long as such persons so remain, they shall be compelled to pay customs, subsidies, and tolls in the same manner as other strangers; but, that (and now we come to the words of the much-relied-upon section), "if here-"after it shall happen any such person or "persons to return into the realm, and here "to tarry and inhabit, that then he or they "shall be restored to all such liberties and "freedoms in paying of customs and subsi-"dies, and other charges, as all other En-"glishmen do use to pay, and to have a "*writ* out of the Chancery for the same." Verily, my Lord Peter, in discovering a permission to wear shoulder-knots, was a bungler compared to him, who has, in this section, found out "a *clear* admission of the "*right of expatriation*!" There is not, in this act, a word about *allegiance* or *alienage*. No such matter was before the parliament, who were contriving merely how they should prevent subjects settled abroad from enjoying those immunities which were enjoyed by subjects residing at home. And, as to the "*king's* writ," who would not imagine, from the manner in which it is mentioned by S. V. that it was an instrument to *re-naturalize* the party? The writ, as we find in the foregoing section, was merely an order, issued from the Chancery, "to the customers, "comptrollers, and other officers of the "king's custom, in every port, haven, or "creek, within the realm;" and, the purpose of it, in the case contemplated, was, to remove the disabilities of the party as far as related to customs, subsidies and tolls.—— The last statute, to which we are referred by S. V. is that of the 5th George I. chapter 27th, made as a check to the emigration of *artificers*. S. V. calls this an indefinite and very general term; but, he will gather, from the preamble of the act, that *merchants* are not meant to be included, though that, I suppose, is what he would drive at. This act says, that, if any artificer or manufacturer go into a foreign country, and does not return within six months, after warning given him, he shall be deemed *an alien*; "by "which statute," says S. V. "we see, that "Englishmen are *expressly* allowed to be-"come *subjects* of other powers." *Expressly!* Where does he find this? Does the act say any such thing? No; the act is *penal* all through; and, from the foregoing part of the section, it is obvious, that the party offending was to be considered as an alien, only as that construction of his character would expose him to punishment, or inconvenience. In case of disobedience, after having received due notice to return home, such emigrated artificer is rendered incapable of taking any legacy that shall be devised to him in this kingdom, of being an executor or administrator to any person in this kingdom, of taking any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, by descent, devise, or purchase; and is to forfeit all his lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, and chattels, in this kingdom, to the king; after which come the only words, that S. V. has thought proper to notice, to wit; "and shall, from thenceforth, "be, and be deemed and taken to be an "alien, and shall be out of his Majesty's "*protection*." But, all this is merely for punishment. The emigrant is to be an alien only as far as he is punished by being taken in that character; and, if found in arms against his country, would, notwithstanding this act, be liable to be punished as a traitor. Besides, what does this act make for the doctrine of S. V., upon the supposition that *no*

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warning be given to the emigrant to return home? In that case, he is *not* to be "deemed *an alien*." So that, according to S. V.'s construction of this act, if two weavers, Jack and Dick, emigrate, and are afterwards found in arms against their country, Jack, who has had due warning to return home, is a prisoner of war, because he is to be deemed an alien; while poor Dick, who has had no warning, and who does not add contumacy to his original offence, is to be hanged by the neck till he is dead! The *warning* being necessary to the perfecting of alienage, no man can be deemed an alien, even in the sense of this act, until the warning be given. This warning to the emigrant is neither more nor less than a *threat* of being deprived of the right of taking legacies, holding lands, &c. and this S. V. denominates "an *express* "permission to become a subject of a foreign state!" But, if, for argument's sake, we were to adopt this absurd construction of the act of George I. what would it avail S. V. as to his main purpose; namely, that of enabling men to withdraw themselves from their allegiance to the king, in order to their security when they had sworn allegiance to the American States? First, they must be *artificers or manufacturers*; next they must, from our ambassador in America, have had *due warning to return home*; and next, they must have *refused to obey that warning*. Is there one single emigrant to America, who can plead this title to the quality of alien? Why, then, refer to this act? And if for the purpose of sanctioning the *principle* of alienage, pray remember the subjoined *conditions*. Alienage upon such conditions, I do not perceive any very great objection to. Let it be made law, that whosoever shall choose to withdraw his allegiance, and become a citizen of America, shall, at once, be, *for ever*, deprived of the rights and immunities of an Englishman; shall take no legacy, hold no lands or houses, forfeit all his goods, chattels, annuities, and debts, and be entitled to no protection whatever from England; pass such a law, for *future* operation, and I have not only no objection to it, if you except those only who have made fortunes from the *public revenue*, but will give it my hearty assent. But, I am not to be inveigled to give my approbation to an alienage "*pro tempore*," to a to and-again, a backward-and-forward, allegiance, however convenient it might be to some persons; an allegiance that would enable a man, as an American citizen, to ship off powder to the French, or to command a privateer in the service of France, to day; and, in two months afterwards, to claim, as an Englishman, his right of throwing into jail, as his debtor, some English merchant, whom he might have ruined by his privateer, and all this with perfect security to himself.—After this, the question, "does it seem *reasonable* that "the character of British subject is unalien-"able," requires but little by way of answer. Nor do I see any necessity for a declaratory law, or a positive stipulation, upon the subject. To the latter I should object, because it would be an unmerited compliment to the Americans, who are the only nation that has hitherto had the audacity to raise a standard of alienage; and because it would seem, as if we thought it necessary to justify ourselves in the eyes of the world for not permitting our laws to bend to their insolent regulations; and, to the former I should object, because it would, as well as a stipulation, imply a doubt as to the past, and give rise to claims of exemption on the part of those, who have heretofore become what they call citizens of the United States.—— S. V. seems to think, that he has reduced the law, as it is at present held, to a sad absurdity. "It is requisite," says he, "to make a "declaratory law upon the subject of expa-"triation, because it has been held by per-"sons, sitting in judgment upon the claims "of creditors of individuals of a foreign na-"tion, that, "although the character of "*British subject is unalienable by the in-*"*dividual*, yet *the acceptance of that of* "*subject* of another country, bars all "right to complain of the acts of the "latter." "Now," says he, "what is this, that a British subject *cannot* ex-"patriate himself, but *having expatriated* "himself, he must no more look to his pa-"rent country for redress against the acts "of his new task-masters? Here is a decla-"ration that a British subject *cannot* with-"draw his allegiance in one line, and, in "the next, that he *may* accept of the cha-"racter of a foreign subject; or, in other "words, that he *may* alienate his unaliena-"ble *rights*." This passage would have reflected honour upon counsellor Botherem himself. It is really a choice specimen of what a man of talents may do in the way of beating plain words out of their honest meaning. But, Mr. Lawyer Botherem, the little word *cannot*, like a great number of other words, little as well as big, has two meanings; and, in the judiciously confounding of these consists, as far as my observation has gone, no small part of the art of the family of Botherem. *Cannot*, Sir, in the language of the law, and in the sense in which you use it, in the above passage, means, a legal inability or prohibition with respect to

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the doing of a thing, and not a physical inability to do it. For instance, we say, that a man *cannot* sit in the House of Commons, unless he has a clear real estate, worth three hundred pounds a year; but, do we thereby mean to say, that no man ever *does* sit there who has not such an estate? We say, that a man *cannot* kill game, unless he have such or such a qualification; but, do we thereby mean to aver, that there are not thousands who *do kill* game without any other qualification, than that of a steady hand and a sharp eye? Speaking, in the same sense, with reference to the laws of England, I say that a man *cannot* become a subject to another state; but, I know that many *do become* subjects of other states; and, therefore, Sir, I see here none of that gross and troublesome incopsistency, of which you complain. The same illustrations will serve for your monosyllable *may*. But, now, Sir, let us put the case (which is, perhaps, drawn from real life) a little plainer than you have put it. A British subject, in America, previous to the close of the rebellion, whose name, for want of a better, shall be *Twister*, has a debt due to him from another American. Mr. Twister becomes a citizen of the United States, takes the oath of allegiance to them, and abjures the authority of his sovereign and country. By-and-by a treaty is made between England and America, in which it is stipulated, that America shall cause to be paid all debts, due to *English subjects*, which debts were prevented from being paid by any acts of the government of America, and of which debts Twister's was one. "Oh!" says he, "I am an English "subject still; for my allegiance is *unalien-* "*able*;" and forward he comes with his claim. "No," says America, "that will "not do Mr. Twister; you are *our* subject; "and our stipulation goes only to the pay- "ment of debts, due to English subjects." Back he twists to us: "For God's sake," says he, "compel those fellows to do me "justice!" "No," say we, "for, though "you cannot, agreeably to our laws, be- "come the subject of another state; yet, "as you have so become, you have forfeit- "ed all just claim to our protection; and you "must e'en settle the matter with that "state in the best manner that you can." Would to God, that all the decisions of all our courts were as just as this!——It is complained of by S. V. that we permit the subjects of other countries to become subjects of this country, at the same time that we will not extend the principle where our own subjects are concerned, and are desirous of becoming subjects of other countries. I wish from my soul, that we kept out all foreigners, without a single exception. They are the curse of this country, and always have been its curse. But, when we naturalize people, there is some little ceremony attending it. The persons naturalized are few in number. We do not swear them in by dozen after dozen, like special constables at the eve of Pitt's going to dine in the city. Besides, we have never, that I know of, pretended to any right *to exonerate these naturalized persons from any of the duties, which they owe to their parent state*, and this is precisely the insolent pretension which the Americans put forward. These naturalized persons, *as long as they are under our power*, are under the protection of the laws, and are entitled to all the rights and immunities here enjoyed; but, if they were to return home, or if they were taken in arms against their native country, they would be left by us to experience whatever treatment that country might think proper to adopt with respect to them. But, what the Americans claim, is, that, in virtue of a little bit of printed paper, the blanks of which are filled up for nine-pence, well and duly paid, to some one of their half million of pettifoggers, a British subject becomes released, for as long a time as he pleases, from all the obligations appertaining to his natural allegiance; that, in virtue of the aforesaid nine-penny certificate, he may, though a director of the "*Honourable*" East-India Company, carry on a private-trade to Hindostan without risk of seizure by the British power; that he may supply the enemies of Great Britain with provisions and arms and ammunition, without subjecting himself to punishment by Great Britain, though he should, at the same time, be residing in London; and, not to tire the reader with an endless list of base and traiterous acts, that he may, if war should break out between America and England, carry arms against the latter, with no other risk than that to which a lawful enemy is exposed.——Now, a word or two upon the *reasonableness* of our laws, as touching allegiance, in opposition to the opinion of Monsieur Pecqust, whom S. V. has chosen for his guide. "The citizen," says this writer, "as an inhabitant of the world, "reserves always a sort of natural liberty "to renounce the particular advantages of "his birth, and to become the subject of "another state, *without which he would* "*be, in reality, a slave*. There are no "ties of this sort supportable, except such "as are formed by affection. Emigrations "never take place but *in the hope of being* "*better off* in an other country than at

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"home." Suppose this latter assertion to be true, it is no argument in favour of the doctrine before laid down. Apprentices seldom run away, and sailors seldom desert, without the hope of being better off; but, would you, for that reason, conclude, that they have a right to run away, in the one case, or to desert in the other case? But, here, Monsieur Pecquet would say, there is a breach of *obligations*; and, is there, then, no breach of obligations when the citizen, as he calls him, deserts his country? When a child is born, and, even Monsieur Pecquet would, I suppose, have allowed that he must be born, there are, in the country where he is born, a people, by some of whom he must be nursed and fed and clothed and reared up to man's estate. There was a long time when he was able to do nothing in the way of producing those necessaries of life, by which he himself was sustained; and, during all that time, the nation (some or other of them no matter who) were compelled to provide him with those necessaries; and, what is more, to take care to protect him against all violence, whether from foes foreign or domestic. And, being now grown a man, shall he say to the nation, I made no bargain with you, I entered into no indentures, nor did I take any bounty money when I was born; and, therefore, you have no claim upon me, and I, "as an inhabitant of the world, have a sort of natu-"ral right to become a subject of any state "that I please, and, if it should so happen "to suit, to kill as many of you as I can?" Shall he say this; and will S. V. seriously say, that he is *a slave*, unless he has a right to act agreeably to his words? Monsieur Pecquet seems to have overlooked the *obligations* contracted by man with the nation, in his childhood and in his youth. The nation were *compelled* to support him. No one of them, and no number of them, dared to kill him, either by blows or by starvation. He could *reserve* no *natural* right, for he never had any, except, perhaps, the right of using his senses, and of crying for food. The nation, observe, could not *cast him out*; and cannot now take from him the *rights* of his birth; but, unless he can, at his pleasure, divest himself of the *duties* of his birth, S. V. and Monsieur Pecquet hold him to be, "in *reality* a slave!" The *reciprocity*, of which, in other cases, S. V. talks so much, is here completely lost sight of; and, indeed, it is utterly impossible to maintain this principle of Monsieur Pecquet, with any shew of justice, unless it be allowed, that as the grown-up "citizen" has "a sort of natural right to become the subject of another state whensoever he pleases," the nation have always "a sort of natural right" to throw the new-born "citizen" into the river, or to leave him upon the bare earth to the care of that "world," as an inhabitant of which he, when grown up, will claim the privilege of acting.——So much for the principle in the abstract; let us now follow S. V. in a view of its application to our present concerns. His main object appears to be to provide beforehand impunity for the persons and security for the property of all those British subjects (and very numerous they are), who may, if war should take place between America and England, be exposed to punishment or loss, in consequence of the part they may take in that war, or in consequence of confiscations levelled at British subjects. He seems to make pretty sure, that some of these persons would, in case of war, be found in arms against their native country, and asks, whether it would not be a "melan-"*choly* thing, that such persons should be "dealt with as traitors." To which I answer, that it would certainly be melancholy to reflect, that men should be so base as to raise their hand against the nation, in whose bosom they had been warmed into life, nursed, fed, and reared up to manhood; but, that, if, nevertheless, so base they should prove, I, though I never saw punishment of any sort with pleasure, and never saw an execution in my life, should feel no sorrow at seeing such men die upon the gallows. For, observe, the question here, is not, whether, in certain extreme cases, men may or may not be justified in taking up arms against their *rulers*. The principle of S. V. is of quite a different nature. It justifies taking up arms against one's native country; it justifies universal desertion and universal parricide; a principle well enough to be broached and maintained by the Americans, the greater part of whom have, properly speaking, no country; but, a principle to be held in execration by all the rest of mankind. As to the "*perilous* situation" in which the Americanized English would be placed, in case of war, there is always a ready way to avoid that; they having nothing to do but to return to their own country, or to remain inactive in America. "This would expose "them to great loss, and, perhaps, to great "odium, and even to persecution, such as "being confined within their respective "townships, assessed in double taxes, and "seeing their debtors, private as well as public, "freed from their demands." May be so; but, they emigrated for their own pleasure;

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after being reared up to manhood by the nation, they went away from it, "in the hope "of being *better off*;" and, it is but fair, that they should take the bad with the good. The instance chosen by S. V. is, perhaps, as perfect as any that could have been pitched upon. MR. ERSKINE chose to go to America; he chose there to marry, by which he became entitled, as S. V. says, to the rights of citizenship; he then came home and, as is usual, eat his way to the English bar; then a change of ministry sent him as envoy to America, with a pretty decent salary, leaving his father in England, in the receipt of a pension of 4,000 pounds a year for life. Now, if this gentleman, who, observe, besides the general obligations attending his infancy and youth, has received from the nation a share of those benefits arising from endowed colleges, *which endowments are supported by the labour of the nation*; if this gentleman were (I do not suppose the thing possible, mind) to take up arms against his native country, or to aid, either directly or indirectly, any of its enemies, *he* ought, if it were possible, to be hanged at every cross-road in the kingdom.—This applies equally well to merchants, manufacturers, and fund-holders. They have become, no matter how, rich from the soil and the labour of the nation; and, if they choose to withdraw themselves and to carry those riches with them, "in the hope of being better off," be all the "perils", which they will experience in case of war, upon their own heads. It is right they should experience peril; it is right they should suffer; for what can be supposed more unjust, than that the man, who turns his back upon his country, merely for his own interest's sake, should, in all possible cases, be, by the indulgence of his country, placed, as to property as well as person, in as perfect security as the man who remains at home, and who, by the labour or the skill of his manhood, repays the nation for the care and the labour it bestowed upon his infancy? ——At every step, that we advance, there is some new aspect, in which the detestableness of this principle appears. Allow the right of expatriation, and I see hardly any ground, upon which resistance, of any sort, against government, however villainous and tyrannical that government may be, can be justified. This principle, if acted upon, would dissolve all obligations between the governors and the governed, the former of whom might reasonably say to the latter, "why do you stay here; why do you "remain our subject if you can better yourself elsewhere?" So that, in the end, tyranny would be reserved for those only who had not the means of expatriating themselves, and never would there be a struggle made either for the preservation, or the restoration of freedom.——This abominable principle is at war with the ordinances of the Creator, who has, by the gift of different languages, divided mankind into different nations, by which means is kept up that emulation, which is the great cause of exertion both of body and mind, and which, in various ways, does, more than all other causes, distinguish man from the brute.

EDINBURGH REVIEWERS. The double sheet, which will be published next week, will enable me to comply with the requests of several correspondents, who seem extremely anxious that these political adventurers should be exposed.——I had, at one time, almost resolved to leave them entirely to those, who had more leisure than myself; but, when I consider how great a hand they had in the miserable measures of the Whig ministry, it does appear to me necessary to bestow one day upon them.——I cannot say but I have a sneaking kindness for them. They have done a great deal of good in lashing the boobies and bastards that are fastened upon the public; but, what has long appeared to me evident, is, that they want to supplant them, and to fasten *themselves*, upon us; rather than which *I*, for my part, would have to maintain the boobies and bastards, who, being somewhat gorged already, are likely to suck our blood less unmercifully than those northern leeches would.——All that I want to do, with respect to them, is to keep them *out of place*. If we can but keep them from pocketing the public money, they will be, to use the obituary phrase, most "valuable members "of society". This Review, with all their partiality, is, even now, worth all the other things, called Reviews, put together. I will lend an hand to keep them from preying upon us; I will endeavour to prevent them from bringing a colony of Scotch schoolmasters amongst us; but, I will never join the blockheads against them.

DOMINION OF THE SEAS, and DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.

SIR,——At a moment like the present, every, the most humble individual, who has the pride to call himself an Englishman, and who has the real honour and glory of his country at heart, can hardly be expected to refrain from endeavouring to express his sentiments, in some way or other, respecting the measures necessary for the salvation of

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his country's independence; impressed with these feelings, I cannot withhold from you the grateful acknowledgements of an individual, who has read with admiration, your late masterly papers, respecting our dispute with America, and our Dominion of the Sea. —I most cordially agree with you, that the mere circumstance of the possession of naval power, is nothing, unless it be used to demonstrate to the surrounding nations, how effectually we can annoy them with it, whenever, and at the very instant, their hostile threats, or the measures of our inveterate foe, shall force us so to do. On this account, as well as the other advantages, resulting from so bold and decided a measure, the attack on Copenhagen is likely to do us more essential service, than the capture of fifty such places as Buenos Ayres. —It is calculated to impress our enemies with some idea of the magnitude of our power; and, we are actually called upon at this moment, under the particular circumstances in which we are placed, to make Continental Europe feel our power at her very doors, rather than in distant and remote parts of the globe—in such cases, they only see, and feel our power, in a slight or indirect manner. With the colonies already in our possession, and a strict enforcement, of that grand foundation of all our national security and glory, *the act of navigation*, as a perpetual nursery for seamen, we have more than adequate means for the support, or even increase, of our present gigantic naval power; and the whole effect of our taking possession of the remainder of the colonies, still in possession of our enemies, may be produced, in as complete and effectual, and much less expensive manner, by means of our navy alone, than with the co-operation of our land forces. What I allude to is, that we should at once, and at the very commencement of every succeeding war, declare, that we would not permit the smallest intercourse, or an ounce of merchandize, to be carried to or from our enemies colony, under the protection of any neutral flag whatever; otherwise, than in cases, and for such articles, which humanity might call upon us to permit them to receive. This principle I believe to be an extension, though not a considerable one, of the rule of 1756; and, to any neutral power, complaining of its operation, we might with much propriety say, "this measure is not directed against "you, or against any one thing you have "the least *reason* to call your rights:—it is "solely directed against our enemies; and, "it is your misfortune and not our wish, "that our measures of self defence, should "prove injurious to your interests. By our "power, we have driven our enemies from "the very face of the ocean, and we cannot, nor indeed are we disposed, to permit you, under the character of neutrality, to render our power nugatory. By "the same rule, and upon the very same "principle, that our enemies forbid you to "trade to their colonies in time of peace, "*we* forbid you to do it in time of war: "by our naval power, we have cut off all "sort of intercourse between their colonies "and the mother country, and we have "consequently, a just right to consider "them as virtually in our possession. The "prohibition, in both cases, is founded up"on the temporary interest of each party, "with which you have no right whatever "to interfere." The rule here laid down, is founded on our just right of making an effectual use of our power by sea, whenever we may be necessitated to exercise that power for the annoyance of our enemies: nor does there appear the smallest degree of injustice done to the neutral nations, admitting, for argument's sake, that famous law—the law of nations. With what justice or propriety, can a neutral complain, of being prevented from trading to a place in time of war, to which he claims no pretensions whatever in time of peace? If, in time of peace, the enemy tells the neutral, "the trade to my colonies is my prin"cipal source of commercial revenue, and "nursery for seamen, I, therefore, cannot "permit you to trade to them," it, surely, stand in need of no better reason to prevent that trade in time of war. But, I would not stop here, I would prohibit the trade by sea, to or from any port in the world under the sovereignty of our enemies, without our special licence for that purpose, and the same principle and rule of conduct is equally open for their adoption. By not acting up to the full extent of our power of annoyance, we are at once frittering away our strength, and prolonging the miseries of war. In a state of war, every honourable means within our reach ought to be resorted to for the purpose of impressing the enemy with a due sense of our power; and, it is therefore, truly mortifying to see so many miserable concessions and relaxations, in our system of warfare, at the suggestion of commercial men, under the specious pretence, of benefitting the manufactures and commerce of the country. And, in order to shew how extremely dangerous it is for our governors to listen to their insidious insinuations, it is only necessary to mention,

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that, *a very considerable part* of the whole body, (indeed *a great majority* of those engaged in the trade to the Continent) of merchants upon the 'Change, are actually *foreigners and aliens*.—Upon this point, I cannot avoid mentioning, how exceedingly foolish was the conduct of the late ministers, who, having treated with the utmost indifference, if not contempt, the real English part of that body, (and amongst whom, I am sure that you, Mr. Cobbett, will allow that there are *some* who have hearts truly English and patriotic) they admitted continually to personal interviews, upon the subject of commercial measures, *a set of the lowest foreign and Jewish merchants and agents*, that are to be met with upon the Royal Exchange; and who, having each told his story according to the bearings of his particular interest, had, in almost every instance, his wishes complied with, upon paying the required fee for a licence under the royal signature; and this too, in such a wholesale manner, that during the last summer, there were frequent instances of licences so granted, and orders in council issued, in the course of the same week, directly counteracting each other. The fees paid for these licences, or sale of the royal signature, in consequence of the silly measures adopted by the late administration, surpassed all bounds—from the lowest computation they must have amounted, to at least, from 20 to 25,000 pounds: my objection to the payment of these fees, however enormous they may appear, is not founded in any tenderness towards the persons who pay them, but, to the inducements it holds out to the needy underlings in office, amongst whom the money is divided, (and who you know perfectly well, are, in fact, the principals in transactions of this sort) to sell the vital interests of the country.—Reverting again to the main object of this letter—what would be the consequence of pursuing a system of warfare, founded upon the principle, of secession on our part, of any further colonial or territorial conquest, but at the same time adopting a total prohibition, upon pain of becoming legal prize, of all sort of intercourse by sea, through the medium of neutrals, with all the enemies ports and colonies, otherwise, than by means of our special permission? The consequences resulting from such a system, would seem of almost equal magnitude, and at the same time attended with circumstances tending less to wound the feelings of honour of foreign nations, as your plan of universal tribute; inasmuch as our prohibition would be solely directed at our enemy, and, however the interest of some neutrals might be injured thereby, they would not be *bound*, for the mere sake of their honour or independence, to resent it, as a measure of hostility directed equally against them, unless they actually chose to do so, for the very purpose of quarrelling with us.—The system above alluded to, vigorously enforced, would have *three*, at least, very beneficial effects: first, the dread of so heavy a calamity, as must inevitably fall on the population of the enemy, in a war with this country, carried on in this energetic manner, must make him pause, before he dared, from the very impulse of personal safety, to provoke our hostility wantonly. Secondly, the enemies colonies in the course of a few years of war, would be under the *necessity* of trading with us, in order to get rid of the produce of the soil; and for which purpose, we might grant licences, without fee or reward, to neutral vessels according to circumstances, or the situation of our own colonies; by which means we should enjoy all the substantial benefit of an extended colonial commerce, without the expence and inconvenience of its protection; and, in a political point of view, the opening the communication again to the mother country, at a peace, would be equal to the actual restoration of them, were they really in our possession. Thirdly, it would give a most stable, and most effectual prop to our commerce *and navigation*, at a time when it has, in many cases, almost insurmountable difficulties to contend with; and it would tend particularly to benefit that class of men, at whose constant grumbling, when measures of real energy are employed, you entertain such well founded fears, under the present critical circumstances. I mean the commercial interest: by this system our colonial productions would have the almost total monopoly of the continental market; and even our enemies, though still in possession of the local sovereignty of their colonies, must absolutely supply themselves with the produce thereof through our means; and that too, in such proportions, as we may deem it our interest to permit them to receive at our hands. In order to carry this system into effect to the utmost possible benefit to ourselves, I would have the trade to the enemy's colonies limited, or extended, in proportion to the capability of our own islands being sufficiently productive for the general supply of the continent. I would grant licences to neutral vessels, to bring the produce of the enemy's colonies *to this country*, at such times and in such quantities only, as the state of our own market should warrant.—But, to follow up

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the principle of annoyance of our enemies, in the manner it has hitherto been acted upon, that is, by the seizure of their colonies, seems in point of fact, to be pregnant with the utmost danger to ourselves, rather than our enemies; it operates in quite a different manner than what it is, or at least it ought to be, intended to do; it tends rather to weaken than strengthen us, and of course it becomes a very powerful inducement on the part of the enemy to continue his mode of attacking us, by seizing or threatening every neutral nation within his reach; and particularly all such as are (so far) unfortunately possessed of the alluring invitation of foreign colonies.—By acting upon the principle here laid down and recommended, the whole *national* advantages, both as to profit and means of annoyance, are attainable, in the event of friendly powers being instigated to turn against us, without putting ourselves to a shilling expence; by sending out (instead of expensive expeditions) simple orders to our men of war, to prevent all commercial intercourse with such neutral colonies, the mother country of which, shall have passed under the yoke of the enemy.—What I am here aiming at is, some fixed and unalterable principle of action, or declaration on our part, the operation of which, shall be simple, certain, and effectual; and which should serve for an eternal basis of our conduct towards all foreign or neutral nations, as well in this, as all future wars, whosoever our enemies may be, in which we, or our posterity may be engaged.—From our insular situation, it requires no sort of argument to prove, that our means of annoying any enemy with whom we may happen to be at war, consists in the power of banishing him, and the produce of his land, from the face of the ocean; and, it requires as little argument to prove, that, by the very arrangement the Creator himself has ordained, in the distribution of the productions of each respective nation or soil, he has rendered a very frequent and extensive communication *by sea*, between the various nations of the world, absolutely necessary to their respective existence, and which necessity has become very considerably heightened from the present enlightened and cultivated state of the European nations.—These facts being admitted, how ought a Briton to exult, in being a native of that land, which seems by the very situation in which it is placed, and the noble and independent spirit and intrepidity of her sons, to be pointed out as that favoured nation, who has it in her power resolutely to assert her freedom, in defiance of the whole of Europe (or, perhaps, the world) raised up in arms against her?—Which has the power to prescribe the very terms of intercourse, not of any one or two nations, but the intercourse by sea, of every nation upon the face of the globe!!! Ought then a nation so gloriously situated to think of assuming a tone of despondency, upon the mere fact, of a few misgoverned or dastardly nations, having fallen into the grasp of a most haughty, artful, ambitious, and, at the same time (with the powerful aid of his advisers), a most ingenious and clever individual?—We are possessed of vast real and effective power—let us not abuse it, but exercise it in a manner, that shall not only evince to foreign nations our consciousness of its possession, but also, convince the whole world, by our moderation and generosity, that we are *worthy* of so great a trust: let us assume a commanding and dignified line of conduct, that shall equally scorn the meanness, of either wounding the feelings of a weak and defenceless nation, or brook an insult from the most powerful. And this principle would seem to me, whatever other persons may think of the matter, to be perfectly reconcileable with our conduct with regard to Denmark. It was necessary for our national safety and security, as the most powerful and only means, under the extraordinary circumstances in which this country is placed, of effectually destroying *the possibility* of any formidable maritime confederacy being formed against us, to demand the possession of her navy, and naval stores, upon certain conditions; that demand was made, (and at the same time supported in a manner to ensure success), in a tone of the utmost candour, manliness, and humanity, and it was no fault of ours that a single shot was fired. Let the terms upon which we can make peace with safety, be made known to the world; let those terms be even very much within the bounds of those we are justly entitled to demand, and are able to enforce; but let them be such only, as shall ensure to our country, for the sacrifices she has made, the full and unadulterated reward, so justly her due; perfect safety, freedom, and independence.——I cannot possibly comprehend upon what sound principle it is, that the late ministers and their advocates, should take so much pains to hold up the terrors of a rupture between this country and America; and, even to go so far, as to preach up the *necessity* of concessions, upon the occasion of every new demand, our good nature, or perhaps, more properly, timorous conduct, has induced her to make. It is surely, to be seen in every walk of life, that a man, without the least assumption of arrogance, may

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carry a degree of firmness and resolution about him, to resist all encroachments derogatory to his honour, as shall at once, prevent either an improper favour being asked of him, or his being insulted; whilst on the other hand, a man, adopting a different carriage, and who shall have once shewn symptoms of fear, is sure to be insulted and imposed upon. The latter appears to me, to be our case with respect to America, we have gone on conceding one point after another in such a manner, as to induce her to entertain an opinion of our actually being *afraid* of her power; and in consequence, she presumes to hold that insolent and domineering language, we have been so much accustomed to hear of late. As a combination of trifling circumstances, with those of greater magnitude, may induce her to entertain such a mean opinion of us, I cannot help mentioning to you the circumstance of, what appears to me, a very improper preference given to their ships, over those of other neutral nations, during the time they lay in the River Thames. You must know, that for some (good no doubt) reason or other, no foreign vessels of any nation or description whatever, have for these 6 or 7 years last past, been permitted to come up nearer to London, than the Isle of Dogs opposite Deptford, those belonging to America only excepted; who are permitted to lay in any part of the river they may chuse, for their own convenience; now, though this may be considered as a very foolish circumstance only, yet, I can see no good reason why these domineering gentry should have such a preference of civility shewn them. Why swell the pride of these insolent and contemptuous people with an affected distinction or preference? Why not permit the humble Pappenburg or Knipbausen vessels, to enjoy the same privileges, as neutrals, as those of America? I cannot but fear, indeed, from the whole view of our conduct towards these people, that we have only our own imbecility to blame, for the arrogant and menacing tone, they have ventured to assume. You have in your late papers, handled our present dispute with America in such an admirable manner, that it is almost presumption to attempt the mention of it. But, it occurs to me, that, in your paper, taking a view of the probable loss this country might sustain, in consequence of a rupture with America, you did not state one very great advantage which would have resulted from it, and which the system pointed out in the preceding part of this letter, is also calculated to produce; namely, the prevention of America supplying the Continental market, *which she does at this moment solely in the total exclusion*, with East India and Colonial produce; and which would consequently, force as it were, the consumption of our own produce and manufactures, upon the Continent, on a scale equal or nearly so, to the diminution of our exports to America;—at all events, if it did not open a market to our manufactures to the extent of our loss, the advantage derived to our East and West India Merchants taken into the calculation, would fully balance the account, as a transaction of national loss or gain. In short, as our present forbearance, leaves the advantage in favor of the manufacturers, so the event of war, would throw the advantage in favor of our colonial merchants:—the effect, therefore, would be precisely the same as far as the nation is concerned, the difference being merely, an exchange of advantages, amongst a few individuals.——I would not, however, be understood from this sort of calculation, to entertain a moment's hesitation, of sacrificing every idea of commercial profit or gain, whenever the salvation of the honour or independence of our country were at stake. My notions, indeed, of the *foreign* commerce of this country, are somewhat similar to your own—I am of opinion it may be carried too far, and most certainly so, if the basis of its extension, is that of seizing and consequently garrisoning colonies (to say nothing of the expence of the civil department) in distant parts of the world. From the nature of our offensive and defensive power, as a nation, it is obvious, that we require a more extended foreign and domestic commerce, than any other nation, for the very purpose of maintaining our power; the most prominent feature of which power being the possession of ships and seamen, and those resources and regulations, dependent upon commerce, which continue to supply them; and secondly, the pecuniary resources necessary to put in motion and keep up that power. If we can extract the first, and some portion of the second, of these our means of defence, from our commerce, it is all we want from it as a nation; and, so long as we can manage to make our national power and safety go hand in hand with the extension of our commerce, so long ought that commerce to be encouraged and protected, but not one moment longer.—H. C.—*London*, 25 *Sept.* 1807.

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

Sir;—I have perused with attention the communications inserted in the last number,

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of your register on the subject of the dominion of the seas, by your correspondents who assume the signatures of Wroc and Candidus, but I am so far from being convinced by their arguments, that the doctrine which I maintained "that occupancy or first possession confers right" is unsound, that with the additional reflection I have given the subject, I am, if possible, more confirmed in my opinion. It may be proper to observe in the outset, that I mean by the term occupancy, the seizing on and converting to exclusive use that matter which was before in common, and this I believe is the sense which Blackstone, and other writers have attached to the term. Although I have the misfortune to have one of your correspondents (Candidus) in opposition to me, you have but little reason to boast of his support; for he says, "I neither think that occupancy "confers right *nor that force confers it*;" now, as we have undeniably acquired the dominion of the sea by force, and as there occur to me only two ways in which this could be done; namely, rightfully and wrongfully; if it has not been effected righttully as your correspondent is of opinion, it must have been effected wrongfully; therefore we are, according to his own confession, wrongfully in the possession of the dominion of the sea, so that in fact your correspondent and myself come to the same conclusion. We travel indeed, by different roads, but we both arrive at the same spot at last. Yet your correspondent after this admission inconsistently states, "that we are urged by every "dictate of reason and policy to maintain the "dominion of the seas." Occupancy or first possession I contend confers right. The Almighty when he created the world gave to man dominion over the sea and endowed him with reason; that reason shews that those gifts which were intended for all mankind, belong to him who first has the good fortune to possess himself of them, or such a portion of them as is necessary for his use and enjoyment. And it further shews that it is unjust to molest him in that possession or to deprive him of it. It is upon this ground I contend, that America and every other nation not in a state of war with this country, have a right to the uninterupted use of that portion of the sea which their vessels may occupy for the time being, and that to interrupt them in the possession of it is unjust. The things which are the subject of occupancy at present are but few: mankind having consented to give up by far the greatest part in consideration of the advantages which they derive from society, but they did not give up all. Some of which exist at this day: a few I noticed in my former communication. And if it be unjust to deprive a tenant sur autre vie of the estate he acquired by occupancy; if it be unjust to deprive a person of the seat at a theatre which he first possessed himself of; if it be unjust to deprive a ship in the rivers or docks of an advantageous situation which it occupies; and if an hundred similar instances which might be adduced and which must occur to every reflecting mind be unjust; why is it not equally unjust to molest the ships of nations in amity with us in the enjoyment of that portion of the sea which they occupy for the time being? That reason which shews the injustice of the former cases shews in as strong a light the injustice of the last. The right we assume to the Dominion of the Sea consists, it is contended, in the power we have. We possess the strength of a giant, and you would have us use it like a giant, and assert that it is not wrong to do so: but in maintaining this doctrine you become, in fact, the apologist of Bonaparte. And, let me ask your correspondent Wroc, if the possession by occupancy which we have of this country does not confer on us an exclusive right to it, on what ground can we have an exclusive right? We evidently cannot have any. So, if that scourge of humanity should succeed in landing on our shores with his army, instead of cheering your countrymen with the justice of their cause, "thrice are we armed because our quarrel's "just, and they but naked though locked "up in steel," because their "quarrel "with injustice is corrupted," you would damp their spirits by telling them that the enemy possess just as much right to our country as ourselves. This is patriotic conduct with a vengeance! If we have a right to the Dominion of the Sea I really do not see why we should not acquire a right to the dominion of the air. Let a fleet of balloons be filled out and impose such restrictions as may be deemed expedient upon the different neutral nations for the air they breathe: if they resist and should assert that they have a right to breathe uninterruptedly the air which God designed should be in common for all his creatures, tell them you have acquired the right by force and infect the air with some foul disease, the plague for instance, to enforce your just demand. A British prince in answer to the Roman ambassador who demanded tribute said, "tell your master we will nothing pay for "wearing our own notes," and I think we might with just as much right impose restrictions upon the different nations of the

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earth for wearing their noses as we do impose restrictions upon the navigation of their vessels. Your correspondent Candidus has, in opposition to my position, put a case to prove its absurdity and injustice, and has likewise taken notice of the practice of nations on the discovery of any new territory. The case is this: "suppose," says your correspondent, "an association of men emigrating to South America" (If Monte Video or Buenos Ayres be meant, an event not very likely to take place by the way) "and "that while wandering there they should "find a considerable territory uninhabited of "which they take possession, and that the "spot so possessed is in a state of cultivation "to afford more than sufficient means of "subsistence for three times the number of "settlers, what right, let me ask, can such "settlers have to refuse to an half starved "traveller the liberty of supporting himself "by such surplus produce or of adopting a "part of that spot for his local habitation?" Having thus put his case, he says, "if right "be a virtue and synonimous with justice "and equity, I can discover none in the in-"stance I have put," nor can I discover either any justice or equity in the denial; on the contrary, it is repugnant to every principle of justice and humanity. But the doctrine of occupancy loses nothing by this admission. It was never contended by me, that a person had a right to appropriate to himself more than was necessary for his own use and enjoyment. Such an application would be an abuse of the bounty of the benevolent donor, and manifestly unjust, and a more unjustifiable act can scarcely be imagined than refusing an half starved traveller the liberty of supporting himself or of erecting an habitation: but I contend, that the first settlers acquired by occupancy of the territory the right of sovereignty over the whole spot, as well that which was necessary for their subsistence as the remainder. Such traveller therefore, had no right to obtrude himself upon the settlers without their permission: and if his admission would prove detrimental to the welfare of their community, or would interrupt the harmony which existed amongst them, they would have been justified in excluding him; but humanity would have dictated that his immediate wants should be supplied. Indeed, I cannot see any distinction between the case put by your correspondent, of a person entering into the territory of a society of settlers on the continent of America, and his coming into this kingdom or into any other country; for justice and humanity in such a case suggest, that he should be received and his wants relieved; but if his stay in the country into which he had entered should prove detrimental to its welfare, his removal would be justifiable and proper. The right of the settlers to their country is co-extensive with the right which Englishmen have to their territory; and therefore if in the case put by your correspondent he means to contend that the half starved traveller has a *right* to be participator in all the privileges of the first settlers, he might with equal reason contend that Frenchmen, Germans, Russians, Africans, Americans, Chinese, and every other nation upon the face of the earth, have a right, if they thought proper to come amongst us to enjoy all the privileges in common with us which we possess. I have devoted more time and attention to this case than I think it is fairly intitled to, and I come now to the consideration of the other argument advanced by Candidus in opposition to my position, viz. The course adopted by nations on the discovery of any new territory. And this, so far from shewing that it was the opinion of the discoverers that Occupancy does not confer right, if I am not blind indeed proves directly the reverse. What was the conduct of Columbus when he discovered America? Solemnly to take possession of the part he discovered in the name of the sovereigns who sent him, and on this they founded their right. What right had we to claim exclusively for ourselves the discoveries we made on the Continent, and of the different Islands of America? Occupancy or first possession. If this did not confer a right, any other nation would have been equally entitled with ourselves, and contentions would have ensued in consequence. Yet, I do not any where find a dispute on this ground. The nation which first takes possession of a country is considered as having an exclusive right to it by the other nations. If this were not so, a country so taken possession of by a force inadequate to maintain it by arms against its assailants, would be taken possession of by a superior force. Yet, I do not find a single instance of this nature to have occurred, notwithstanding the numerous opportunities which have presented. But your correspondent mentions the case of Portugal. In the discovery of the Brazils, he says, "What "did Portugal do? Merely inform the other "European powers that by the discovery "they had the right. And to that they all "assent? No, she sends out a force to "maintain the advantage which accident "has given her; colonizes the place; and "fortifies it with garrisons and other means

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" of defence: but, if it were an acknow-
" ledged right, and so recognized by all ci-
" vilized nations, such precautions would
" have been superfluous, and merely an in-
" sult to the other powers." In answer to this, I observe, that the measures taken by Portugal would have been unnecessary if there were not wars between nations; but the Brazils being considered as a valuable acquisition, those measures were taken by her that they might not be wrested from her in the event of any war which she might thereafter be engaged in. This was obviously the reason of recourse being had to the precautions alluded to by your correspondent Candidus; of whom I now take my leave, and come to the discussion of the arguments of your other correspondent, who assumes the name of Wroc.—This gentleman has said a great deal about the expediency of the measure. He seems to think, with you, that it is absolutely necessary to our existence as an independent nation. On the discussion of this part of the subject I am not now disposed to enter; and I declined it from the beginning; nor am I prepared to say that your ideas and his are not correct. But, with regard to the justice of the measure, considered abstractedly from its being necessary to our existence as a state, your correspondent inquires " to what it is that a right is con-
" ferred by occupancy?" My answer is, to every matter which may be the subject of occupancy. I stated in *express terms*, that *first* possession confers right; yet, your correspondent after making some extraordinary remarks, concludes with the remarkable and unwarrantable presumption, that I meant *present* possession. Does he imagine, that first and present are synonymous when applied to property which has passed through a hundred different hands? Does he suppose I mean that a thief who has the present possession of a purse which he has stolen, acquires a right to it by virtue of that possession? If this were my meaning, the doctrine would be as extravagant and ridiculous as that of the learned gentleman, who inserted his ideas in a former number of your Register, relative to a subject divesting himself of his allegiance. I dislike personalities and invectives, but I cannot feel otherwise than indignant at the conduct of that correspondent, and should have made myself some comments on it, if I had not thought that the doctrine he advanced, like vice, was necessary only to be seen to be despised and abhorred. But to return from this digression, for which I ought to apologize, I do not clearly comprehend what your correspondent means respecting present possession and first possession. He says, " what is in the present possession or occupation of one man, may have been first possessed by another; so that two claimants thus situated would be puzzled, according to my rule, to discover to which of them the right belongs. Now, my rule being that occupancy or first possession confers right, I cannot see any puzzle in the business. If a ship occupy a certain station in the River Thames, and is dispossessed of it by force by another ship, there are two claimants, the first occupant and present occupier. And my rule being that first possession confers right, the first occupant according to that rule has the right. But, if the first ship had left the station, and the other had then taken possession of it, and the first had returned and claimed it, the present occupier would clearly be intitled to retain it; because the first ship in abandoning the station had relinquished his right to it, and it again became in common. There is no puzzle except in your correspondent's own " noddle," which, indeed, appears to have been sadly puzzled, and his brain much distressed to substantiate a charge of inconsistency in the sentiments which I advanced in my former communication. Yet, upon no better foundation than this *he presumes* that present possession is meant, and accordingly rests his charge of inconsistency on it. Now, I call upon your correspondent to state what right he has to make any such presumption, when *his own head was puzzled* whether he ought to attribute my meaning to first possession or present possession. And I think it would have been more liberal and more consonant to that spirit with which literary contests should always be carried on, and more just to have attributed my meaning to first possession, since it would have been reconcileable to those passages which he states to be repugnant to the contrary construction. Your correspondent has dated his letter from Lincoln's Inn; and, I therefore presume he is learned in the law. Let me, then, ask him, in what manner he would endeavour to expound a dubious passage which might appear in a deed or will? If he possesses any knowledge of the law; if he possesses common sense, he would give it that meaning which would make the whole instrument consistent, if such a meaning could be given to it; and not that which would make it repugnant in itself. Our judges uniformly give dubious passages this construction. Having thus cleared the ground from the impediments which have been raised by your correspondent, I come to the discussion with him of the principle of the right we assume to the

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Dominion of the Sea. Your correspondent, in answer to my position that dominion over the sea was the gift of God to all mankind, states that dominion over the Earth was equally the gift of God to all mankind, and that on the principle upon which I contend against the dominion of the sea, Englishmen can have no better title to this island than the inhabitants of any other nation. But there does appear to me to be a wide difference between the two cases: and your correspondent, I think, confounds occupancy of dominion with occupancy of the matter which confers dominion. The inhabitants of Great Britain have acquired a right and an exclusive one to the sovereignty of their country by occupancy or first possession of the territory itself; but the sea, from its nature, is incapable of total occupancy, as much so as the air. A certain portion of it may, as I have contended, belong exclusively to nations as far as may be necessary for navigating their vessels. They retain this right as long as they keep possession of it, but the instant the act of possession ceases the sovereignty ceases also, and it again becomes common, this, then, is the distinction I make between the cases advanced by your correspondent. In the one the right to the sovereignty is acquired by the possession or occupancy of the soil itself; in the other case, no right to the sovereignty is acquired, because the sea is not capable of being actually possessed from its nature. Your correspondent imagines that the cases which I adduced in my former communication do not illustrate the doctrine of occupancy of ships at sea, because in the former there is a superior human power to punish an infringement, but the reason here assigned is very unsatisfactory; on what foundation are or ought to be these courts constituted which punish those infringements but reason, and so imperfect are they that it is frequently necessary to correct their decisions thereby; our court of chancery has this for its object. How much better is it, then, to resort at once to reason for a rule to ascertain the justice or injustice of an action, than to resort to human courts, shackled as they are by rules, and legal quirks and quibbles! How much better to drink at the pure source of a stream than after its waters are corrupted! It is reason in all cases which shews whether an act be just or unjust. Persons who have beyond all doubt committed crimes frequently escape punishment on account of some defect in the legal proceedings; but though no human power does inflict punishment in those cases does not reason point out that they are unjust? and reason equally points out, whether an action be just or unjust although no human power has jurisdiction over it. Besides, in legal proceedings the judge is frequently left by the law to examine his reason to ascertain whether an act be just or not as in one of the cases I mentioned before. A person enters a Theatre and takes possession of a commodious seat, which he finds vacant: another comes afterwards and dispossesses him of it for which he is summoned to appear before the sitting magistrate at Bow Street. The parties being assembled and the fact proved, the magistrate considers the nature of the offence. He reflects thus: To offer violence to the person of another unjustly is an assault; but allow is this unjust? If force confers right according to Mr. Cobbett's Ideas, this cannot be so. But the magistrate would shrink back at the idea and would say force cannot confer right, 'tis contrary to that reason with which God endowed me to distinguish between right and wrong. And he would therefore adjudge the ejector to have been guilty of an assault and compel him to give security to appear at the sessions, to answer for the same. Therefore, after all, recourse must be had to reason to ascertain whether this action be just or unjust; and recourse must also be had to reason to find whether an action be just or not when no human power takes cognizance of it. Reason is superior to law, and appeals will be made to it against decisions of law (tho' your correspondent being a lawyer may say *lex est summa ratio*, and contend that this rule is equally true with that which says The King can do no wrong); Does your correspondent still hold out? and will he after this, insinuate that reason is not the best rule to determine whether the doctrine of the sea is just or unjust as applies the particular instances which I noticed before? Having thus taken a general review of the arguments advanced by your correspondents on the general principle of the superiority we exercise on the seas, and added some reflections and illustrations in support of my side of the question which have occurred to my mind since I sent my former communication, I will briefly notice the objections made by your correspondent. Proceed to the particular instances I adduced in that communication. Your correspondent inquires, how the first possessor could transmit to others that right which it is confessed on all hands endured no longer than his own actual possession, and states that the title of an individual to any particular piece of land arises not from its having been awarded to him or his ancestors by the dictates of natu-

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ral reason, but by the law of the country in which he lives. Now, in answer to this, I must observe that it was never stated by me that the right ceased with the possession. In the time of land the natural right I admit does, but still the best interest and enables him to transmit it to others. The right is first acquired by occupancy, but it is handed down to the present possessor by the law. My assertion, nevertheless, that exclusive possession can be justified on no other ground than occupancy is correct. Your correspondent says it would be a difficult task to account for the right of the eldest son to succeed to the inheritance of real estates in exclusion of his brothers and sisters. I, Mr. Cobbett, who am a younger brother, do give my hearty assent to this proposition. But, in doing so, I do not think that I make any admission inconsistent with my former statement. The learning advanced me on the subject of the estate for the life of another person has likewise received the censure of your correspondent. He says the occupant does not retain the estate because the law of nature dictated by natural reason awards it to him; but because the law of England did not allow of any person being turned out of possession unless he could make it appear that he was by law intitled to it. Now your correspondent appears to me to admit all that I contend for; for on what ground does the law of England not allow any person to be turned out of possession? why, this—*that it was unjust to deprive another of that of which he had possessed himself first.* But your correspondent does not state the case fairly; the language of the law is this—*unless some person could make it appear that he had a better right:* thereby admitting, that the person in possession had acquired a right by occupancy. I believe I have now noticed and endeavoured to answer all the objections which have been advanced against the sentiments which I expressed in my former communication. If any thing has been omitted, it is owing to inadvertence, and begging disrespect, for the opinions of your correspondents, who, I hope, will point it out some other period, and adduce arguments more convincing in opposition to my doctrine, than they have hitherto done, which would give me the most sincere and heartfelt pleasure: for I never undertook a more painful task in my life, than in endeavouring to shew that we are unjustifiable in exercising the dominion of the sea in the manner we have done. But by so doing, I considered that I defended the honour of my country; and loss of honour, I conceive, to be loss of every thing valuable.—R. R.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

BUENOS AYRES.——*From the London Gazette Extraordinary, dated Downing street, September 12, 1807.*

(*Continued from p. 512.*)

A creek being found soon after the first boats landed, the whole were got on shore without any opposition, or any accident, except that several of the transports were aground, but got off without damage. The conduct of the officers and men on this occasion induced me to give out the accompanying general order: 200 seamen, under the orders of Captains Rowley and Joyce, were thought sufficient to land for the present; and I feel much indebted to those officers who had made themselves acquainted with the river, and piloted the squadron and transports.—Lieut. Bartholomew, of the Diadem, who was strongly recommended by Admiral Stirling, for his knowledge of the river, embarked with me; and I feel it my duty to state to their lordships, that he was of infinite service; as were Lieut. Talbot, of the Encounter, Lieut. Acott, of the Rolla, and Lieut. Herrick, of the Raisonable, who undertook the pilotage.—On the evening of the 28th, the Paz and Staunch joined; the Staunch had taken a sloop, and destroyed 2 others of a convoy going to the south shore for troops. I have directed Capt. Thompson, in the Fly, towards Buenos Ayres, with the Staunch, Paz, and Dolores, to endeavour to keep up a communication with the army.——I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) GEO. MURRAY.

Extract of a Letter from Rear Admiral Murray, dated Nereide, off Buenos Ayres, July 8, 1807.

Sir,——By my letter of the 30th ult. their lordships will be informed, that the army under the command of Lieut. Gen. Whitelocke, was landed without opposition or accident on the 28th near Barragon, about 20 miles to the eastward of Buenos Ayres.—On the 30th, the Nereide, small craft and transports weighed, and anchored again to the westward of Quelmes; the next morning I went in shore in the Flying Fish to endeavour to communicate with the army, having directed some transports with provisions to go close in, in case the army should want supplies.——Capt. Corbe, in his boat, discovered some of our troops, and sent Lieut. Blight, of the Nereide, on shore: he with difficulty got to them, being obliged to pass through a deep bog: on the 2d, Lieut. Blight returned and informed me he had seen Gen. Whitelocke the evening before; that the army had suffered most severely on their march, having very deep marshes to pass, and having been obliged to leave their

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provisions behind them; were much in want of bread and spirits, which were immediately landed from the Encounter and transports. As I understood that General Gower had advanced towards Buenos-Ayres, I directed Capt. Thompson, in the Fly, with the gun brigs, to get as near in as he could: the same day I received a letter from Col. Bourke, Quarter-Master-General, to say he was directed by Gen. Whitelocke, to inform me that he had marched on, and meant to go to the westward of Buenos-Ayres, requesting I would send the ships having heavy artillery there, and likewise provisions. I immediately sent the gun boats to join the Fly and gun brigs, and directed Capt. Thompson to get as close in to the Westward as he could. The transports with the guns, and those with provisions, as well as an hospital-ship, I likewise sent there, and am happy to say they were all in shore on the 4th, ready to meet the army.——On the 5th a firing was observed in the town; I desired Capt. Thompson to make use of the gun brigs and boats, when he could, without annoying our own people, who appeared to be both to the eastward and westward of the town. *To be continued.*

DENMARK.——*Declaration of the King of Great Britain, relative to the War with Denmark, dated Westminster, September 29, 1807.*

(Concluded from page 544.)

But the season was approaching when that precaution would no longer have availed; and when his Majesty's fleet must have retired from that sea, and permitted France in undisturbed security, to accumulate the means of offence against his Majesty's dominions. Yet, even under these circumstances, in calling upon Denmark for the satisfaction and security which his Majesty was compelled to require, and in demanding the only pledge by which that security could be rendered effectual—the temporary possession of that fleet, which was the chief inducement to France for forcing Denmark into hostilities with Great Britain; his Majesty accompanied this demand with the offer of every condition which could tend to reconcile it to the interests and to the feelings of the court of Denmark. It was for Denmark herself to state the terms and stipulations which she might require. If Denmark was apprehensive that the surrender of her fleet would be resented by France as an act of connivance, his Majesty had prepared a force of such formidable magnitude, as must have made concession justifiable even in the estimation of France, by rendering resistance altogether unavailing. If Denmark was really prepared to resist the demands of France, and to maintain her independance, his Majesty proffered his co-operation for her defence—naval, military, and pecuniary aid; the guarantee of her European territories, and the security and extension of her colonial possessions.——That the sword has been drawn in the execution of a service indispensible to the safety of his Majesty's dominions, is matter of sincere regret to his Majesty. That the state and circumstances of the world are such as to have required and justified the measures of self-preservation, to which his Majesty has found himself under the necessity of resorting, is a truth which his Majesty deeply deplores, but for which he is in no degree responsible. His Majesty has long carried on a most unequal contest of scrupulous forbearance against unrelenting violence and oppression. But that forbearance has its bounds. When the design was openly avowed, and already but too far advanced towards its accomplishment, of subjecting the powers of Europe to one universal usurpation, and of combining them by terror or by force in a confederay against the maritime rights and political existence of this kingdom, it became necessary for his Majesty to anticipate the success of a system, not more fatal to his interests than to those of the powers who were destined to be the instruments of its execution. It was time that the effects of that dread which France has inspired into the nations of the world, should be counteracted by an exertion of the power of Great Britain, called for by the exigency of the crisis, and proportioned to the magnitude of the danger. Notwithstanding the declaration of war on the part of the Danish government, it still remains for Denmark to determine whether war shall continue between the two nations. His Majesty still proffers an amicable arrangement. He is anxious to sheathe the sword which he has been most reluctantly compelled to draw.—And he is ready to demonstrate to Denmark and to the world, that having acted solely upon the sense of what was due to the security of his own dominions, he is not desirous, from any other motive, or for any object of advantage or aggrandisement, to carry measures of hostility beyond the limits of the necessity which has produced them.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 16.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1807. [PRICE 1Cd.

"The words of these boasters are their only weapons, and even those are as little to be dreaded as their "arms, which are carried merely as a disguise for their cowardice."——SWIFT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

EDINBURGH REVIEWERS.——When Swift wrote the above-quoted sentence, he must have known, one would think, something of men, who like the Edinburgh Reviewers, first assaulted a man with words, and then went out to give him "*satisfaction*", upon the condition that both parties should load with *paper bullets*; so that even the conduct and character of these men present us nothing new under the sun. That they are as great cowards in politics as they have been, before the Bow-Street magistrates, proved to be in the field, will very soon appear; and to accomplish this purpose I have set apart this day, promising my readers not frequently to occupy their time with this, or any similar subject.——The reason, which the Reviewers have given, for attacking me, is this: that, as my present opinions are of mischievous tendency, it is right to contrast them with my former opinions, and, by shewing that they widely disagree, to disarm my present opinions of their effect upon the public mind, which effect they assert to be very extensive.——In this very reason is contained my justification for an exposure of their inconsistency, their selfish motives, and their profligate principles; for, though I may fairly presume, that the writings of these unknown adventurers have, comparatively speaking, but little effect with the public; yet, that effect, if it be of mischievous tendency, it is my duty to destroy if I can; and, at the same time to prevent my own character and conduct from remaining misrepresented, however few may be the persons, whom the misrepresentation may reach.——The charges, preferred by the Reviewers against me, range themselves under two distinct heads: first, that of inconsistency; second, that of now promulgating doctrines tending to weaken the attachment of the people to the present system of rule, and particularly to the House of Commons.——But, before I proceed to the examination of these charges, it is proper to notice the obvious cause, whence the preferring of them has proceeded. Upon reading their review (if such it must be called) of my writings, a question which must have occurred to every one, was; "how has it happened, that these persons, "who began their work much about the "time that Mr. Cobbett began his Political "Register, never thought proper to notice "that work until now?" It is not their custom to review *news-papers*. May be so; but how come they to have done it *now*? Why, the doctrines of the Register became so very dangerous, and its influence so very extensive, that it was absolutely necessary to endeavour to apply a remedy. Very well; but why delay this absolutely necessary work *so long*? The real cause was the following passage in the Register of the 21st of March last, Vol. XI. page 440: "To see my Lord Henry Pet-"ty, who, backed and cheered by a daily in-"creasing *brood of young friends*, equal, in "every qualification to those of Pitt, and "anxious, like them, to prove their natural "attachment to the country, by drawing "their nourishment from her paps, &c. &c." This, they knew to be pointed at them; they felt the justice of the description, and that, too, at the mortifying moment, when those paps were, quite unexpectedly, torn from their hungry jaws. This, joined, perhaps, to apprehensions of the future, was obviously the cause, and the sole cause, of what they call "a review of Cobbett's Po-"litical Register", *ten volumes* of which work, in the course of five years, having, as they confess, an almost unparalleled extent of circulation, they had suffered to pass entirely unnoticed.——In this review, they have quoted many passages from my former writings, relating to actions as well as to men, contrasted them with those of my latter writings, relating to the *same* actions and the *same* men, and exhibited a complete disagreement, between them. And, if I myself had not, in due time and place, noticed this disagreement, and accounted for it, their criticism would have been fair enough; but, at every stage of change in my opinions, I myself have observed upon such change, and have, in a manner satisfactory to myself, at least, accounted for it. I beg leave to refer the reader particularly to my remarks upon the Middlesex Election, in 1804, Vol. VI. pages 331, 370, and 446; to my letter to Pitt, in Vol. VI. page 449; to my an-

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swer to the defenders of Lord Melville, in Vol. VIII. beginning in pages 513 and 545; and to my answer to the Morning Chronicle's charge of inconsistency, which answer will be found in Vol. X. beginning at page 748. Upon these articles alone I venture to rely for a complete justification of every charge preferred against me by the reviewers, upon the score of my inconsistency. "But," it may be said, "so thought not the reviewers." Suppose so; but, how comes it that they have taken *no notice* whatever of these articles, not even in the slight way of allusion? The articles might, in themselves, be of little importance; but, when the professed object, and the sole object, was to expose my inconsistency, it was, surely, incumbent upon the expositors, not only to notice my explanations upon the points, as to which they charged me with inconsistency, but to shew, that those explanations were not satisfactory. I contend that they are satisfactory; a pretty good proof that the reviewers thought that they were so, is, that they have cautiously avoided any allusion to them; and, than this caution of theirs we need not, I think, ask for any better test of their *justice* and *candour*.——They say, that a change of opinion, upon abstract principles, may be readily allowed to any man; but, when, at one time you find him applauding the *self-same act*, which, at another time, he condemns, he is to be set down as detestably inconsistent. But, if these persons had not been under the influence of that "pitifully vindictive motive," which, at the outset, from an apparent anticipation of the charge, they are very pointed in disclaiming, they would have observed, that, besides the nature of the act itself, was to be taken into view, the *degree of true information*, which, at the respective given periods, *I possessed*, relative both to the nature and motives of the act in question. For instance, I am informed that a gentleman has given a poor labourer money to pay his rent; I, at once, applaud the act. I find, afterwards, that this money was a bribe for a vote at an election; I, at once, condemn the act. Is there any *inconsistency* here? The reviewers quote my former opinions relative to Mr. Horne Tooke's trial, the substance of which was, that, though acquitted, he was guilty of treason; and then they quote passages, lately written by me, from which it may fairly be gathered, that I think him to have been, not only an innocent, but an injured man. But, they should have noticed; 1. that I was abroad during the time of the trial, and for six years afterwards; 2. that I have stated myself, that I there had the means of obtaining scarcely any other but the ministerial prints, or, at least, that, in fact, I did obtain scarcely any other; and, 3. that my change of opinion, upon this subject, arose, as I have stated myself, from a sober and careful subsequent perusal of the whole of the proceedings upon that trial, from which I imbibed the conviction (as I am sure, every candid man will that reads those proceedings), that Mr. Tooke and his associates had only acted upon the very principles, which Pitt had before professed, and which he had acted upon as an associate of Mr. Tooke; that they had no other object in view than that which he had, at the time alluded to, professed to have in view, namely, to obtain a real representation of the people in parliament; and that, of course, they were men most shamefully persecuted.——In like manner, as to the subject of *parliamentary reform*, my change of opinion has arisen from a change in the degree of the true information that I possessed. These reviewers know well enough, from the account which I have given of my progress in life, in this very work which they pretend to review (see vol. VIII. pages 513 and 545), that it is next to impossible, that I should have become acquainted with the *real* state of the house of commons, at the time when I insisted that no reformation in that house was necessary. This they must have known; and, the fact was, that, though I knew that the law of elections was grossly violated, in many cases, I had not the means of ascertaining the extent of the violation; much less had I the means of trying it by the test of the great constitutional laws, and of tracing it down in its various pernicious consequences; and which means of information have now produced, in my mind, a thorough conviction, that, unless the law of elections be duly executed, and the constitution be thereby restored, this country, in its present form of internal policy, cannot be of long duration. Let it be always observed, too, that in my former remarks, respecting parliamentary reform, I never separated the proposition from the *party*, by whom it was urged, which party I suspected (and, as it now appears, very justly) of employing that proposition, with other means, merely for the sake of getting their rivals out of place and themselves into place. Had the proposition come from men, of whose general character and views I thought favourably, I should certainly have taken time to inquire, before I condemned it.——The reviewers have contrasted my recent with my former expressions and sentiments with respect to

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the king and his family; and, if they have discovered a difference, that difference is not only satisfactorily accounted for upon the above general ground; but, has been accounted for upon specific grounds by me. I have, however, no complaint to make upon this head; because, though the reviewers have garbled and misrepresented a passage that they notice, they have given quite as much as I think sufficient to do away this part of their charge, especially as they "have no "great objection to the *substance*" of my present expressions.—— Several persons, with whom I was acquainted, when abroad, have, upon their coming to England, expressed their astonishment at this change, which the Edinburgh Reviewers have noticed. I have uniformly referred them to the articles of the Register, above pointed out; adding, "*stop a couple of years*, and then "tell me what you think;" and, in all the instances, in which I have had an opportunity of knowing the result, the change in their sentiments has perfectly corresponded with that in mine. In fact, when all the circumstances are duly considered, when it is considered under what strong prejudices (prejudices of eight years cultivated growth) I started in England, the wonder is that I overcame them at all; and, had I been, like the Edinburgh Reviewers, a hunter after the public money, I should, like them, have been, to this day, the eulogist of every one who had had that money, or any portion of it, to bestow.——Every man is free to change his opinions, provided he can give a sufficient reason for the change; and a sufficient reason I have, regularly as I have proceeded, given, and in the most undisguised manner, for the change in mine. Let us see, therefore, whether these reviewers can say the same *for themselves*. They have praised, until the late change, every ministry that has been formed since their work began. They were delighted with Addington, enamoured of Pitt, and they adored (for good reason) poor Mr. Fox, upon whom they were fastened by Lord Henry Petty. They grossly satirized Lord Lauderdale, while *out* of place, and more grossly flattered him, when he came into place. They eulogized Pitt's system of finance to the skies, and that of Lord Henry Petty's (the very reverse of it) to the third heaven. But, as to men, they may behave better than they have heretofore done, or worse, and so justify a change in the sentiments respecting them; measures of finance are intricate, and admit not easily of comparison of opinions regarding them, especially as every year must make an alteration in the state of the debt, and, consequently of the capacity to pay it off, or keep up the value of the stock. Let us, therefore, select a case, relating to which there has been not even the least varition in the circumstances, and scarcely a possibility for men, generally well informed, and always residing upon the spot, to have derived any new light or information, whether from reading, or from experience; and that case is, the question relating to the *Roman Catholics of Ireland*. ——The reader has been before informed, that these reviewers, upon the formation of the Whig Ministry, were imported from Scotland by that profound statesman, Lord Henry Petty, with whom they had been punning companions at Edinburgh. They found England more salubrious, I suppose; for here they stuck, and were, by one means or another, in a fair way of being fastened upon the devoted body of this "lazy and "vicious" country, several of them having actually begun to draw blood, when the king (save his majesty for it!) brushed both them and their silly patrons off, in a moment when they least expected it. It has been contended, I know, that they held that our "laziness and vice" proceeded from too full a habit, and that it was necessary, in order to restore us to a perfectly healthful state, to draw off the superabundant circulation. But, whether from motives of humanity, or from other motives that it would be needless to describe, fastened and fastening upon us they were; their legs were thrown daily under the table of some minister of state, whose jokes they cheered, and whose follies they laughed at, when, in the morning, they met and compared notes, at their snug economical apartment; their straight backs, high cheek-bones, and *modest* faces, were seen in all the passages and offices of Whitehall, whence their lucubrations were dispatched to Edinburgh. From such a state of possession, and especially of prospect, to be ousted, in the twinkling of an eye, without either writ or summons or intimation of any sort; to find themselves, like the drunken cobler in the play, returned, as if by enchantment, back to their onions and beer, was too much for even their patient natures to bear; and, it was just at this time that my unhappy Register of the 21st of March happened to salute them. Upon me, therefore, and upon the authors of their fall (the king and new ministry) they fell in their next Numbers. The way in which they have sought revenge upon me the reader has already seen, and he shall now see how they have, in the same number, attacked their more

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formidable enemies; but, as he proceeds, he will please to observe, that this article, respecting the Catholics of Ireland, is, presently, to be contrasted with another article of theirs upon the *self-same* subject, there having been, *with them*, no new means of information, nor any, even the smallest, alteration in the circumstances of the case. ——They are reviewing a pamphlet of Mr. Parnell (who also had *a place* under the late ministry), which pamphlet is called, "an apology for the Catholics of Ireland," and the object of which is, to shew, that lord Howick's famous bill ought to have been adopted.——"If," say they, bursting forth in patriotic fury; "if ever a nation "exhibited symptoms of downright *mad-*"*ness*, or *utter stupidity*, we conceive these "symptoms may be easily recognized in the "conduct of this country," [that is to say, *king* and *parliament*, mind!] "upon the Ca-"tholic question. A man has a wound in "his great toe, and a violent and perilous "fever at the same time; and he refuses to "take the medicines for the fever, because "it will disconcert his toe! The MOURN-"FUL and FOLLY-STRICKEN BLOCK-"HEAD forgets that his toe cannot sur-"vive him;——that if he dies, there can "be no digital life apart from him; yet he "lingers and fondles over this last part of "his body, soothing it *madly* with little "plasters, and anile fomentations, while "the neglected fever rages in his entrails, "and burns away his whole life. If the "comparatively little questions of Esta-"blishment are all that this country is capa-"ble of discussing or regarding, for God's "sake let us remember, that the foreign "conquest, which destroys all, destroys this "beloved toe also. Pass over freedom, in-"dustry, and science—and look upon this "great empire, by which we are about to "be swallowed up; only as it affects the "manner of collecting tithes, and of read-"ing the liturgy—still, if all goes, these "must go too; and even, for their interests, "it is worth while *to conciliate Ireland*, to "avert the hostility, and *to employ the* "*strength of the Catholic population*. We "plead the question as the sincerest friends "to the establishment;—as wishing to it "all the prosperity and duration its warmest "advocates can desire—but remembering "always, what these advocates seem to for-"get, that the establishment cannot be "threatened by any danger so great as the "perdition of the kingdom in which it is "established."

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"In the next two reigns, Mr. Parnell shows "by what injudicious measures of the Eng-"lish government the spirit of Catholic op-"position was gradually formed; for, that "it did produce powerful effects at a subse-"quent period, he does not deny; but con-"tends only, (as we have before stated), "that these effects have been much over-"rated, and ascribed solely to the Catholic "religion, when other causes have at least "had an equal agency in bringing them "about. He concludes with some general "remarks on the dreadful state of Ireland, "and the contemptible folly and bigotry of "the English; remarks full of truth, of "good sense, and of political courage. How "*melancholy* to reflect, that there would be "still *some chance of saving England* from "the general wreck of empires, but that it "may not be saved, BECAUSE *one politi-*"*cian will lose two thousand a year by it,* "*and another three thousand, a third a place* "*in reversion, and a fourth a pension for his* "*aunt!* Alas! these are the powerful "causes which have always settled the des-"tiny of great kingdoms, and which may "level Old England, with all its boasted "freedom, and boasted wisdom, to the dust. "Nor is it the least singular among the po-"litical phenomena of the present day, that "the sole consideration which seems to in-"fluence the unbigotted part of the Eng-"lish people, in this great question of Ireland, "is a regard for the personal feeling of the "monarch. Nothing is said or thought of "the enormous risk to which Ireland is ex-"posed; nothing of the lucrative apostacy "of those from whom they experience this "treatment; but the only concern by "which we all seem to be agitated is, that "the King must not be vexed in his old "age. We have a great respect for the "king; and wish him all the happiness "compatible with the happiness of his peo-"ple; but *these are not times to pay foolish* "*compliments to kings*, or the sons of kings, "or to any body else: this Journal has al-"ways preserved its character for courage "and honesty, and it shall do so to the last. "——If the people of this country are "solely occupied in considering what is "personally agreeable to the King, without "considering what is for his permanent "good, and for the safety of his dominions; "if all public men, *quitting the common* "*vulgar scramble for emolument*, do not "concur *in conciliating the people of Ire-*"*land*; if the unfounded alarms, and the "comparatively trifling interests of the "clergy, are to supersede the great question "of freedom or slavery, *it does appear to* "*us quite impossible that so mean and so*

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" *foolish a people can escape that destruc-*
" *tion which is ready to burst upon them;*
" a destruction so imminent, that it can
" only be averted by arming all in our de-
" fence who would evidently be sharers in
" our ruin, and by such a *change of system*
" as may save us from the hazard of being
" ruined by the *ignorance* and *cowardice* of
" ANY GENERAL, or by the SCRUPLES
" of any human being, let his DIGNITY
" be what it may."——Now, leaving the remarks here made about a mournful and folly stricken blockhead; about foolish compliments to kings and the sons of kings; about the salvation of the country being bartered for places and reversions, and pensions to aunts; about the necessity of such a CHANGE OF SYSTEM as may save us from the hazard of being ruined by the ignorance or folly of any general, or by the scruples of any human being, let his dignity be what it may; leaving these remarks to be compared with the complaints which these reviewers make against my " inflammatory" expressions and sentiments, the reader has only to bear in mind, that they here, in July, 1807, give it as their settled opinion, *that, to conciliate the Catholics of Ireland by concessions of some sort, thereby to induce them heartily to aid us in defence of the whole kingdom, is the way, and the only way, of obtaining a chance of saving the country.* Now, then, let us hear what they said upon a proposition of the Bishop of Landaff, who, in a speech which he published, in 1804, upon the subject of the defence of the country, suggested, amongst other things, concessions to the Irish Catholics, as the means of calling them forth heartily to assist us in that defence.——" We," say the reviewers, " venture *to affirm*, that *a more* " *singular idea never entered the mind of a* " *practical statesman*, than that of obtaining " unanimity, *in a season of imminent public* " *danger*, by stirring a discussion of the " points at issue between contending sects. " If by the force of reason, Bishop Watson " believes it *possible* to lull the jealousy of " the Irish Protestants and English High " church-men; if he thinks a vote of parliament, in direct opposition to all the " rooted prejudices of those powerful parties, will be received with perfect contentment by them, as well as hailed with " exultation by their adversaries; then may " he expect, from the adoption of his proposal, an augmentation of *the cordiality* " *which now universally prevails, from a* " *suspension of the controversy.* But, surely, *when the enemy is at our gates*, and " when, happily, no backwardness is displayed by any sect in the preparations for " repelling him, it would be a strange policy *to lay down our arms, and set about* " *investigating grievances*, in order that we " may increase the cordiality of *a small part* " *of our people, by alienating, or at least ir-* " *ritating, all the rest.* At another time, it " would not become Parliament to regard " the prevailing prejudices which have so " long oppressed the dissenting interest, " more especially in the sister kingdom. " But in the present critical emergency, " all prejudices are to be weighed by the " proportions of those whom they sway; " and what our author terms the 'neglect " of the dissenters,' is only the *salutary wa-* " *ving of a discussion, that would certainly* " *estrange one great body of men from the* " *common cause, in whichsoever way it* " *might happen to terminate.*"——There needs no comment upon this. The instance is quite complete; and the *motive* for the change of opinion is by no means hidden. In 1804 these " *courageous* and *honest*" gentlemen found it suit their views to commend every thing done by the Addingtons; and, in 1807, they were enlisted under Lord Henry Petty and Lord Howick. Had they, in imitation of me, given, as they proceeded, a *reason* for this change of opinion; had they said, as I have said, and that, too, upon this very subject, " we once thought, that, to " stir the question relative to the Irish Catholics would, during a season of imminent danger from without, tend rather to " weaken than to strengthen the defence of " the kingdom; but, upon more mature reflection, and upon having received (as was " the case with me, upon all the points, " whereon they have charged me with inconsistency, new and better information, " we now think, that to stir this question, " and to make some concessions to the Irish " Catholics, and thereby strengthening the " defence of the country, is the only way to " obtain a chance of escaping from the imminent danger which threatens us from " without:" had they thus acted, they would have been chargeable with no inconsistency, and the man who, upon this score, should have brought such a charge against them, referring, at the same time, to their reasons for the change, would have found his charge fall dead to the ground; and, if he had cautiously avoided noticing the reasons which they had, in due time and place, given for the change, he would have exposed himself, as they have now exposed themselves, to the risk of being regarded as actuated by pitiful vindictiveness, instead of that love of truth, without which criticism, which ought to

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operate as wholesome correction, becomes a curse.——Now to the second charge, which these reviewers prefer against me; to wit, *that of promulgating doctrines tending to weaken the attachment of the people to the present system of rule, and particularly to the House of Commons.* —— First, I must say, that I have not, any where, observed any symptoms of very strong attachment to the present system of rule, and particularly to the House of Commons. But, granting it to exist, in both cases, and let it be as strong as these gentlemen would wish it, they have wrong stated the charge against me. They should have accused me of promulgating doctrines, such as are found in the constitutional laws of England, which laws, they might have said, are not very much in coincidence with the present system of rule; that, I have contended, frequently and strenuously, that a great change of system is necessary; that we ought not to be exposed to utter ruin "by the ignorance or cowardice of any ge-"neral, or by the wilfulness or caprice of "any human being, let his dignity be what "it may;" that baseness and profligacy are detestable in the great as well as in the little, and ought to be boldly censured; that play-actors and hired singers and notorious sharpers and strumpets are not fit companions for any of those, who demand from the people respect and reverence; that the taxes are burthensome to the utmost capacity of bearing, and that they ought to be diminished, first, by a reduction of the places and pensions and other grants, and, next, by a curtailing of the interest now paid on account of the national debt; that, as to the House of Commons, I have contended that the terms of the act of settlement ought to be now acted upon, and that no placeman or pensioner of the crown should sit in the House of Commons; that seats in that house ought not to be bought and sold, as I must suppose they are, from the numerous advertisements to that effect, which I see in the newspapers; that the history of the last fifteen months clearly proves, what is the nature of the connection between a ministry and a House of Commons, as at present constituted; that, while placemen and pensioners sit in that house, the House will be a mere instrument in the hands of the minister of the day; and, finally, that amongst the other effects of a minister's being compelled always to have a majority in the House will be this, that in selecting persons to be employed in great national concerns, the minister must be guided by what is called parliamentary influence, which evil, I say, would be removed, if the House of Commons were constituted according to the constitutional laws, passed at, and soon after the Revolution.——These are my doctrines, respecting the present system and the House of Commons; and, indeed, I cannot say that the reviewers have much misrepresented the substance of them, though, in one or two instances, they have grossly, and, I must think, wilfully, misrepresented my views. They, however, *now* find all so well, that they seem to think me almost a traitor for insisting upon the necessity of "*a change of system*," though they themselves, when in their passion against the new ministry, insisted that a change of system was necessary, absolutely necessary, to afford us a chance of escaping from utter ruin; and, with respect to parliamentary representation, they not only find little to object to, but, they have discovered, that what we vulgarly called influence and jobbing and bribery and corruption are so many links of a fine philosophical chain, connecting all the several ranks and degrees of men in the state, and insuring the whole of the people a fair representation in fact, though not clearly discernible to superficial observers. In short, they justify every thing relating to the composition of the House of Commons; every thing, the existence of which has heretofore been the subject of sorrow and of shame with all honest and conscientious men of whatever party or description as to politics. But, did these gentlemen always think thus? Did they always think that this philosophical chain was the safeguard of the nation? We have, I think, heard them talk about England's being exposed to destruction, "because one man will "not give up a place of three thousand a "year, another a reversion of four thousand "a year, and a fourth a pension for his "aunt." But, here there is, indeed, nothing about the House of Commons; here is nothing said about the evils arising from a *minister's governing by a parliament.* We have, however, only to go back to their Number, which was published in April last, just after they had been ousted from their offices and prospects. The remarks I am about to quote are interwoven amongst extracts of a pamphlet about "the Dangers of "the Country," which pamphlet, very insignificant in itself, they evidently chose to *review*, as they call it, merely for the purpose of conveying their sentiments to the public upon the then recent change in the ministry. I beseech the reader to remark how desponding their tone is; and how broadly they insinuate, that a revolution, such as that of France, would call forth the *talents* of the country to its defence; and *their* talents, of

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course, amongst the rest, if not at the head of the rest. They gave no hint of this sort, while they were daily dining with some great fool and nightly dancing with some little fool. All was then well; but, the moment they were thrown back upon the *pavé*, they began to perceive the *melancholy* effects of the prevailing system, and to point out how great France had become by a revolution, which had called forth the *talents* of the country.—"We may," say they, "talk "now of the immense accession of territory "and population, which France has actually "received; of the military discipline which "is established over all that vast empire; "and of the enormous armies, which have "been trained to victory in the incessant "and extended wars of fifteen years. These, "no doubt, are formidable items in the account current of her greatness; but, they "are rather the *fruits* of her success, than the "*causes* of it. France, under her *old government* was more populous, and more unanimous, and possessed more disciplined "soldiers than in the first of her revolutionary contests; yet, in that distracted "and tumultuous state, she overthrew the "finest armies in Europe, and established "her dominion over provinces which her "monarchs had vainly coveted for several "generations before. It is to the REVOLUTION ITSELF then, and its effects "on the interior structure of society, that "we are inclined *to ascribe the greatness* "*and the successes of France*. By that "great concussion, the whole TALENTS "of the nation were set at liberty, and "rose, by their natural buoyancy, to the "*higher regions of the state*. The fact is "now pretty generally admitted; and the "theory does not lye very deep. No man "can *win* a place, who does not deserve to "occupy it; but he may *succeed* to it, without any such qualification. A man cannot *make* a fortune without money-getting talents; but he may *inherit* it, "without any other disposition than those "of squandering and improvidence. The "case is precisely the same as to public "functions and political power. In regular and established governments, they are "often given, and must often be given, to "rank and to wealth, and to personal influence, without any great regard to superior fitness or ability. In the first formation of society, or in its second formation, in the event of a *radical Revolution*, no such thing is practicable.—"Places are not *given* them, but *taken*; "they are not *inherited*, but *won*: and "rank and wealth, and adventitious influence "being ANNIHILATED, the only competition is as to personal qualifications; and "the only test of their existence, is their "actual operation and display. The other "nations of the Continent are, as France "was fifty years before the revolution; bestowing every important employment on "the order of nobility exclusively, and "naming their generals and ministers, "with scarcely any exception, from among "a small number of court favourites or "powerful families. The people at large "is either quite destitute of the talents, "for which there is neither reward nor "employment; or it begins to feel discontented at the exclusion, and to look upon "its own rights and interests as distinct "from those of its rulers. With us the "case is *somewhat* different; and it is necessary to consider in what the difference "consists. When an office of importance "becomes vacant,—when a commander is "to be named for a great expedition, or an "ambassador for a delicate and critical mission, it is probable that more than one "individual will occur to the ministry, as "peculiarly qualified to discharge those momentous duties, and clearly entitled to "the nomination on the score of superior "merit. If they were *free* to follow the "suggestions of their own judgment, there "would be no doubt about the result; *but* "*a ministry, in this country, is a set of* "*persons who hold their patronage, and all* "*their other power, in consequence of being* "*supported in all their measures by about* "*two thirds of the members of the legislature, and who would forfeit all this patronage and power, the moment they lost* "*that support, or were deserted by any con-* "*siderable proportion of their adherents.* "If it should happen, therefore, that any "person of great weight and influence in "that body should chuse himself to be the "commander or ambassador, in the case "now imagined, or should *insist* that the "appointment should be given to some "friend or connexion of his own, and "that, in both cases, under the express "assurance that he would withdraw with "all his adherents, and unite himself with "the opposition, if his application was not "attended to; it is plain, that, in most "cases, the minister must yield to his conditions. If occurrences of this nature were "*rare*, and if the government were left in "*general* to the free exercise of its discretion, the evil arising from such "occasional *interferences* would scarcely "require to be noticed; but to those who "are at all acquainted with the practice of

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" the constitution, it must be unnecessary " to say, that this is not the case. Not " only are all the great offices *bespoken for* " *the leading members of the legislature*, " or their immediate connections, but all " the smaller employments, down to secre- " taries, and clerks to secretaries, are sup- " plied by candidates who rely upon in- " terest, and not upon merit; and produce, " as their only qualification, the recom- " mendation of this noble lord, or that " *disposer of boroughs*. So far from being " left to the freedom of their own choice, " ministers have in general no other discre- " tion to observe, than to disoblige the " least powerful of their suitors, and to " pacify those whose application is rejected " to day, with promises of better success " to morrow. The *consequences* of *this* " *system* are obvious, and sufficiently *me-* " *lancholy*."—Aye, melancholy, indeed, that such a system should prevail as prevents your talents "from rising, by their natural "buoyancy, to the *higher regions of the* " *state*!" Melancholy indeed, that, instead of inhabiting the higher regions of the state, you should be obliged to put up with the higher regions of a lodging house!——I am not, observe, finding fault with any thing contained in this extract, which is full of wholesome truths most admirably expressed; but, it is "melancholy" to reflect, that the authors of them are a set of men, even more time-serving and venal than any of those which they have described. It is "melancholy" to reflect, that the men, who wrote and promulgated the above observations, should, in a few months, have written and promulgated an article, the object of which was to persuade the reader that the *borough system*, so far from being an injury, is a benefit to the kingdom; and that so far from "melancholy" consequences proceeding from placemen being in the house of commons, "it is the *fittest* place "for them." There is no reason given for this surprizing change of opinion; it is not pretended, that the writers had derived any new light upon the subject; the intermediate space of time was, indeed, only three months, and the writers had been, for years, well acquainted with every thing relating to the state of the representation in parliament. So that, it appears to me quite impossible to attribute the change to any other cause, than that of downright profligacy, operating in conjunction with selfishness and revenge. In the article, which I have last quoted, and which was written just after the Whig ministry were ousted, you see, in every line, the heart-burning of disappointed ambition; but, time, which is the greatest of all conciliators, soon whispered in the ear of these "*courageous* and *honest*" critics, that this was not the way to succeed in their views; that this was not a doctrine with which men "entered the higher re- "gions of the state."——But, after all, they are, in reality, so many hirelings, and it is waste of breath to express surprize at their conduct. At their first beginning, I was in hopes, that we should have had one review, the writers of which were neither sold nor put up to sale; but, the baseness, the detestable partiality and falsehoods, evident in their review of Mr. Peltier's Trial, convinced me, that their disposition to sell their talents was, to the full, equal in degree to the talents they had to sell. They have, in one or two places, thrown out a sort of side-wind insinuation, that I, too, am actuated by selfish motives; and, by way of revenge for my recent remarks upon them, as connected with the School project, they have published, in the Courier news-paper, about ten days ago, a letter, addressed to me, in which they unequivocally ascribe my hatred of Pitt and his memory (which hatred is perfectly sincere) to my mortification at being *neglected* by him. The folly here is equal, at least, to the falsehood; for, not only do they know the fact to be false, but they also well know, that, though they (aye and Lord Henry Petty along with them) were to take their solemn oath to the truth of this fact, there is not a single man in all England that would believe them. These men have done excellent service in terrifying blockheads from the press; they have done some good too in politics; but, blasted as their work now is in reputation, as far as relates to politics, whatever they write will, and I must say with justice, be suspected to proceed from some base motive, or other; and, however good it may be in itself, will produce but very little, if any, good effect. But, it may be asked of me, why I, by the description given of them, in the Register of the 21st of March, provoked them to this recent profligate tergiversation. I may be said to have provoked them to *attack me*, and, therefore, may be regarded as the cause of that attack; but, surely, I am not chargeable with the *manner* of the attack. If they chose to attack me with falsehood instead of truth; if they chose, in unjustly charging me with inconsistency, to commit, themselves, an act, at once, of inconsistency and of baseness rarely parralleled, that is no fault of mine. Besides, as to the "*pro-* "*vocation*," it was, on my part, an act of self-defence. They, if we view the matter

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in its true light, were the aggressors. I saw them, upon the exaltation of the Whigs, flock up to England, "like carrion crows to "a poor dying horse;" I saw some of them gorging, and others of them about to gorge, upon the fruit of our labour; and, when, all of a sudden, I saw them driven away, like the said crows, from their unfortunate prey, was I not to be allowed to express my satisfaction? Hard indeed! If a plunderer enter my house, is just beginning to set about his work, and some good friend, chancing to step in, kicks him into the kennel, am I not to rejoice at my riddance? And, if I do rejoice, shall the plunderer assault me, his friends alledging that I am the aggressor? Is there any justice, is there common sense, in this?——I am of opinion, that, if the king had not ousted the silly patrons of these determined place-hunters, the latter would, in the course of a very few months, have been fixed upon the public (and some of them for life, perhaps) in places and pensions to the amount of not less than *twenty thousand pounds* a year; and, *for what?* For what were we to be thus loaded? For no better reason, perhaps, than that Lord Henry Petty, no great while ago, belonged to a spouting-club with these men at Edinburgh! Pretty nearly as good, I think, as making us pay for a pension to an *aunt*, an instance of waste pointed out in strong terms by these "*ho-*"*nest*" reviewers. If they have real claims to any portion of the public money, let them distinctly prefer them; and not deal in insinuations, that *talents* are not employed, that all the offices, even down to secretaries and clerks to secretaries (they had tried them all!) are filled by the influence of the great, while *merit* is every where met with a frown of refusal. This is the old cant; the invariable whine of all those, who have a desire to live upon the public rather than upon their own labour. True these reviewers could not live by the law. That they had tried in Scotland; and, therefore, they would hardly earn bread at it in England. But, they could write their review, as they call it. They could get an honest livelihood that way; and, worst come to worst, if they had been too lazy to work and too proud to beg, I must confess, that, if driven to rob the public, I, in their place, should have chosen a line, somewhat more adventurous indeed, but, certainly, less base, and, if we admit of degrees in honesty, infinitely less dishonest, than that of pillaging under the protection of law.——I have but one observation to add, and that is, that it will be necessary to watch these men for the future. I do not mean in their writings, the effect of which must be trifling, especially amongst those whose opinions will, by-and-by, be of importance; but, I mean, we must watch them, lest they, by hook or by crook, get their hands into our pocket; for, they who are such able twisters, will, when they perceive that their old patrons are ousted for ever, not hesitate many hours in seeking new ones. I do not aver, that their general and sweeping defence of parliamentary corruption was intended as an indirect compliment to "His Majesty's present con-"fidential servants," for these reviewers like a hare, can look behind them as well as before them, at one and the same time; but, I am perfectly satisfied, that it was intended to answer some purpose connected with the coming at a share of the public money; and, therefore, let us watch them. A correspondent has sent me the *real names* of these "courageous and honest gentlemen," which names I will publish, together with some anecdotes of each hero, as they respectively come forward to plunder us. They may *say* what they please of me, or of my neighbours; they may abuse us themselves, and they may spur on that SOLON the Second, Mr. Whitbread, to stigmatize us as "*lazy* "and *vicious*;" but, if I can help it, they shall *rob* neither me nor *my* neighbours; and, if they should succeed in robbing us, with impunity to their persons, their names shall be rendered pretty notorious.—Here we part, for the present, with my making them this offer; that, if they will but abstain from all attempts to get a share of the taxes into their clutches, or, in other words, to live in idleness upon the labour of the people; if they will but abstain from this, they may say of me and my writings just what they please, and I will bind myself in a bond, if they like, never to say one word by way of answer, and never to mention either them or their book, from henceforth unto the end of my life.

AMERICAN STATES.——At length we have, in the following article, from the Halifax (Nova Scotia paper) a pretty full and authentic account of the circumstances, which led to the searching of the Chesapeake by the Leopard. I beg the reader to bear in mind what was said by me, when the intelligence first arrived in answer to the Morning Chronicle, who had attributed the blame to the English Commander solely, and who had insisted boldly, that there were more Americans on board of the Leopard, than British seamen on board of the Chesapeake, I knew, I was morally certain, that the outrage on the part of the Americans must

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have been very great; for, I had always found people very slow indeed to resent their ill treatment. But, let us now take the Halifax publication, and reserve a few remarks for the matter therein contained.——"By this time the orders of Admiral Berkeley are made known in the United States; they were founded on the following facts.——In the month of February or March, a lieutenant of the American Navy, opened a rendezvous in the town of Norfolk, in Virginia, for the Chesapeake frigate, then fitting out at Washington. Many deserters from his majesty's ships, then lying in the Chesapeake, entered with this officer, in particular from the Chichester, who in consequence of *running on shore* was alongside the wharf at Norfolk, and part of the Zenobia's crew, who was *stranded* near the Capes. These deserters, and many more belonging to the Halifax, Melampus, &c. were openly paraded in the streets by the lieutenant under the American flag, and frequently met by their former officers, *and reclaimed by them*, but were told by the lieutenant, that *although he knew they were deserters*, he could not give them up without orders from his government.——A remonstrance was then made by the British Counsel to the chief magistrate of Norfolk, who refused acting in it, or authorising any thing which might be done by their own officers to take them. This was officially communicated to his Britannic Majesty's minister at Washington, who represented it to the Secretary of State and President, whose answers were, *that having entered the American service, and claimed its protection, they were to be considered as citizens, and therefore could not be given up*; besides that some, he understood, were impressed men.——These applications were frequently renewed, and always the same answers returned. At this time it was ascertained, that *above one hundred deserters* from the British artillery actually composed a part of the crew of the Chesapeake. The account was sent to England with a description of such men, as could be positively fixed upon, with the admiral's orders issued upon the occasion, and similar accounts were transmitted to every other quarter where the British flag was flying. In the month of July the Chesapeake sailed, and the occurrence of searching her took place.——The crimping of English seamen both from the merchant service as well as from the men of war of Great Britain, had arisen to that height, and so far from being able to avail themselves of *that friendly intercourse, which, in a neutral country, the English had a right to expect*, not a boat could be trusted on shore from the ships in Hampton Roads, and all communication was carried on by two pilot boats, hired for the purpose, and manned *by petty officers of his Majesty's navy*. The officers of the Chichester were not exempt. *One, a murderer, being sheltered from justice*, although at last surrendered of his own accord; the other the gunner of the Chichester, seduced by the lieutenant's promises of promotion in the American navy, deserted; and actually officiating in the Chesapeake frigate, met with his death; a circumstance totally dropt in the account given of this affair by Commodore Barron or his officers, as well as the three other seamen who were killed, and who were all Englishmen and deserters. The men taken by the Leopard are all of that description, and one in particular, belonging to the Halifax, had not only received the king's bounty, but seventeen pounds additional, given by this province.—There is no doubt but that if the Leopard could have *identified them by some of their own officers*, many of the Chichester's as well as the Zenobia's men would have been found, as the prisoners have since confessed they were on board; but as the captain of the Leopard could only *identify* those whose officers were on board, and actually recognized them; *they were suffered to remain.*"——In the former Number we mentioned, that Admiral Berkeley had promised a pardon to all deserters from his Majesty's ships in the American seas, on their immediately returning to their duty. The following is a copy of this paper, which, we are happy to hear has, to a great degree, been productive of the desired effect:"——

"BRITISH SEAMEN. As the hearts of all true British seamen are, like their native oak, honest, tough, and unchangeable, and never can be induced to countenance hostilities against Old England, the Admiral and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's squadron on this coast, proclaims a free and unqualified pardon to all those deluded men (mutineers excepted) who have been induced to quit his Majesty's ships of war, on condition they return immediately to their duty—and every other British seaman, who shall voluntarily enter for his Majesty's service shall receive the full and additional

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" " bounties, upon joining any of his Ma-
" " jesty's ships. Applying for convey-
" " ance to his Britannic Majesty's Coun-
" " suls, so that he may be sent to Halifax.
" " ——Given under my hand, this 14th
" " July, 1807, at Halifax, Nova Scotia.
" " ——G. C. BERKELEY." —— The reader will recollect, perhaps, that I stated, that, in our treaty of amity and commerce with America, the only stipulation, which could be considered as at all useful to us, in return for many greatly useful to the Americans, was that which provided for safe entry and security of our ships of war, during the times that might be necessary for them to victual, or repair, in the American ports; and, I observed, that this stipulation was a mere trap to catch us, to inveigle us to our injury, unless our *seamen* as well as ships had security provided for them. I put the case of a ship, run aground by her crew, and asked what use this treaty would be to us, if in such a case, the crew could, with impunity, be protected by the American government. It happens, that two of our ships, from which the seamen were inveigled, had actually put in in a state of *distress*; that one ran ashore, and that the other was stranded off the capes of Virginia. In this situation, their seamen went on shore for various purposes, they were robbed of those seamen, and that, too, observe, by an officer of the United States, at a rendezvous openly kept for the purpose! Call you this *amity*, Messrs. Whitbread and Perry? Is it possible to live in amity with a nation so acting?——A *murderer*, too, was sheltered from justice, an act in express violation of the treaty; and, if we could come at *all* the particulars, I venture to say, that a more abominable scene never was exhibited.——Now, as to the *dangers* of war with the American States, I need say no more about them; but I will not deny myself the pleasure of inserting some observations of a writer at Boston, published there in August last; and, without pretending that this writer speaks the sentiments of all, his countrymen, I think I may fairly conclude, that he has confirmed my opinion, expressed upon the arrival of the news of the search, and that was, that the good sense of the best of the people of that country would, in the end, prevail.—— " It is " said that Great Britain not only pleads " her established laws, with regard to her " right to native Britons, but that her exis- " tence would, at this time, be endangered " by a contrary principle. Where is the " impropriety of attending to her reasons? " The right of self-preservation, if it be " demonstrated, must be acknowledged the " highest of all rights. Where is the evi- " dence that the views of her government " are hostile? Why is it said that " an " eye ought to be fixed" on those who offer " to question or reason, unless it is feared " that we may discover justice, and that " our true interest does not lie in the course " some are so zealous to pursue. We sin- " cerely wish that an impartial eye may " be fixed on all; and, as if to open our " eyes, it seems ordered by providence, that " Spain should at this time commit another " outrage, as gross and insulting as that, " at worst, offered by Great Britain—she " has seized our national arms. We do " not understand that she claimed the pro- " perty as her own, or condescended to " make any previous application to govern- " ment, much less that her existence de- " pended on the principle. But it is no " crime in government to be quiet on this " occasion. There does not appear to be " any spirit of resentment existing, nor are " the people called upon to display it. The " true American, it might be supposed, " would be equally sensible to insult, from " whatever quarter it came; would be " equally free from blind passion on one " side, and base servility on the other.—— " A comparison is frequently made between " our revolutionary war, and a war which " we may now wage with Great Britain, " and an inference is drawn, that because " we obtained an honourable peace in the " former case, a like result may now be " expected.—This is very flattering to our " pride, and if like most vain people, *we* " *listen only to those who flatter us, it will* " *be vain to attempt to reason with us.*—— " But it should be recollected that there is " not the smallest analogy or resemblance " in the objects or mode of warfare between " our last war, and any future one with " the same power. In the former case, " the war was merely *defensive*: not to be " *subdued* was our *only* object, and was all " the victory we had to boast of. Even " that result would have been uncertain, " or at least procrastinated, had not three " of the most powerful nations of Europe " been our Allies in the struggle.——Great " Britain too, committed errors which fa- " voured the issue of the war and which " she could not in any future war be ex- " pected to repeat. She despised her ene- " my too much. She made too feeble ef- " forts at first. It was not till she had been " at war with us four years, that she " attempted to defeat our predatory excur- " sions, and then she did it effectually. If

"*we have now more power and more re-*
"*sources*, how stand the same points with
"our proposed enemy? Her commerce is
"double what it was during the American
"war, or even two years after the peace
"of 1783. How stands *our* maritime
"strength? Our navy is but little larger
"than it was during the last war, and the
"building and equipment of ships of war
"is a work of time and difficulty. Because
"Great Britain did *not conquer* our country
"by land, does it follow that *we can con-*
"*quer her at sea?*——Where then is the
"analogy, between the last and *proposed*
"war? But it is said we have ten times
"as much specie—this is much doubted.
"We have undoubtedly five and perhaps
"ten times as much capital. But where
"is it? One hundred millions upon the
"ocean, ready to enable our enemy to carry
"on the war—wholly unprotected, and
"out of our power to protect it."——This
is too sound to be rejected by a *majority* of
the people of America. Certain fraudulent
debtors, to whom another war would afford
another opportunity of cheating their silly
creditors, may see good in a war with
England; and, as many of them have too
much weight in public affairs, I should not
be altogether disappointed at seeing a war
begun; but, it would not last long. The
Northern States, inhabited, in general, by
industrious and honest men, would never
suffer the calamities of war for the mere
purpose of favouring the views of their
fraudulent fellow citizens of the South ——
I repeat my opinion, that *there will be no*
war, unless our ministers *yield*; and, then,
in a short time, war between the two coun-
tries *must* come.

COBBETT'S

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Vol IX. of the Parliamentary Debates, comprising the period from the 5th of March to the close of the First Session of the Fourth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, will be ready for delivery on Saturday next. Complete sets from the commencement in 1803, may be had of the Publishers.

EDINBURGH REVIEWERS.

SIR;—You are aware no doubt that a violent attack has been made upon you in an article of the last Edinburgh Review understood to be written by Mr. Jeffrey, the person principally concerned in that work. You are accused of inconsistency, and much labour has been bestowed in a search into all the Porcupines and Registers you have edited, to contrast opinions delivered at former periods with those given by you lately. I leave it to you to defend yourself on this head, with a single observation, that it is not in the least wonderful if a periodical writer obliged to write on the impulse of the moment and to send what he has written immediately to the press, should appear to be thus at variance with himself, nor need he be ashamed to own that his opinions have changed upon a change of circumstances, on maturer reflection or better information.—But, granting that your former and latter writings and opinions are at variance, your inconsistency falls vastly short of Mr. Jeffrey's, who is in opposition to himself in different parts of the very same article and in the same number of his review, and who rails at you for what he is himself guilty of in the same breath. It is highly improper, he says, to speak disrespectfully of the king and his family. Quoting what you have said of our commanders and particularly the commander in chief, he intimates his concurrence thus, "we have no quarrel "with Mr. Cobbett for that opinion," which I venture to pronounce is saying *sneakingly*, all that you have said on the subject *manfully*,

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Observe what this respectful and well bred gentleman says in another article of the very same number "these are not times to pay "*foolish* compliments to *kings or the sons of* "*kings*. If the people of this country are "solely occupied in considering what is "personally agreeable to the king, without "considering what is for his permanent "good and for the safety of his dominion, "it does appear to us quite impossible that "*so mean and so foolish a people* can escape "that destruction which is ready to burst "upon them." Did you ever say any thing stronger than this Mr. Cobbett?—You have said that considering who we have for commander in chief and commanders generally, and the strength of our armies (including the volunteers surely) you are not afraid of invasion or at least of the country being subdued; upon which Mr. Jeffrey asks, Whether any man capable of serious counsel or proper feeling could possibly conceive such a crisis of such a country as a suitable object for derision or for such *asinine* attemps at irony and humour as are exhibited in this passage? Now, I beg leave to retort the question, not omitting the delicate term *asinine* when I refer you to the article before alluded to beginning "if ever a na-"tion exhibited symptoms of downright "madness or utter stupidity we conceive "these symptoms may be easiy recognized "in the conduct of this country upon the "Catholic question." Take notice that the charge of madness and stupidity is made against the majority of both houses of parliament, not to speak of the sovereign and against a decided majority of the people of England at large, and pray read the sequel about a man in a high fever with a pain in his great toe which was certainly intended for humour; who the "*mourn-*"*ful and folly stricken blockhead*" is, I will not say, though I think I can guess, and as Mr. Jeffrey says of you on different occasions "*per-*"*haps* I don't differ from him" in the whole of this article; though I dislike his *sneaking* "perhaps."—According to Mr. Jeffrey, the tendency of your late writings is to create popular discontent, and what is the tendency of his writings whenever he enters on the actual State of the Nation? You and he write in different styles, but there is really nothing stronger, put more home or more intelligible to the meanest capacity in your Register than in Mr. Jeffrey's review. The picture of the country drawn by both is in high colours and equally alarming. You must not, Mr. Cobbett, speak of placemen and pensioners, but Mr. Jeffrey may be allowed, it seems, to exclaim "How melan-"choly to reflect that there would be still "some chance of saving England, from the "general wreck of empires, but that it may "not be saved because one politician will "lose £2000 a year and another £3000, a "third a place in reversion, and a fourth a "pension for his aunt?. Alas! these are "the powerful causes which have always "settled the destiny of great kingdoms "and which may level England to the dust." And again Mr. Jeffrey states "we suppose "we calculate moderately when we say "that the king and his ministers have now "the disposal of offices to the value of 12 "millions yearly. The expence of collect-"ing the taxes was calculated ten years "ago at six millions. We do not know how "to estimate the value of all the appoint-"ments in the navy, the army, the church &c. "but it appears to us that they must be much "underrated if they are only averaged at an "equal sum. This is enormous."—But Mr. Jeffrey's great ground of quarrel with you is your speaking irreverently of the house of commons, "an institution from which no "good man would wish to alienate the affec-"tion or respect of the country." He admits that the constitution has some how or other fallen off its ancient hinges, but then it has fallen on other hinges more pleasant and more easily oiled. He has made a discovery the most consoling, that instead of the legislature being of old composed of three distinct parts or estates which served to balance and check one another, the British constitution consists of three parts as before, *but these are all to be found assembled in the House of Commons*. The placemen and those members who are put in by the treasury influence represent the executive government, those chosen by the influence of the nobles and great families represent the aristocracy, and the remainder chosen by popular elections or by boroughs which are bought or bribed, the independent representatives of the people. Thus the voice of all descriptions of men are to be heard in that house and we are the freest and happiest people in the world, governed and burdened only by laws of our own making. Why then attempt to make people discontented with this admirable constitution! How dreadful to think that discontent may lead to a change or to a revolution!—Though I am satisfied from Mr. Jeffrey's writings on such subjects, that he is a shallow and timid politician, an *utile* alarmist (to borrow another of his epithets), yet being also satisfied from his writings on other subjects, that he is a man of abilities and information, it is utterly impossible that he can be serious in affirming the above to be a just re-

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presentation of the house of commons or such as the people ought to be satisfied with. It is a silly attempt to deceive, to veil a deformity which cannot be concealed and to defend what he must be conscious is indefensible upon the principles of the constitution. When he has thus concentrated the three branches of the legislature in one house, he wishes us to forget, I suppose, that there is still a house of lords, too; so that the nobility, besides their *salutary* influence in the lower house exercised by their deputies, retain all their former constitutional influence and power by sitting themselves in the upper, and the sovereign still has his constitutional veto besides having his representatives so happily for the people sitting amongst their proper representatives. Mr. Jeffrey's taste will be offended perhaps if I remind him of the proverb that "two to one are odds at "foot ball." According to him, though the representatives of the people properly speaking are few, yet their voice is thus heard; which he seems to think is enough though it has no effect in the house. Yes, it is heard out of doors; thanks to the news-paper reporters: only shut the doors of the gallery and you may as well restrict the number of the house of commons to 40 treasury members. Is it to the gallery or the house that the patriotic members now address themselves?—But, is it possible that Mr. Jeffrey can be ignorant that it is said there are members, and not a few who do not come under any of *his* three classes. The fourth class I will not attempt to describe; but, let them be added to the acknowledged treasury members and what figure will Mr. Jeffrey's independent popular set make?—Hear Mr. Jeffrey: "there "certainly are many men whose *private ho-* "*nour* is unimpeachable who sit for venal "boroughs," [charming distinction between private and public honour] "how this is ma- "naged we do not exactly know. *Whether* "*the frequency of the transaction has lega-* "*lized it in the ideas of the world, like the* "*orchard thefts of school boys and the plun-* "*der of border chieftains of old*, or whether "the seat is bought for the *young patriot* as "a living is bought for a young priest, while "they themselves are kept pure, we really "don't pretend to understand." Mr. Jeffrey expresses no indignation against such infamous traffic. *Every thing is for the best*, with him, *in this best of all possible worlds*; or at least it is the duty of public writers such as you and him to say so for fear of breeding discontent as that may lead to revolution.—I shall make but one more quotation from Mr. Jeffrey. After repeatedly admitting that there are too many placemen in the house of commons though he contends that a few are necessary and wholesome, he says, "*placemen we think are better in par-* "*liament than any where else.*" I wish he would condescend to explain this; for I confess it appears to me at present that the sentiment is equally stupid and profligate.—Go on, Mr. Cobbett, in spite of the Edinburgh reviewers, who amidst all their abuse are obliged to confess, *that the circulation and popularity of your journal are upon the whole very creditable to the country*; that it should be so and yet not creditable to yourself, is just another of Mr. Jeffrey's palpable inconsistencies. Every man of sense and virtue will applaud you, while you write *honestly* as well as boldly, which I am persuaded you have always done hitherto.—

A. B. 28*th Sept.* 1807.

DANISH EXPEDITION.

Sir;—The public anxiety being at the present moment principally directed towards Denmark, my attention has been attracted by a letter which appeared in a late number signed an Old Englishman I find therein an apparently candid approbation of the independence of your opinion on this subject, and an equally open avowal of a difference of sentiment on his side: he applauds as a mark of manly decision the expression of your opinion, "that the attack upon Denmark was justifiable upon the plain and intelligible ground, that the measure was necessary for the national safety, and as such fit to be adopted. He upholds with you the rights of England upon the seas, but is unable to found a justification of the Danish expedition upon any right, nor "happily" (says he triumphantly) "does the British history afford an instance in practice of a similar conduct to any neutral nation under the canopy of heaven." To this refined philosophical discovery, I would wish to add another, viz. "nor does the British history afford an instance where the power of her rival, France, was become so predominant, as at the present period, and when it was less suitable to apply ordinary reasoning to extraordinary times." The writer professes to address neither fools nor knaves, he only addresses those who have no party but their country; in this latter class I presume to range myself and to disclaim all party prejudice, yet why am I, on the occasion of an exception to all former experience and situations, to take up the argument in the abstract point of view in which he is pleased to state it? "Once broadly admit (says he) the principle that natural injustice may be the source of national benefit, and the doctrine of expediency

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will overwhelm you as a flood."—I do not broadly admit any thing of the kind, but I assert, that it is the duty of every vigorous government to watch over, and to conduct itself according to the emergencies in which it may be engaged.—The full vindication of the step adopted towards Denmark, rests upon the information obtained by government of the hostile measures framed at the peace of Tilsit, the public menaces of the French official paper that the Danes *should* be joined against us in shutting the Sound, and the knowledge, within recent recollection, that the Danes were made parties to a similar confederacy some years ago. What has been may be again, and therefore as an Englishman of no party, giving due credit to the government for the time being, I *do* look to them for protection, and should consider them unpardonably criminal, if, foreseeing a crisis of danger and hostile confederacy, they took no proper measures to defeat it. Every day discloses the futility of your correspondent's observations relative to the *consent* of Russia to Bonaparte's holding the *key* of the Baltic, or to the degree of estimation in which Napoleon holds the *consent* of the Russian emperor. Nor have the remarks of your correspondent any thing more solid to recommend them, when he is pleased to talk of the Danish navy as the "hulls of a dozen seventy-fours, and as many frigates," while he has the Gazette authority for there being 18 line of battle ships, 15 frigates, and 31 smaller vessels, all nearly new, together with an immense quantity of naval stores.—Whence your correspondent derives his ideas of Bonaparte's appreciating these naval treasures as trifles "not worth acquiring, at the expence of throwing into our lap the commerce and colonies of the Danes," I am at a loss to conceive, as nothing appears more perceptible to common sense, than that if he could have collected a fleet of 50 sail of the line, besides numerous frigates, Russians, Danes, Swedes, &c. to annoy us in the northern part of our islands, at the time that he was attempting an attack against the eastern, southern, and western coasts; I say that nothing could be of more utility than these said Danish hulls of ships, manned by Danish sailors, which an extensive commerce would have enabled them to supply; and if, by a prompt and decided attack, we should have intimidated the members, and broken the neck of this projected confederacy, what Englishman but must feel grateful to the vigilance of his government?—It is vastly well in your correspondent to vapour about our safety, "thank God," not depending upon the hulls of a few Danish ships, but it must be evident to every reflecting man that the expense of maintaining a fleet equal to watch the operations of a Northern Confederacy of 50 ships of the line, in addition to those at present opposed to us must be an intolerable burthen to the country. Is it then necessary in such times as these, with the experience of Danish weakness in the last war, that an English minister is to wait till the very guns are loaded against the country before he takes measures to prevent the impending mischief?—Too long, as was justly observed in His Majesty's Declaration, have we been waging an unequal war with a most inveterate foe, who scruples not to wound us through the sides of neutrals or by whatever means are in his power, while we through a tenderness for the rights of others have been practising the most general forbearance, till the several countries have, one by one, been obliged to shut their ports against us and declare for the enemy; but the righteous law of self-defence requires that we should not pursue this system to our own imminent danger, and never was there a moment more proper than the present one for exercising the means of protection dependant on ourselves alone.—No sooner were the conditions of the treaty of Tilsit made public, wherein the Russian Emperor lays himself at the feet of Napoleon, by not only sanctioning the alterations made by him in Germany but those *to be made*, than it was obvious to the most shallow observer that it would lead to a Northern Confederacy: the moment therefore that any step, even in appearance, was taken towards realising the projected confederacy, it became the duty of our ministers to cut the root of it by an instantaneous and vigorous effort in the quarter most likely to ruin it at one blow. That such will be the effect of the hostile measure adopted against the Danes I have not the least doubt, and those that live a few years will probably have to commend the foresight that by this means averted a calamity from the country.—As to the avowal, in the face of all Europe alluded to by your correspondent, "that our existence depends on a breach of "those laws which hold together the frame "of the civilised world." it is only necessary on this subject to recollect that *all Europe* as he calls it is now no other than France, and it matters not to us what interpretation she puts on our conduct; our folly in allowing so long the nominal independance of states to be a cover for her insidious designs must be now sufficiently apparent: it is time for us to awake and resort to those means of annoyance against our enemy which he has made no hesitation to use continually against ourselves.—I am, Sir, yours, &c. A PLAIN ENGLISHMAN. —— *London, 12th October*, 1807.

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EXPATRIATION.

(Being S. V.'s second Letter.)

SIR,——I assure you that so far as I am personally and individually concerned in the relative situation of this United Kingdom and the United States of America, a war would affect me not more than it would Candidus or yourself. I had not when I addressed my last letter to you, Sir, nor have I now any interest to serve, but that interest which you as well as every good subject are bound to support; viz. the best interests of our country. I may be mistaken; to conviction I am open, and I shall not hesitate frankly to confess 'all my motives,' which you, I expect will, in pursuance of your promise (page 532) discover in your next Register, should such attributed motives really prove to be my ideas; but, whilst I notice your other promise to shew the consequences of my recommendation, I cannot but condemn the language of Candidus. When he used the expressions, the 'most uncivilized wretch,' and the 'most licentious of libertines,' he should have recollected that expressions such as these cannot by his adoption of them affect me; they cannot assist his cause, nor injure mine; and, I am sorry, Mr. Cobbett, that a man apparently not unacquainted with 'one of the liberal sciences,' for I acquit him of any claim to "the profession," should so far forget himself as to adopt bold assertion for argument, and scurrility instead of manly and liberal animadversion. Such as these are the men who abortively vomited from the fissures of *Alma Mater*, have cast more obloquy upon the "Learned Languages," than your observations have by some of your correspondents been held to libel them, and possessing a mere *cacoethes scribendi*, launch out unthinkingly into subjects beyond their reach, and without due consideration.—It is necessary for me to set Candidus right in some particulars, and this I deem proper to do before the publication of your next number, in which I hope to see *your* animadversions upon the evil consequences to which the adoption of my recommendation would, in your estimation, lead.—Candidus should be informed that the possession of American funded property, did not induce my letter in page 433. As he *may* presume me to be an American fund-holder or speculator, I will undeceive him. I am not nor ever was; and, if he had also given me the opportunity of stating myself not to be a *land* speculator, nor a mercantile adventurer, I could easily have satisfied him on either of those heads. Candidus must forgive me if I do not subscribe to his observation, that the doctrine I have advanced is not consistent with the safety of any nation, (509) because it may suit him to contradict it. To my doctrine, I do not find one solid objection made by Candidus, or supported by the least argument or authority. Candidus should before he had rendered the long since deceased Monsieur Pecquet, obnoxious to the charge of adopting 'revolutionary principles,' and living in a 'revolutionary age,' have ascertained from his friends who may have access to the library, annexed to the Inn where he resides, when Monsieur Pecquet flourished. It may be sufficient for me to observe, that Pecquet neither lived in a 'revolutionary age,' nor did he adopt 'revolutionary principles,' as Candidus must have known if he had ever perused his book, a copy of which is now before me, published 'à Leide aux dépens de la compagnie, anno 1758,' and that he died long before the parents of Candidus thought of being possessed of such a treasure as their eldest son. What is conformable to reason I hold not to be absurd, although Candidus expresses *his* opinion contrariwise; he complains of me certainly not in the character of a dispassionate and erudite commentator, but in terms as gentle as they are elegantly expressed to you, 'that the most uncivilized 'wretch, or the most licentious of libertines 'could not promulgate a doctrine more re'pugnant to integrity, gratitude, and huma'nity'——Than what? Why, that a British subject after amassing a sum of money, the fruits of *his own* industry, (for the puerile observation, that that sum of money may have been paid out of the hard earnings of the people, is foreign to the matter,) shall have the power of settling in America.—Now, to shew the futility of his observations, I would ask, what can prevent a man from leaving the United Kingdom and settling in America at this time; of adopting this want of integrity, gratitude, and humanity, with the exception of returning to *cut our throats*, which I deem, howsoever Candidus may view the subject, to be of that immoral and irreligious nature, that no man except Candidus could have dreamt (for in his waking moments it could not have obtruded) of such a horrible intention. I cannot see any thing to prevent a man, who, as Candidus says, may have amassed a pretty large property from shipping it off, and going with or following it to America. Tell me, Candidus, if you have drank deep of that same commentator Coke, whether you have found a law clearly and unequivocally prohibitory of removing himself and his fa-

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tally, and his property, to a foreign country. And, Candidus, let me draw your attention to another view of the subject, the melancholy side of the picture. Let us suppose, a poor man surrounded with a large family, calling upon him but ineffectually, to satisfy the cravings of nature, and whose little earnings have in part gone to satisfy the rapacity of one of those stall fed objects, who, as you allude, are paid from the hard earnings of the people, whilst each passing moment advances the misery of such a family. I would ask if such a man be chained to the soil where he is born, if he cannot expatriate himself in the hope of exchanging want for plenty; misery for happiness? He may be deceived, I grant; he may leave his fruitful soil for the barren and inhospitable tracts in some parts of the interior of America; he may not profit by the exchange; but, I consider his capacity to elect his residence as indisputable. What I wish, however, to be done, Mr. Cobbett, is this. If this United Kingdom will not permit British subjects to expatriate themselves, let the law be so declared, and prevent the mischievous tendency of attempts to expatriate, which are frequently made; and if it will sanction expatriation, let such permission no longer remain in dubiety, but be clearly expressed between the United Kingdom and the United States of America.—When I referred to Coke's *dictum*, and M. Pecquet's observation, it certainly was not to shew the superiority of either, and jejune as the observation of Candidus is in this respect, I cannot pass it over. When I objected to the *dictum* of Coke as not of sufficient authority, I found not fault with him as a lawyer, nor with his decision, but I found fault with the observation as a *dictum* and not a *decision*. Candidus, if he ever becomes a member of the profession, for he seems at present to be only a member of the science, having much to learn, will hereafter know that there is more consideration given prior, and authority subsequently attached to a *decision* than a *dictum*. In fact, Candidus, know that a *dictum* is not authority. If Candidus (510) holds that the law is clear, because *incapacity* of expatriation is not mentioned in our ancient law books, and he holds this on his mere assertion, I have an equal right to hold this opinion that the law is clear and rational, because a Briton's *capacity* of expatriating himself is not laid down. Candidus should know that the executive has power by proclamation to prevent the departure of his subjects on an emergency, and consequently, that the inconvenience referred to by Candidus cannot take place, as prevention would on symptoms of a general transportation be adopted. It is unnecessary for me perhaps, to repeat for Candidus' information, that 'I am unconnected with the 'interests of a foreign country.' I have not denied that 'every subject is subservient 'to the laws,' nor have I openly declared my ignorance, by asserting that, 'when a 'man is admitted into society, he is not 'compelled to surrender a portion of his '*natural* liberty to preserve *the laws of society*.' I find not fault with the adoption of laws, but with the ambiguity of a rule of conduct. In this Candidus has also mistaken me. I will not, Mr. Cobbett, *presume* an improper motive for Candidus as he has *presumed* for me, that I am one of those who are so prone on all occasions to deprecate an American war, for I candidly declare to you my opinion, that we have forborne more with respect to America than I can deem politic; but, although I acknowledge this, I do not see why the subjects of this United Kingdom, and the citizens of the United States of America, should as Candidus thinks 'cut each others throats,' when we can settle our differences amicably. And, Mr. Cobbett, it may perhaps, be satisfactory both to you and Candidus, when I further declare my opinion, and which I could have no hesitation in supporting by argument, if you had not pointed out its accuracy, that in the event of a war, although this country would in a small degree be sufferers, America would for ever regret if any vestige of her remained as a confederate body, that fatal hour which induced her to unsheath the sword.——S. V.—*Oct.* 8, 1807.

EXPATRIATION.

(Being S. V.'s Third Letter.)

SIR,——I deemed it requisite to notice Candidus's letter as early as possible, and express my views on the subject of expatriation, which I did in mine of the 8th October. It is, therefore, unnecessary for me to enter so fully as I should have done, into my inducements for wishing the subject matter to be clearly and unambiguously settled by the legislature of this United Kingdom, or between the executive and foreign powers.—You attribute to my doctrine the sin of ingratitude; although I do not subscribe to your opinion on that head, because my ex-

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pressions warrant not that construction; and, because, men whom I will bring to your notice of far greater ability than I can possibly pretend to enjoy or attain, sanction my sentiments with their solid arguments; yet I cannot avoid expressing my admiration at the warmth of your passions, which have led you into an ocean of rigid animadversion on my supposed motives. It seems to you to be the very acmé of ingratitude, because when I arrive at manhood I desert the services of my nurse, who may in my infancy have attended me; because, truly, I have been in the nurse's arms fed, administered to, and unremittantly attended by her, it is ingratitude in me that I do not all my life time continue in my nurse's arms. Now, really, Mr. Cobbett, when I do arrive at manhood, am I to be followed by my nurse, is she to continue these kind offices to me at a period when they are no longer necessary, and if I do not submit to those tender kindnesses, am I to be charged with a sin ten times worse than the sin of witchcraft? Have I not; without a liability to the charge of ingratitude, a right to run away (as you term expatriation) at the age of manhood from my nurse? Surely, her power ceases when I am able to elect my place of residence, just in the same manner as does the power of the Court of Chancery, the guardian protector of infants; the power of that court ceases when I attain my age of 21 years; and am I to be obnoxious to the sin of ingratitude because I do not all my life afterwards continue under the beneficent protection of that court, and remain its ward? When I attain that age, I apply to the court for my property, it is paid to me; and, although I never afterwards visit the Court of Chancery, the protector of my property in my juvenile years, am I to be derided because I do not plunge into that court every time I pass by its doors, to acknowledge submission in consequence of the care it has taken of me and my property? I do say, Sir, that were I compelled to consider myself thus placed in the situation you think I am, that I should be, not as Pecquet observes, really a slave, but infinitely worse. But, whilst I hold this doctrine, I must say that the services rendered to me in my days of helplessness, would be deeply imprinted on my mind. I should be always grateful for those services; but it is out of the power of man to prove the necessity or propriety of relapsing into or continuing a state of dependency; and if it should ever happen I were placed in battle array, opposed to that person (be that person whom it might) who had nurtured me, who had as you state fed and cloathed, and reared me up under the Divine Benediction to man's estate, I think, Mr. Cobbett, my weapon would fall from my hand, notwithstanding that self preservation as we are told, is the first law of nature. But, Mr. Cobbett, this is a situation, and a dreadful one it is, I wish no one to be placed in, and it is this situation that I am desirous, by having the law of expatriation clearly promulgated and declared, none should be placed in. If you thought me or any of your correspondents capable of writing down gratitude, you would, I am sure, animadvert upon the attempt with that glowing warmth which you so eminently possess, and which ranks so high among the human virtues; but, this is not in our nature to do.—I will now give you the opinions of some of our ancient lawyers, upon the finity of allegiance, and on gratitude, (for even lawyers, Mr. Cobbett, are not devoid of this last mentioned superlative virtue). Bracton, lib. 3. cap. 9. Fleta, cap. 2, and Stamford, fol. 37, observe that "the king is protector "of all his subjects; that in virtue of this "high trust, he is more particularly to take "care of those who are not able to take care "of themselves, consequently, of infants, "who by reason of their nonage are under "incapacities; from hence natural allegiance arises, as a *debt of gratitude which "can never be cancelled, though the subject* "owing it goes out of the kingdom, or "*swears allegiance to another prince.*"—— Here we see, that in the just opinion of those lawyers, although we *swear allegiance to another prince*; admitting, therefore, the right of expatriation, *the debt of gratitude* notwithstanding the dereliction of allegiance remains, *it can never be cancelled.* And, here, Mr. Cobbett, it is necessary in consequence of your observations on the word "cannot," that I explain the meaning as it is here used. It is this. The debt of gratitude *can* never be cancelled *morally or religiously*; for, in any other sense it were similar to saying that no man can commit murder, or, as you say, cannot sit in the commons or kill game without qualification; we know these things may be done without, but wrongfully, and in the former case irreligiously and immorally; that sense, however, Mr. Cobbett, your reflection must enable you to conclude, was never intended to be adopted by me. Besides, it should be recollected, that in your construction of the word 'cannot,' you make *the same power* in your case to put two interpretations of direct contrary import on the word; but, the legislature expressed and

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intended only one, viz. that a man unless qualified shall not be eligible to sit in the Commons, or kill game; though he should sit or kill, not qualified; surely, the legislature cannot be said to have sanctioned this double construction. In the first place that he shall not; in the next place that he physically can; the *legislature* declares he shall not; the corporeal *man* says he shall. But, Mr. Cobbett, the *same persons* in the disabling decision, adverted to in my former communication, and enlarged upon by you; first, declare that *the character of British subject is unalienable;* next, virtually, *that it is not unalienable*; viz. the *acceptance of that of subject of another country*, bars all right to complain of the acts of the latter. Now, Mr. Cobbett, I do still maintain, notwithstanding your apostrophe on the justice of the decision, that it is inconsistent and at variance with itself, and that not all the special pleading you may be happily master of has hitherto borne you out in the opinion you declare upon it. The case which you profess to have drawn from real life, (551) but which I consider to be hypothetical, however beneficial in your view its tendency may be by way of prevention of expatriation, I cannot but consider impolitic and unjust. It is *impolitic* because it forms the basis of dissention from its partiality and oppression, and it is *unjust* in this respect, that the immunities of a British subject are taken away from the man so soon as he enlists under the banners of a foreign power; but, the disabilities of a British subject still remain. Let the treatment of this miserable outcast of society as you consider him, be somewhat human; you place him in this predicament, if he has a claim upon either country for debts, you tell him he is not a subject of either country; but, if he is compelled as he would be, if resident in America to take up arms in defence of that country, against the invasion of this country, and is taken alive, he would, or, as you observe in another passage, he would deserve to be, if possible, hanged at every cross road in the kingdom. Let not such partial, impolitic, unjust, and inconsistent treatment be dealt out to this miserable wretch, who possibly, to avoid a gaol or hunger has sought an asylum in a strange land. Treat him uniformly; if you subject him to punishment when he commits an offence against his native country which he has abandoned, allow him the advantages attendant upon good conduct. But, Mr. Cobbett, I fully accord with your sentiments, that it would be well were the legislature to declare, that if a British subject does withdraw his allegiance, that all his former immunities be surrendered, and all his disabilities attendant on punishments for breach of the laws of his native country be abandoned; that he shall as you say be *for ever* disfranchised, and deprived of all immunities as a British subject, and in no respect be considered as owing any allegiance, or capable of afterwards regaining the character of a British subject. This would check emigration, and would prevent the daily frauds committed against this United Kingdom, by or under the sanction of men who are one day British subjects, and the next American citizens, and this in consequence of the former connection between this United Kingdom and the United States of America, should certainly have a prospective, and not a retrospective view. But, I differ with you, Mr. Cobbett, upon the subject of a declaratory law or stipulation in treaties. It is absolutely requisite, not out of tenderness to America, nor by reason of a justification on our part, but because we do permit expressly foreigners to become naturalized subjects of this United Kingdom. It is immaterial whether the price of admission to the privileges of a subject be 9*d.* or £100, with respect to the act of admission; but, it is clear that when a foreigner is naturalized, that we claim respect to our laws, though he removes to the farthest boundaries of the earth; and should this newly admitted subject journey to Otaheite, and during his residence there commit hostility against the subjects of this country, he would be amenable to the laws of his newly adopted state. I cannot, Mr. Cobbett, applaud or approve the construction put upon my former communication, it was not my object to provide for the security of persons, who in the event of war might be deemed to be subject to punishment. No, Sir, I hold that if a man withdraws his allegiance, so long as that secession continues, he shall be held to be a foreigner to all intents and purposes, in the same manner as I consider the naturalized foreigner amenable to the laws of this country, so long as this country can claim him as a subject; and if there is that indelibility attaching to a natural born British subject, let us also consistently attribute similar indelibility to a foreigner, and not trepan him to become a naturalized British subject. To act correctly we must contend for reciprocal justice. In my adoption of the term "melancholy," it entered not into my thoughts that there was any thing lurking under the expression to cavil at. My expression and meaning were, that an emigrant would not from choice place himself in the situation of a traitor, but that he might be

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placed in it from compulsion, and it is this sad situation I wish to guard against; nor, can I discover that my principle admits of the constructions you are pleased to put upon it. I do not contend for the right of taking up arms against one's native country from choice, nor do I justify universal desertion, and universal parricide; (I have not hitherto, Mr. Cobbett, even adverted to the propriety or impropriety of arming against rulers,) nor, do I think that such base and unworthy doctrines, could plant themselves in the breast of any American, howsoever depraved (and depraved there are in all countries) such men might be. And, here, Mr. Cobbett, I would by the way observe, that we true born Englishmen as you and I are, are but too apt to attribute to men of that country base and unworthy motives. You may know more of their character and conduct than I can possibly be informed of. I have never suffered under their lash, and I hope I never shall; but, I will observe, that we are too prone to attribute to *native* Americans base and unworthy conduct, which has emanated perhaps, from men who have to boast their birth in North or South Britain, or Hibernia; and who, perhaps, have found it convenient to take a hasty leave of their native country; but, who through favour of fickle fortune, have somehow or other wormed themselves into situations, which enable them to animadvert without controul on your conduct and mine, were we in their power. These are the men who frequently bring the American character into disgrace, and to the *native* Americans we attribute their indefensible conduct. Men seldom if ever emigrate for their own pleasure; they do it from compulsion; their necessities induce them; their self-preservation, their very existence prompt them to leave their native country. We should not, therefore, condemn those our unfortunate fellow subjects; they deserve our tears of pity; they draw from us our compassion when we find that they are compelled to abandon that country, which has "reared them up to manhood," and that all the recollection they have towards us is, the indelible marks of gratitude imprinted on their minds, for nurturing them when they were themselves helpless; that same gratitude, Mr. Cobbett, should their removal be attended with beneficial consequences, will induce a return to their natural allegiance the first moment they are enabled to revisit us; and, I therefore, deem it to be highly impolitic to drive such men as those from our shores, even though they should be classed as prodigal sons. It is not his own interest alone which is pursued, but advantages accrue to the nation from that man who may have toiled year after year unsuccessfully here, but who in a foreign country may have enriched himself, and with himself his country. If we can attribute a worthy motive to a man, it is our duty so to do; and if motives are attributable to men, one bad, the other good, in law a rule is laid down which should be imputed to him; and I see not why, in reason, the ground work of law, the same worthy motive should not be attributed to his conduct. The ordinances of the Creator invariably tend to good ends, and man acting religiously and under the impulse of his own reason, cannot be condemned for acting conformably to principle, directing him to his own interest and with that the benefits of his country. Your concluding observation goes not only to preclude a man from a residence among foreigners, but puts an end to all intercourse with foreign nations, an intercourse not prohibited, as far as I am able to determine, by any law divine or human.—It is as much my wish, as it can be yours, to prevent men acting in the double capacity of British subject and American citizen. I cannot, Mr. Cobbett, assent to your construction of 14 and 15 Henry 8, because the Term, "*other strangers*," according to my comprehension, implies a derelection or surrender of allegiance. If it was intended to have retained the allegiance of such persons as chose to depart from their native country, it surely were sufficient to have made them liable to the payment of customs, such as "strangers," not "other strangers," paid. This, Mr. Cobbett, is the power I would that the native country should assume over its subjects, viz. in every attempt to assume the character of a subject of a foreign country, I would that this United Kingdom should boldly disown or disfranchise him, and render him incapable of ever after assuming a Proteus shape with respect to his native country, rather than partially holding him to be a subject, as in the case of friend Twister, who when he claims a benefit from his native country is told he is an American, but if he should be bold enough to commit an offence and claim to be hanged, his native country, it seems, will indulge him in his request. The word "artificer," which I held to be an indefinite and general term, if you will take the trouble to turn to the lexicographer Bailey, is expressed to be "one that professes some art or *trade*"; and though the word "trade" includes the "merchant," which is defined by that same lexicographer to be "a *trader* or dealer by

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wholesale," I assure you, when I mentioned the word "artificer" in my former communication, I was not as you charge me to have been, "driving at that title": I meant only to shew, the general and extensive construction which the term was capable of admitting.—I will now state a further authority or two on the right of expatriation, and in doing so, I think I shall escape the charge of referring to revolutionary times, even from your "learned" correspondent, Candidus. Cicero saith, that the citizens of Rome might, at their pleasure, leave their freedom of citizens to become citizens of another city. In Spain it is free for any man to remove elsewhere and to be enrolled into another city: and we, too, have held out and invited foreigners to become subjects, from which by reciprocity, we should allow our subjects to become foreigners. Richard proposed unto strangers all the immunities granted unto citizens, so that they had dwelt ten years in the city. In Venice, fourteen years residence entitled a man to the privileges of a citizen, without having any other interest in the state except in certain mean offices. In Ferrara, ten years residence was required.—Vattel, book 1. chap. 19. sec. 218, says, "The natural or "original domicil is that given us by "birth, where our father had his; and we "are considered as retaining it till we have "abandoned it in order to chuse another. "The domicil acquired (adscilitium) is that "where we settle by our own choice."—And again, in sec. 220, "Many distinc-"tions will be necessary, in order to give "a complete solution to the celebrated "question, whether a man may quit his "country or the society of which he is a "member." I am afraid, Sir, if I enter so fully into this writer's observations and Wicquefort's remarks as I might deem expedient, that I should encroach upon your limits; I will, therefore, be as brief as possible. Vattel says, children have a natural attachment to the society in which they are born. They ought then to love it; but every man born free, the son of a citizen, arrived at years of discretion, may examine, if it be convenient for him to join in the society for which he was destined by his birth. If he finds that it will be of no advantage to him to remain in it, he is at liberty to leave it, preserving the sentiments of *gratitude* he owes it: every man has a right to quit his country, in order to settle in any other, when by that step he does not expose the welfare of his country. A good citizen will never resolve to do it without necessity or without very strong reasons: and, Mr. Cobbett, if you refer to sec. 225, page 98, book I, chap 19, you will find that it would not be a novel thing if this country should stipulate in treaties respecting the right of expatriation. The days of vassalage are gone by: those days in which a prince considered his subjects in the rank of his property and riches; he calculated their number as his flocks, and as Vattel adds, to the disgrace of human nature, this strange abuse is not yet every where destroyed: but, Mr. Cobbett, although I adduce authorities tending to prove the right of expatriation, yet if I could possibly conceive the least injury would arise in consequence of a promulgation of that doctrine as Candidus thinks such might be the case, I would not have canvassed the subject, and having written upon it I would have ceased; but no inconvenience can arise; I am an advocate for liberty of action, but not for licentiousness. Let us obey the laws, but let them not be ambiguous; for we not only frequently puzzle and confound our clients but ourselves.—Wicquefort, chap. xi, page 75, even goes further than I have attempted in the doctrine of expatriation; he not only asserts and proves the right of expatriation, but even that a prince may send, as his ambassador, a subject of that country to which the embassy is sent. In page 77, he adverts to the case of John Webster, in the year 1644, an English merchant, living at Amsterdam, who assisted the king with his money; his reference to this case, and his observations thereon, fully bear me out in my former remarks. "In England," says he, "the subjects have "a stronger, and more particular obligation "to their sovereign than elsewhere, by vir-"tue of the right which they call allegiance. "But that does not hinder the English "from retiring out of the kingdom without "the king's permission, and when they "have settled themselves elsewhere, neither "the king's authority, nor the laws of the "kingdom, have any further power of "them."—Now, Mr Cobbett, after these celebrated authorities, tending to the right of expatriation, I do repeat the observation, that it is absolutely necessary a declaratory law be passed, or a stipulation in treaties, in general, be adopted, either permitting or disallowing expatriation. If it be deemed impolitic to allow a man to be a subject to day, to-morrow a citizen of America, and on the third day to receive him back again and suffer him to be enrolled among us as a subject; let it be boldly declared, or legislated, that a British subject once departing from his natural allegiance, will never be permitted to reassume the character of a Bri-

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tish subject; and reinstated in his natural privileges and immunities, but that by such new election he forfeits all claim to the privileges of a British subject. America will not then decoy our fellow subjects, as their acceptance of American citizenship will, for ever, incapacitate them from returning again among us; and British subjects will then clearly know the predicament they voluntarily place themselves in.—I am not an advocate for dereliction of allegiance, unless from compulsion, either on the part of this country or any other; and condemn, as strong as you can disapprove of the introduction of foreigners here, but I contend for consistency. So long, therefore, as this country admits into its bosom, into its very vitals, foreigners of all nations, the very refuse and outcast of society to all the immunities of subjects, it should consistently permit its own subjects to expatriate.——S. V. *Oct.* 13, 1807.

IRELAND'S INTERNAL SITUATION.

(Being the 2d Letter of M. H.)

Sir;——In your last Register, after approving of my description of the internal situation of Ireland, you proceed to object to my recommending the introduction of manufactures into that country, as a means of bettering its condition. You say, "if my "correspondent would wish to subdue the "spirit of the people, I know of no better "way than to shut thousands of them up in "a large house, and making them work for "one man who rings them to their labour "and meals by a bell." Before I received the Register in which the above observation appeared, I had forwarded a letter to you, in which I endeavoured to prove that manufactures and commerce had been carried to excess in England; but, I am nevertheless, inclined to think that manufactures are *a blessing, and not a curse*, to any country, that is to say, when properly regulated, and kept within due bounds, so that they should not draw too many hands or too much capital from agriculture; or, in other words, prevent the sufficient supply of food. I am, however, upon all subjects open to conviction, and should you differ from me, I should therefore, thank you for your arguments to prove that I am wrong. It has been accidentally my lot to have resided in several parts of both England and Ireland, and I have taken some pains to inspect manufacturies. I mention these circumstances only to shew that I have some little advantage over those who merely read, and inquire, in making comparisons between places, whether in England or Ireland, where there are manufactures, and other places where there are none, and in comparing the condition of the labourers in different districts. I shall now proceed to observe, that those industrious labourers and their families (for I have nothing to do with the idle) who live upon the Down, or uninclosed districts, live harder (if I may so express myself,) than the journeymen manufacturers and their families, or any working people that I know of, either in England or Ireland. I shall here observe also, that in the North of Ireland, where the linen manufacture is carried on, that the lower classes were (before the French revolution) more contented and happy than the same classes in the South. I have travelled through the manufacturing counties in this kingdom, and I must say that I have seen great comfort enjoyed by the industrious, whether they were employed in the iron, cotton, woollen, glass, or any other manufacture; and if you will have the goodness to reflect, you will think this not to be improbable, as most of our manufactures follow the veins of coal, fuel therefore is absolutely to be had for little or nothing. The men, women, and children are all employed, and most of them furnish some money to purchase provision and other necessaries; I imagine, therefore, that many persons have been induced to think manufacturers poor and wretched, from their black and shabby appearances, and from the dirty look of the outsides of the cottages in all coal countries. But, Mr. Cobbett, you conclude that the introduction of manufactures into Ireland would subdue the spirit of the people. I cannot imagine that this would be the case, for, is the spirit of the people more subdued in Manchester, Leeds, *Birmingham* or *Belfast*, than in York, Winchester, Canterbury, or a hundred other towns where there are no manufactures? I have no method of proving that a manufacturer's bell may not call his apprentices to severe labour and scanty meals; but, if this is the case, the legislature *could, and surely ought*, to put a stop to such injustice. A journeyman is of course *free* to quit a manufacture if ill treated. I cannot therefore suppose, you can wish to annihilate manufactures, but only to effect some reformation; for, I apprehend that it would be impossible that you should desire, that the *making of steam engines* should be put a stop to, and that all those wonderful inventions for the saving of labour should cease to be made use of. To break the spirit of the people of Ireland *is by no means my object*, but quite the reverse. By recommending the introduction of *useful* manufactures, I wish to encourage the people to collect in

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towns: by opening a free trade between England and Ireland, *I wish to enrich both countries, to make both countries friendly towards each other, and strong to resist the enemies of the British empire.* I want by these measures to return that capital which England *drains* from Ireland by numerous channels. I want to improve the agriculture of Ireland, *which cannot be done but by encreasing the capital of that country.* I want to better the condition of the *landlords*, the *middlemen*, the *farmers*, and the *labourers*. I want that the landlords should be able to farm their lands, which they cannot now do as they chuse, to enable them to plant fences and trees, and make any sort of improvement upon their estates without being *pillaged* by the labourers. I want to employ the middlemen in trade, instead of encouraging them to become stakes for the rent of land which other men farm I want that farmers should have markets nearer home, and that they also should not *be pillaged*, that they should have a power of making fences without the fear of their being cut up and carried away for fuel by the labourers, that they should be able to grow turnips instead of potatoes if it suits them, without the dread of their being stolen. *In short, I want that all sorts of property should be respected in Ireland as much as in England.* I wish to place the lower classes in such a situation that it would be their interest not to commit theft. I want not, as was the practice of a Mr. Parkinson when in Ireland, to put a stop to petty thefts by giving those people who committed them good horse-whippings. Instead of subduing the spirit of the Irish labourers, I am desirous of releasing them from their present dependance, and of making them altogether free men. This I would do as soon as possible by dispossessing them of their lands, and paying them amply for their labour in money; they would then have a power of saying, as the same class do in England, if ill treated by the farmers, "pay me my wages and I will get work elsewhere." The farmers would then have it in their power *(which they have not at present)* to get rid of the idle and to employ the industrious. But, you have indeed, wonderfully mistaken the characters of Irish labourers, if you imagine they have any spirit to subdue. It is true, if you take them from home, they make as brave and good soldiers and sailors as any in the world; let them even come to England, where they of course receive money for labour, and can work for whom they please, and they soon adopt the English character, and to use a vulgar phrase, will not be put upon; but leave them *fastened to their potatoe gardens*, and they are the most pusilanimous, mean spirited wretches that ever inhabited the earth. Now, Sir, that they should be so is altogether natural, and it only proves that people may be either brave or cowardly just as they are managed. For the Irish labourer when at home is in perpetual dread of being punished for thefts which *he is driven by necessity to commit*, he is also in dread of being turned out of his land, which is to him an estate. In Ireland, therefore, he will flatter his superior without ceasing, kneel down to him, and either in a written petition or in words, supplicate his protection or forgiveness; and, as Mr. Parkinson says, (an extract from whose book I read in the Monthly Review, for July, 1807) suffers himself to be horse-whipped. But in England the very same man would not receive a blow from any one without returning it. After this, Mr. Cobbett, I presume you will think that there is *no danger* of breaking the spirit of the people of Ireland *by taking off the restrictions upon her trade with this country*, and by encouraging manufactures *to a certain extent*. I shall now mention, that some years since a free trade was considered to be the only thing necessary to Ireland; if at the time I allude to, it was wanted, it has been still more required since the Union, as the *drain* of capital has increased. Now, Sir, there is nothing to replace the capital which England draws from Ireland, but the profits of the provision trade and the linen trade. I conclude then, that if this continues, the more Ireland increases in population, and that population chiefly supported by the culture of potatoes, the more must Ireland increase in poverty. *The true interest of Ireland, a free trade with England*, has been completely forgotten since the Catholic claims have been discussed, which if admitted would scarcely benefit one man in five thousand. What a faint shade of difference then must there be between the situation of a Protestant and a Catholic. Buonaparté, however, takes care that the Catholics should think otherwise, by telling them that they are persecuted; but is not this the most ready way to obtain himself another kingdom? Would he be so great a fool to let slip so fair an opportunity of distracting and dividing us, that he may conquer us? But, it would be well worth while for the Catholic to reflect whether he does not enjoy every privilege that other dissenters enjoy? Whether a Protestant would not be treated as harshly if he disturbed the peace of the country as he would; and, finally, whether it would not be more to the

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interest of Ireland to be *completely incorporated* with England, than governed by a king of Buonaparté's appointing.——I am, Sir, &c.——M. H.——*Sept.* 12, 1807.

IRELAND'S INTERNAL SITUATION.

(Being the 3d Letter of M. H.)

SIR;——Before I address you upon other subjects, I shall beg to offer you my mite of praise for the advice you have given in the 396th page of the 12th vol. of your Register. Your advice is truly worthy of the man who withstood the rage of an exasperated mob, rather than seem to rejoice at a peace, he was convinced was humiliating to his country.—In my last letter, I urged the Roman Catholics to reflect, whether they did not enjoy equal privileges with other dissenters, and whether it would not be of more advantage to Ireland to be completely incorporated with England, rather than have a king of Buonaparté's appointing. I do not mean to insinuate that the Roman Catholics would join the French if a landing could be effected by them, for I do not hold the same opinions that Mentor seems to entertain; he grounds his arguments upon what happened during the late rebellion, and before that pestilential and rebellious disease, caught by listening to the savage yell of equality, was cured.——I shall now proceed to observe, that the French revolution unsettled the minds of the lower classes in most countries, but where the people were in any degree oppressed, the cry of liberty and equality was most grateful. In my former letters I have endeavoured to shew, that by the mistaken policy of England, Ireland has been kept poor. No country was therefore, more open to be disturbed and conquered, by the French throwing out the bloody lure of equality than Ireland. Many ambitious men, Protestants, Roman Catholics, and *Atheists*, some of whom, no doubt were, and still are, in the pay of France; thought, and I suppose, still think, to obtain power. These people previous to the rebellion, began by every possible art to poison the minds of the Irish, and for fear those they contrived to seduce should fly from their cause, they bound them by oaths, in this manner they chained together the weak, the enthusiastic, the ignorant, and the thoughtless, in short, great part of the population of Ireland. After this operation was completed, by a system of terror they forced many unwilling wretches to attack houses, seize upon arms, and even to commit murders; and, finally, to assemble in large bodies for the purpose of open rebellion. Now, Sir, the French party we have heard of, in all probability were the organizers of the late rebellion, and I cannot help thinking, that having found liberty and equality not quite so palatable as heretofore, they have changed their ground, and are endeavouring to stir up strife between those who think differently with respect to religion; this of course they do in order that Ireland should offer an easy conquest to Buonaparté, who doubtless has promised his friends an ample reward for their services. If this circumstance could be pointed out to all classes of the Irish, surely, the Protestants and Roman Catholics would unite in preserving peace, and would not be again duped into shedding each others blood, to promote the selfish and ambitious views of Buonaparté and his friends the Atheists; but, on the contrary, would join in soliciting England for *solid advantages for all, instead of empty honours for a few.* The boon which the Christians will, I doubt not, shortly lay claim to is, that England *should enrich and strengthen the empire*, by taking off all restrictions upon trade between the two islands, and that those taxes now levied by port duties, should in future be levied in direct taxes, to the extent that Ireland truly may appear to have abilities to pay: England having a power to increase those taxes in proportion to the increase of capital in Ireland, till they are fairly equal to the taxes raised in England upon an equal extent of country.—I shall now proceed to take notice of a proposition, which a correspondent of yours (Mentor) thinks is incontrovertible, that "if Ireland is conquered by Buonaparté, England will also be conquered by him." This I completely deny, for if England was put to the test she would surely prove herself at least as brave as the French at the early periods of the revolution; and were example necessary to *give courage to Britons*, they would recollect the for ever glorious conduct of the people of Buonaparté's native island.—In consequence of such opinions as Mentor's being frequently advanced, we are obliged to endure the insulting threats and vauntings of the enemy. My opinion is, that Great Britain is capable of defending herself *singly* against the *whole world. Give the people but arms, and an increased supply of the necessaries of life by cultivating the waste lands, and they may laugh at invasion.* I flatter myself that my opinion will gain ground instead of Mentor's; at the same time that I consider it my duty, *and the duty of every Englishman*, to claim for Ireland those benefits which I have endeavoured to point out in my letters to you. *As I take it for granted that England will shortly think it her interest to act with justice, and at the*

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same time with firmness towards Ireland, I shall proceed to make some observations which my former letters seem to render necessary; but first, I shall again repeat some things which I am anxious to impress on the minds of the English and Irish landlords. 1st. That their having permitted their tenants to cultivate *a cattle crop* (potatoes) as *food for man* has been injurious to their country. 2d. That giving land to labourers for the purpose of raising food for themselves and their families, (and thereby making them farmers of the worst sort) has done much mischief to Ireland; and, consequently, if pursued would be equally hurtful to England. 3d. That the great encouragement given to the growing potatoes in England within these few years, has introduced the Irish system of cultivating potatoes and grain without stock; and in some instances, the Irish plan of letting land to labourers has been adopted. Now, Sir, in England, Irish farming has not been so long introduced that it would be very difficult to prevent its being discontinued; the culture of potatoes ought to be entirely stopped, or at least farmers might be prohibited from sending any roots to market, and therefore, obliged to feed stock on potatoes at home, should they chuse to cultivate them in preference of other roots. But, as I presume that the quantity of *food alone* has been rather increased of late years, by growing roots to feed man, and, as I indeed, know that the lower classes though they were at first against being fed upon potatoes, now not only have submitted to the alteration in their diet, but depend much upon considerable quantities being sent to market, it would, therefore, be dangerous even in England to check the culture of potatoes for the supply of food for the poorer manufacturers in towns too suddenly; but it may be found necessary to wait till other food is produced by the cultivation of part of the waste lands.——In Ireland, Sir, I do not doubt that nearly three parts out of four of the population are fed upon potatoes; it would, therefore, be the greatest absurdity to suppose, that the present plan of agriculture could be immediately altered; but, on the contrary, it is absolutely necessary not to overturn the wretched system with violence. I shall therefore, take the liberty humbly to recommend it to Irish landlords, to begin first by prohibiting their tenants from letting land to labourers, or, in other words, from making them little farmers. To prevent the farmers also, from cultivating potatoes with the spade, farmers might grow a sufficient quantity for their own use, and for the supply of their labourers, by making use of the plough in every process necessary for bringing these roots to perfection, and getting them out of the ground; an equal quantity of potatoes could be produced upon a less quantity of ground, and with considerably less labour, by using the plough instead of the spade. The farmer could agree with his labourers to give them a certain quantity or weight of potatoes, for a certain number of days work; and when they could afford it, and markets for butchers meat, and shops for the sale of bread, bacon, cheese, and other necessaries were established in Ireland more generally, they could pay them in money. Now, whether there shall or shall not, be markets and shops generally established in Ireland, depends on the will of England, for it is impossible that there can be a demand for butchers meat till people collect in towns to employ themselves in manufacturing the raw materials, which *could* be produced upon the lands of Ireland; and it would be useless for them to think of collecting together for the purpose of manufacturing, unless they could be certain of a sale for the articles they made up at first, nearly for ready money, which they could obtain no where else but in England to any extent. I shall now observe, that the next object should be to apply to England for money to work coal mines, and in truth, England should not consider any money disbursed for such a purpose as a gift, but as a debt long due to Ireland. If, however, this should be refused, a company could be formed, in which it is to be hoped some English capitalists would join. Men who understood mining might be obtained from England, and likewise steam engines for the use of the pits. After coals were raised and become somewhat cheap, planting trees and fences might be ventured upon, the growing artificial grasses, and the gradual introduction of the practice of giving roots to sheep and cattle, should be encouraged; the settling people in towns should be promoted by granting building leases upon fair terms; every possible encouragement should be given to the manufacture of the wool of the country, and all those other raw materials, which lands under good management would produce. When coals were raised in considerable quantities, it would of course be an advantage to establish iron manufactures, and other manufactures common in England would without doubt follow; the only thing then to be thought of would be not to employ more people in manufacture than could be easily fed without taking from the other necessaries of life; the encouragement of

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the manufacture of wool grown in the country, not in Spain, should be the chief object; for it is not at all improbable, that employing so many hands in the working up such quantities of Spanish wool and cotton, together with the absurdity of supplying all the world with useless baubles, is now beginning rather to injure than serve England. —As yet, Mr. Cobbett, I have said nothing relative to the linen manufacture; but, I shall now advance rather a singular opinion, namely, that it is unfit for Ireland. My reason for thinking so is, that I imagine such land as the land even in the north of Ireland, would be better employed in the growth of wool, or, to speak differently, in producing food and cloaths, and tallow, instead of being applied to the growing of flax, which is the most exhausting of all other crops; insomuch, that I have heard, that it renders the land incapable for a considerable time, of producing any thing unless manured at a great expence; also, from the vast number of hands employed, scarce any machinery being used before the article is offered for sale, beginning with the grower of the flax, and ending with the retail dealer, one must naturally suppose, that the profit obtained by each individual must be very inconsiderable; on these accounts therefore, at a future period, it would be surely to the advantage of Ireland to exchange woollens for linens with one of those countries (for instance Russia) that had more and inferior land to spare for the growing of flax. Notwithstanding all that I have said against the linen manufacture, I consider it as a very lucky circumstance that Ireland has been permitted to manufacture this *one* article, and send it to England freely for sale; for without this it would have been impossible for Ireland to have stood against the remittances she has been obliged to make to England on various accounts.—Now, Sir, as I wish sincerely to give every possible information with regard to the situation of Ireland without the smallest impartiality, I shall take the liberty of mentioning to you some observations I made a few years ago, relative to the state of religion in that country. I shall begin with the North, where I resided for some time; the lower and the middle classes (observe, Mr. Cobbett, there is a sort of middle class in the manufacturing parts of Ireland) are composed generally of Presbyterians intermixed with a few Roman Catholics; the higher class are all of the Church of England; all seemed when I knew that part of the country, to concur in a strict observance of religious duties on Sunday; and, I must confess, that I believe that this was brought about chiefly by the example of the Presbyterians; however that may be, the North certainly appeared to me, (who was well acquainted with the South, and also with England), to be the most habitable part of Ireland. There were few thefts committed, and the lower classes never flattered in order to deceive; but, after all, I must own that I could not become much enamoured with the manners of the people, from observing many traits in their character, which proved that religion had by no means eradicated selfishness from their disposition. As to determining upon the state of religion in a capital city, or in large towns, that is a matter of infinite difficulty—a popular preacher (for instance, such a man as Kirwan was), making so complete an alteration for the time being. I shall, therefore, confine myself to stating what I have happened to observe in the country parts of the South. The Roman Catholics there outnumber the Protestants very considerably; the Catholics are extremely punctual in their attendance at mass on Sundays, and also on Saints' days. On these Saints' days (which take labourers from employment, I believe nearly one-fourth of the year, and consequently deducts much, one should suppose, from the riches of the country) labourers will on no account work; but, they will after having been to mass, either play, swear, lie, or drink to excess, or promote or engage in any sort of riot or *dispute*. Now, Sir, drunkenness is a vice which the Irish high and low are extremely addicted to; but, I leave others to judge, whether the higher class take example from the lower, or the lower from the higher, not doubting, that when it is perfectly ascertained which leads the way, that class feeling themselves ashamed of their conduct, will immediately set about making a thorough reformation. I shall now mention, that the church service is as well performed in Ireland as in England; but, notwithstanding, very few of the country gentlemen attend church, their employment on Sunday being usually riding and crossing the country, by way of practice for themselves and their horses. Possibly, Mr. Cobbett, because they have no time to spare for that purpose during the week. I shall refrain from saying any thing more respecting the moral conduct of both Protestants and Catholics, for fear the stating plain matters of fact may appear like ill nature; for, truly, I am not inclined to wound the feelings of either party, but merely to shew how little reason there is to dispute about religion in the South of Ireland; but, on the contrary,

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how much better it would be for all of those who call themselves Christians, to endeavour to exhibit better examples of morality to each other than at present.——I am, Sir, &c.—M.H.

POOR LAWS.

National Education.

Sir,——Statutes of restriction are more efficacious than statutes of compulsion. How much easier, speedier, and more agreeable is the method of collecting a revenue by stamps, without which, persons are restricted from possessing a valid title to their property, than by cesses and assessments backed by all the cohorts of magistrates and tax-gatherers. Let us apply this. An act is passed to render it compulsory upon parishes to provide schoolmasters, and all the paraphernalia of schools. The wise folks will probably turn out against, and in the end procure the repeal of this law. Why? Because they are compelled to pay for what in their eyes will not excite one simmer in the pot, for the education of other people's children. On the other hand, an act is passed containing a principle restricting any person from voting at an election, unless he can prove to the satisfaction of the court, that he can read the oath tendered to him, and write his assent in full to it. This becoming the only qualification necessary to constitute a voter, would induce a general exertion throughout our common people to acquire that degree of learning, which would impart to them a privilege so flattering to their pride, and so agreeable to their feelings of self interest. Our members of parliament would then from interested motives be induced to keep some of those honied promises which they diffuse so generally on the eve of an election. The representative would then be known to his constituents, not known only through the medium of the newspapers, or your valuable Register, but known as one active in promoting national education. He would not be under the necessity of sending his lady to lower the dignity of her sex, in mixing with his offal supporters, she would be better employed in raising it, by a condescending attention to the minds of their infants.—If good is better than bad, the man who is gifted with the means by education of distinguishing the good from the bad, is surely better qualified to vote (and his vote will more probably prove of more service to his country) than he who from ignorance leaves it to chance, whether he chuses the good from the bad—In this country (Ireland) where forty shilling freeholders bear the sway, the advantages would be inestimable and immediate. And, surely, if it often happened, as it happened lately, where some *independent* freeholders being driven down from the mountains of Mayo into court; by mistake voted for their landlord's opponent instead of the landlord himself, (who was a candidate) owing to a similarity in their names, would not the means of discrimination in the constituent be *serviceable* to the representation?——Hibernicus.

FUNDING SYSTEM.

Sir,——If I understand your correspondent C. S., he maintains in p. 446, that paying off the national debt of 600 millions, (and of course relieving the nation from the annual payment of 30 millions, which is the amount of the dividends) would raise the taxes from 70 to 490 millions, and that human nature would scarcely be able to endure the wretchedness and torment of the case.—Now, as the liquidation of the debt would be attended with such direful consequences, I supposed that an addition to it would no doubt be beneficial; but, near the bottom of the same page, C. S. proves that to go on with the funding system would produce the same effects to the public as the reduction of the debt. To me this doctrine is passing strange.——W. B.—*Sept.* 26, 1807.

KILMAINHAM PENSIONERS.

Sir,—As I conceive the following hints to be strictly within the compass of your very laudable plan, I beg you will be pleased to grant a few columns of your Political Register, for the purpose of endeavouring to ameliorate the condition of a meritorious class of his majesty's subjects, with that generosity of spirit, which induced you on a former occasion, to afford six pages to the service of the *Heir Apparent of the Royal House of Sheridan.*—They contain no flowery diction, or hair-spun superfluities; but a plain, simple statement of facts, and sound reasoning, from the pen of a time-worn veteran.—It is, no doubt, Sir, still fresh in your recollection, that during the late administration, large sums were drawn from the public purse, for the avowed purpose of "*rewarding merit*;" among other purposes to which such sums were applied, was that of augmenting the pensions of such men as had been discharged on the British establishment, and were admitted out-pensioners of Chelsea College. Had the equally deserving veterans of Kilmainham Hospital, been included in the grant, it would have reflected no small degree of honor on the heads of his majesty's ministers for the

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time being; but as the case now stands, its principal tendency is that of sowing seeds of discord between the two establishments.—Why that respectable body of men should be totally neglected, is a matter of astonishment, not only to the pensioners themselves, but to the nation in general; and at present stands unaccounted for; as no reason has been offered to the public to justify that very extraordinary proceeding.—That they have in every respect, been equally serviceable to the state, is an incontrovertible fact: and the annals of the East and West Indies, the American war, the siege of Gibraltar, &c. &c. all bear ample testimony, to that zeal with which they have served their country, amidst the greatest accumulated sufferings; I have no reason to doubt, sir, that you have often been an eye-witness to scenes in America, that would stagger the credulity of our Coffee-house politicians.—During the ever to be remembered glorious defence of Gibraltar, under the immortal General Elliott, several of the still surviving pensioners of Kilmainham Hospital, cheerfully submitted to the most unparalleled hardships, during a siege of twenty-two months, and blockade of nearly three years; during which, it may with great propriety, be justly said, they drank the very dregs from the vials of human misery; the most severe hunger, hard duty, repairing the batteries, under an incessant fire of cannon and mortars; storming the enemy's works; removing stores; supplying the batteries with powder, shot and shells; drawing cannon and old ships sides up the hills; on which duty I have frequently beheld 150 or 200 men harnessed, and performing the work of horses, and am sorry, for the sake of truth, to be obliged to declare, that they too frequently received treatment not the most humane, from their merciless drivers; but as a tribute of justice to the mouldering dust of the brave general, must say, that he ever looked on such misconduct as extremely reprehensible, and punished it as the nature of the case required. Want of rest and excessive fatigue, daily produced the opened graves of their departed companions in distress, to the envious eyes of the wretched emaciated survivors; conscious that every death laid an additional burden on their shoulders.—The above is a faint statement of facts, that came within the compass of my own knowledge; having not only seen, but in a great measure experienced the horrors incident to that long protracted siege.—The surviving comparative few, after receiving the thanks of the three branches of the legislature for their faithful service, were relieved and sent home, and the unserviceable of the different regiments, were admitted pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals; several of which on the latter establishment, still smarting under their wounds, with 4½d. per day, continue to drag on a miserable existence, probably with large families friendless and unprotected, a prey to misery and want.—As Gibraltar was the part in which providence in its wisdom required my service during the American war, I have dwelt principally on my own experience; but not the least shadow of a doubt remains on my mind, but British soldiers led by *able generals*, will ever be found capable of surmounting almost every obstacle, however dangerous, to which they may be opposed; and for which reason no difference should be made in rewarding their service, according to their respective rank.—I believe it to be a position which but few men will attempt to deny, that the rejection of the Catholic Bill, and the vociferated cry of "*no popery*" have not to the greatest wish'd for extent conciliated the minds of the Irish; however lavish some individuals may have been in asserting the loyalty and peaceable demeanors of the inhabitants of that part of the united kingdom.—The rebellion of 1798, with the numerous acts of atrocity committed since that period, and of which the newspapers continue to give the most alarming daily details, down to the present time; the passing of the insurrection bill; the keeping a large standing army in the island; which added to my own knowledge of the people, through the medium of a seven years residence among them; all tend in the strongest terms, to convince me that government does not place the most unlimited confidence in the above fraudulent assertions.—On the other hand, it has been asserted from respectable authority, that a French party exists in Ireland; if such should be the actual state of the case, what human foresight can penetrate within the veil?—Would any single one of the above assertors of loyalty and peaceable behaviour be answerable, at the expence of his head, that no serious consequences could possible arise from such existence?—Would he take upon himself to be answerable under the above forfeiture, that the British army stationed in Ireland will never be called upon to act offensively against their fellow subjects in arms?—Certainly not.—There is not a single member of the Imperial Parliament, that would be guilty of such a flagrant act of insanity.—No, no, Mr. Cobbett, though many people may be found base enough to

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deceive their sovereign, and the nation in general, yet, believe me, sir, they are careful how they deceive themselves.—During the late rebellion in Ireland, the difference of pensions paid to Chelsea and Kilmainham out-pensioners were of a very trivial nature, particularly if the latter resided in Ireland, where he had twelve pence for his shilling. The British soldier displayed his courage on all occasions from a consummate knowledge, that if the chance of war should deprive him of the use of a limb, or be otherwise disabled, he should be nearly on a footing with his brethren of Chelsea; there existed no animosities between the pensioners of the two kingdoms, tranquility and content reigned predominant!—How stands the case now?—An act of union between the two kingdoms since that period has taken place, through which the out pensioners of Kilmainham hospital, entertained the most lively hopes of their being placed on an equal footing with those at Chelsea; but a sad reverse has been the actual state of the case.—An act of the imperial Legislature, has placed a British militia-man, whose eyes never beheld a foreign shore, or ever fired a shot but at a dead object, and probably disabled in the act of robbing an hen roost, as the leading feature of the picture, where at his ease he smokes his pipe; while the Kilmainham pensioner after receiving the thanks of the King, Lords and Commons for his faithful service, is seen in the back ground, covered with scars, on crutches, with his 4½d. per day, in a degraded state,—begging; from the above statement of facts, is it reasonable to suppose, that a British soldier will, in future, act with that degree of spirit and energy, usual on former occasions; in a country, where probably fathers, uncles brothers, cousins or acquaintances point each to their respective scars, or hoary heads, with streaming eyes, and uplifted hands, bewail the ingratitude of a nation, once celebrated, and unrivalled throughout the known world, for its impartial care of disabled, and worn out veterans. From the commencement of the French revolution to the present day, it has been my fortune, or more strictly speaking, misfortune to have anticipated most of the leading features of the affairs on the continent, nearly as they have fell out; and can assure you, Sir, nothing would give me a more singular pleasure, than to be able to place my hand on my heart, and solemnly declare, that it was my opinion no evil could ensue from the neglect of advancing the pensions of the Kilmainham out pensioners; on the contrary, Sir, I believe it to be a measure pregnant with the most alarming consequences, and loudly calls for the interference of his majesty's ministers, to apply that balm which the nature and justice of the case may require. Trivial causes have often been found productive of the most alarming baneful effects, and from the discontented state of the Kilmainham pensioners resident in London and its environs, (which are not unknown to their Agent in Chelsea) little doubt can remain with respect to the situation of those in Ireland; where it is but reasonable to suppose, nine tenths of the whole mass, have fixed their residence; and probably three fifths of which are of the catholic persuasion, and dispersed through every city, town, village, and hamlet, within the island; having free access to the regular troops, militia and peasantry; to whom they are daily pouring out their complaints, which for my own part, I consider to be an evil of far greater magnitude, than the landing of 30,000 French troops, at a period when loyalty and unanimity in all classes of his majesty's subjects reigned predominant, and would exert themselves in the common cause; that of hurlidg destruction on the heads of their enemies.—That the above hints may be productive of the desired effect, is the sincere wish of a loyal subject, and while life continues to animate his clay, will never be ashamed, even in the face of his enemies, let them be men or devils, to acknowledge himself—A BRITISH VETERAN.

London 28th September 1807.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

DANISH WAR.

From the French official paper of the 20th September.

Copenhagen is in the hands of the English. It has capitulated 21 days after their landing in Zealand. Europe will learn with surprize that the city has fallen into their hands without the opening of the trenches, and solely through the terror of a bombardment. It is true, that the first effects were horrible; a part of the city is laid in ashes, a number of women and children killed, and the Danish General has judged that he was under a necessity to sign such a Capitulation.—Every thing induces a belief, that the Capitulation will not be ratified by the king of Denmark. The crown Prince has expressed the highest indignation that a General should enter into conditions, the nature of which is beyond the competence of a military officer to judge of. Already has he refused to see the English agent, Jackson, who presented himself before Kiel. He has declared, that

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he will continue at war with England, and that he will recover by force of arms alone, whatever has been wrested from him by surprize and treachery.—It is observable, that in the 7th article the English speak of union and harmony between the two states. It becomes them, forsooth, to propose that the Danes should love them! In fact, without a word said, without a pretence, without a declaration of war, even while at London all the forms of a genuine friendship were maintained with the Danish Ambassador; have they done no smaller mischief than to set fire to their ships and houses, and to carry terror and death into the bosoms of their peaceful families?—If such provocation do not excite an implacable war with England—if a sentiment of hate and vengeance do not inflame all, from the old man to the boy, from the admiral to the cabin bay it is all over with the Danish nation. They have resolved to make a vigorous stand, for the injury which their independence has received is without example in the history of the world. Human language has no expression equal to describe such an enterprize.—Denmark has acted a foolish part, and has had this in common with the continent, that she has always been distrustful towards France, and giving all credit to the boasting and pretensions of the upright Cabinet of London. Surely, if the Danish army had been in Zealand, instead of being on the continent, at the moment when the English made their appearance, the latter never would have had success. Besides the English ministry have not so much to boast of. What has also resulted from this expedition is, that it has injured England, and what also will be the effect of it, history will represent it as nothing less than a foolish cruelty. For what was its object? to prevent the French from making themselves masters of the Danish fleet: but could they do this while that very fleet lay locked up in the port of a distant island? And, if they had obtained possession of it, was it in their power to equip it, and conduct it to the harbours of France? Will they augment the English fleet by fifteen or twenty block ships, which are found in the arsenal of Copenhagen? But it is not ships which the English stand in need of. Do they hope to make themselves masters of the Sound, and to continue in possession of it, as of Gibraltar? But by the capitulation of the English General, he has bound himself to evacuate Zealand, and to make no attack on Fuhnen. Was it feared that France would increase her hostile means by all the power of Denmark? The means of preventing this were not difficult; either the Danes submitted to the threats of England, and then France took possesion of threefourths of Denmark; or they rejected with indignation the offensive demand, and thereupon no one could any longer doubt, from the noble character of the Crown Prince, and the courage of the Danish Nation, when excited by desperation, that it became necessary to take up arms, and to make a common cause with France. Besides even in both alternatives, this attack gave a new enemy to England, and it could not have been planned but by a foolish policy, or a secret hostility to the power of Denmark; pleasing demonstration to mankind, that an unjust attack is ever pernicious.—The English Cabinet could not have contrived any thing more injurious to its interests, or more calculated to rouse the indignation of Europe than this base act of treachery. Do they believe that they have delivered themselves from a disagreeable situation, by a capitulation extorted by force from weakness, from pusillanimity.—They have for ever lost the friendship of Denmark, and the respect of all nations. They can make no use of the ships which they have taken, nor can they retain Zealand. The season approaches in which the East and West Indies, Ireland and England herself, may be attacked, whil the greater part of her force will be in danger of being inclosed in the ice of the Baltic. Either the English will remain in Zealand, and be driven from it in the winter, whatsoever force their army may be; or they will evacuate it, according to the terms of the capitulation, and then the Sound is shut against them for ever.—Denmark has a land force capable of resisting all the attacks of the English, and had it not been for the false security with which she was inspired, while the views of France engaged her attention, there would have been 40,000 men at Copenhagen; and Lord Cathcart would have experienced, under the walls of that city, a reception equally memorable as that which fell to the Duke of York at Dunkirk and in Holland, and which the English are always sure to obtain whenever they venture to set foot on the Continent. Is it by taking the Danish fleet, by burning the capital, by attacking the independence, and violating the neutrality of Denmark, that the English ministers or their general pretend to preserve the neutrality of that country? One is indeed compelled to form as unfavourable an opinion of their foresight as of their justice. If they expect to maintain themselves in Zealand, they must assemble there an army of at least 80,000 men, and even that force

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would be insufficient.—But this attack will appear still more absurd and infatuated, if it be considered with respect to the effect which it must have on the powers of the continent, the hatred which it will arouse, and the vengeance which it will provoke.—The Emperor Alexander had offered his mediation to England. In return for this kindness, the English surprise the entrance to that sea, the independence of which he had guaranteed, taken by robbery the fleet, and the capital of a power with which she was united in the bonds of political friendship and neighbourhood. Thus the English repay the good offices which Russia has at all times done for them, the preference she has given to their commerce, and the immense sacrifices she has made to their policy! While they still might have obtained great advantages as the consequence of their connexion, they insult Russia in her honour, offend her in her relations with her allies, and attack her in her dearest interests. And in the dispute which they have created, they have made the respectable House of Denmark, which is related to the kings of England, the entire victim of their shameful attack. In vain will they endeavour to avoid indignation, by pretending that France had views against Denmark. If so, were they ignorant that they were committing a much more shameful aggression? But his interest, as well as his own glory, and that of his people, would have withheld the Emperor of the French from such a violation of the rights of mankind, and of the eternal morality of nations, the consequences of which would have been to re-kindle the flames of war, to offend Russia, and again spread fire and blood over the Continent. In all events, it would have been prudent in England not to have been the first to act in this manner. She had it always in her power to send her fleet to the Island of Zealand to defend it, and then she would have had on her side Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and the justice of her cause.—— When this expedition is thus considered in its object, its execution, and its results, we perceive in it only the desperate but blind policy of fear, which calculates nothing, heeds nothing, and respects nothing. How difficult will it be after all this to believe in the excellence of a constitution which authorises such transactions, or to admire the idle words of a parliament, which patiently bears with such injustice, and we may say such crimes.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Buenos Ayres.——*From the London Gazette Extraordinary, dated Downing street, September 12, 1807.*

(Continued from p. 575.)

A communication was opened with the army in the morning; they had stormed and taken possession of 4 guns, near the citadel. Bread, spirits, and ammunition were supplied from the ships.—On the 6th I directed the Encounter to endeavour to communicate with the army on the east side of the town, and supply them with what they might require. An hospital ship was likewise sent that way.——The Nereide was moored up as high as she could go, being in less than 3 fathoms, but still 9 miles from the town. At 1 P. M. I received a letter from Capt. Thompson, saying our affairs at the west end of the town were in a most distressing state, Brig. Gen. Craufurd and the whole of his brigade taken prisoners, and that a truce had been demanded and granted; at the same time requesting more transports might be moved up, in case it should be necessary to re-embark the troops.——I immediately went up to the Staunch gun brig, which was about a mile from the shore, and abreast of the post occupied by Sir S. Achmuty, and ordered the Medusa, Thisbe, and Saracen, which were left off Barragon, to come up as high as they could with safety. —Capt. Thompson, who was with the General, came off to me immediately, but was obliged to have a guard to protect him to the beach, although close to the gun brig; but it was dark. At 8 P. M. I received a note from Gen. Whitelocke informing me he had arrived there to see what more could be done by the gallantry and exertion of the army under his command, whose sufferings in every way had seldom, under any circumstances, been exceeded. Of one thing he was certain, that South America could never be English.—The inveteracy of every class of inhabitants was beyond belief. He wished to see me, as he had sent Gen. Gower to Gen. Liniers, in consequence of a letter he had received from the latter.—I cannot help taking this opportunity of saying how very active Capt. Thompson of the Fly has been, who placed the gun boats, which were commanded by Lieut. Fraser of the Medusa, and Lieut. Heron, of the Saracen.— Early in the morning of the 7th, the Staunch telegraphed to say I was wanted on shore immediately; a flag of truce was still flying at our headquarters. On my going on shore the General shewed me the proposals made by the Spanish General Liniers, (a copy of which I inclose,) and observed, that he was of opinion, as well as were the other generals, that

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it could answer no good purpose to persist, and that one great object was attained, that of getting all the prisoners back that had been taken in South America this war; that the destroying the town could not benefit us; and that he saw no prospect whatever of establishing ourselves in this country, as there was not a friend to the English in it; that the number of our prisoners the enemy had were in the power of an enraged mob; and that persisting on our part would make their situation truly distressing; the number of our killed and wounded, although not exactly ascertained, was said to be very great. Under these circumstances, and being persuaded that the people of this country did not wish to be under the British government, I signed the preliminaries, trusting that what I have done will meet their lordships' approbation.—I have directed Capt. Prevost, of the Saracen, to be ready to proceed to England as soon as Gen. Whitelocke's dispatches are ready, and to receive Sir S. Achmuty for a passage, with Col. Bourke, who carries the General's dispatches.——I have not yet had any returns from Captains Rowley or Joyce, who are still with the seamen that landed; but Lieut. Squarey, of the Polyphemus, who was with his men in the advanced brigade, I took off yesterday wounded, but not badly; he informs me that only one of his men is missing.—GEORGE MURRAY.

Head Quarters, Plaza de Toros, July 7, 1807.

Sir,——We have the honour to acquaint you, that actuated alone by the motives stated to you by Maj. Gen. Leveson Gower, we consent to the terms proposed——Officers shall be named to meet others appointed by you, to make immediate arrangements for the reception of prisoners, the embarkation of the British army, and other subjects.—— We have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) J. WHITELOCKE. G. MURRAY.

His Exc. Gen. Liniers.

Preliminary Propositions agreed for between the General of the English Army and that of the Spanish Army in the River Plata.

I. There shall be from this time a cessation of hostilities on both sides of the River Plata.—II. The troops of his Britannic Majesty shall retain for the period of 2 months from this date, the Fortress of Monte Video; and as a neutral country, a line drawn from St. Carlos on the West, to Tando on the East; and there shall not be on any part of that line hostilities committed on either side; and in that space all English delinquents shall be judged by the English military law, and all Spanish delinquents by the Spanish law. —III. There shall be on both sides a mutual restitution of prisoners, including not only those which have been taken since the arrival of the troops under Lieut. Gen. Whitelocke, but all those his Britannic Majesty's subjects captured in South America since the war.——IV. There shall not be any impediments thrown in the way of the supplies of provisions which may be required for Monte Video.——V. A period of ten days shall be given for the re-embarkation of his Britannic Majesty's troops to pass to the north side of the River Plata, with all their arms, cannon, stores, and equipage at the most convenient points which may be selected, and during that time provisions may be sold to them.— VI. During the period of 4 months no impediment shall be thrown in the way of the commerce of the British merchants.—— Answered—Inadmissible, because contrary to the Spanish laws.—I. Additional—When Monte Video is restored, it is to be uninjured, with the Spanish artillery originally belonging to it.—II. Additional—That there shall be mutually 3 officers of rank exchanged until the fulfilment of this treaty, it being understood that those British officers who have been in this country on their parole, are not again to serve in South America until they have been landed in Europe.

Nereide, off Buenos Ayres, July 10, 1807.

Sir,——Since my letter of the 8th inst. I have seen Captains Rowley and Joyce, who were landed with the seamen, and am happy to find 2 only are missing.——I mentioned Lieut. Squarey, of the Polyphemus, being wounded. The persevering conduct of Captains Rowley and Joyce, and the officers and seamen under their command, merits the highest encomiums. They had to drag the cannon for miles through the swamps, and the men were almost always harnessed to them. The General has, no doubt, expressed in his dispatches his thanks to them. —Capt. Prevost, who will have the honour of carrying the dispatches, will give their lordships any farther information; (I left the Saracen with some gun boats at Barragon after landing, lest it might have been necessary from bad roads, for the army to fall back); I beg leave to recommend him to their lordships' protection as an active, and very zealous officer.——I have the honour to be, &c.—GEO. MURRAY.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 17.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1807. [PRICE 10D.

"What asses were we, to expect courage from a capon."—BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN STATES.——It appears, from the newspapers, that Mr. George Henry Rose, a son of Old George Rose *so long* of the Treasury, is to be sent out to America upon a *special* mission (the son of Lord Erskine of Clackmannan remaining as before), and, that Admiral Berkeley is recalled from the American station.——As to the first, supposing the person to be sent a proper one, and that party interest and self-interest and personal and party revenge have had nothing to do in the choice, we can say, but little, except as to the unnecessary expense to the nation, because, as yet, we cannot know what the object of the mission is. From the circumstance of the negociation being put into *new* hands, I should be inclined to augur a proper result, were not this new appointment accompanied with the *recall of Admiral Berkeley*. This may, indeed, have been done from *party* motives, the family of Berkeley with all its interest being opposed to the present ministers in parliament, while Sir John B. Warren and his friends and connexions are on their side; but, whatever we may think of this motive, bad as it may be, the other motive, namely, that of appeasing the Americans, is a thousand times worse. It is most likely, that the ministers and their partizans will allege no motive at all; but will wrap themselves up in mysterious silence, and plead only their right to do what they have done. But, while we shall be at perfect liberty to ascribe the former motive to them, the vanity and arrogance of the Americans will not fail to insist, that they have been actuated by the latter. This will tend to heighten their tone; they will the more rely upon the exertions of their faction of fundholders here, and, therefore, the means of an amicable adjustment, upon the only terms which we ought to think of, will be greatly enfeebled. What an example is this, too, for the officers of the British navy! What an encouragement to do their duty, in maintaining their country's rights! What admiral, or captain, will, after this, run the risk of being sacrificed to political expediency? If indeed, the ministry were *explicitly* to declare, that they have recalled Admiral Berkeley, because he, in the latter part of his order to his captains, commanded them to permit the American captain to search their ships for American seamen, thus placing the two nations upon a footing of *perfect equality* upon the sea, I should applaud their conduct; but, as the recall now stands, without any such declaration as this, the conclusion of every one will be, that he is recalled, *because he has enforced the right of search*. . . . . I had written so far, when the king's proclamation, (which will be found below) dated on the 16th instant, and published in the Gazette of last Saturday, reached me. That proclamation leaves us no room to doubt, that, with respect to the point at issue, the ministers mean, not to *concede*, but to do what is much worse, to *evade*, and to *sneak* out of the question, without any decision at all. Upon this most curious document, I shall first insert the excellent remarks contained in the TIMES newspaper of the 19th instant; for, as far as they go, they contain my sentiments.——"His Majesty's Proclamation, which appeared in the Gazette of Saturday last, is, at the present crisis, an extremely important document; inasmuch as it makes us acquainted with some material facts in the existing state of the negociation between this country and America. This is the first moment at which any of the propositions on either side have seen the light: and there certainly is a degree of shamefacedness at their exposure to view, at their first coming into public, that indicates a consciousness on the part of their authors, that they are not quite so manly and energetic, as we had reason to suppose. The right of searching *national* ships for British seamen, is receded from; that of seizing them in, and taking them from, *merchantmen*, is retained; but we believe most people will find it necessary to read the third clause of the proclamation, in which these principles are contained, at least three times, before they will clearly understand them—such ambiguity is there in the expression, such timidity, and

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" want of what is called in colloquial idiom, " ' speaking out.' But further, we learn " from the clause just cited, that though " British seamen may not be pursued into " foreign vessels, bearing a national flag, " they may still be taken, if it be possible, " " *in transitu*," they may " be stopped, " and *made to stay*," as the proclamation " elegantly expresses, " when endeavour- " ing to transport and enter themselves into " the service of any foreign state." Now " let us apply this permission of detaining " them to an actual occurrence:—Lord J. " Townshend states, in his letter to Ad- " miral Berkeley, that the deserters from " the Halifax " were seen by him and " several of his officers parading the streets " of Norfolk, under the American flag." " These men, therefore, had not yet enter- " ed the Chesapeake; could they, by the " tenor of this proclamation, have been " " stopped, and made to stay," or, in " less technical terms, have been seized so " parading the streets of Norfolk, by the " crew of the Halifax? If they could, we " think the Americans will hardly be con- " tented with a concession on our part, " which respects the protecting power of " their flag at the mast-head, but still allows " us to violate and disturb the peace of their " towns, high-roads, and even houses.—— " Well, it not being allowed to search *na-* " *tional* vessels for British seamen, what " remedy does the Proclamation propose? " what redress for the grievances which may " thence accrue to Britain? Precisely such " remedy and such redress as were obvious " enough without the Proclamation, and " such as must, in their nature, be essen- " tially inefficacious, in the way of support " to our Navy. The British Captain who " suspects a deserter to be on board an " American ship, for instance (the Ameri- " can refusing to give him up), must write " to the Admiral of the station, the Admi- " ral of the station to the Lords Commissioners " of the Admiralty, the Lords Commissioners " of the Admiralty to the Secretary of State; " and thus, having ascended the ladder of " office in England, you have still to go " down another ladder of office in Ameri- " ca, before you can get at your deserter. " Can any man see, in this circuitous pro- " cedure, a glimpse of hope, that we shall " be able to prevent America from continu- " ing to allure British mariners into her " service? Several threats, indeed, are de- " nounced in the Proclamation, against the " unhappy objects of American seduction: " but of what weight will these be, or in " fact, of what weight have they been, (for " the Proclamation does not alter the law of " the land in this respect)——of what " weight therefore have these threats been, " against the offer of higher wages, and " the delusive promise of better treatment, " acting upon illiterate minds? One of " these denunciations of wrath against Bri- " tish seamen engaged in foreign service, is " of so singular a nature, that we cannot " help mentioning it: it is this, " if Eng- " lish mariners, so serving, should be taken " prisoners by any of the States of Barba- " ry, the British Consul at Tunis, or Al- " giers, shall not reclaim them!" We must " close our remarks, by allowing, in the " fullest sense, the many and weighty dif- " ficulties which attend our pending con- " cerns with America; but from the in- " sight which the Proclamation affords us " of the present state of the negociation, " we cannot think, though we greatly " hope, that those difficulties will be sur- " mounted, in a way beneficial or even " equitable to England. We should have " no objection to concession, provided it " would but conduct us to a clear and defin- " ed state of things; but such a concession " as leaves matters in the very state in which " it found them, must (as we know by expe- " rience), inevitably lead to incessant jea- " lousies, bickerings, and disputes, the " melancholy termination of which, will " be the very evil which it is thus attempt- " ed to avert. Suppose matters to be for " the present amicably arranged between " us and the United States, and the basis " on our part to be the concession contain- " ed in his Majesty's Proclamation above " cited; the most prudent conduct of eve- " ry British Commander on the American " station, will in future be, certainly to " prevent desertion, if he can; but if in- " stances do occur, neither to search for the " fugitives in American merchant vessels, " nor to claim them from ships of war, " but to bear his loss quietly; for most as- " suredly, the contrary conduct will, in " most instances, either involve his coun- " try at large, or himself personally, in an " endless train of squabbles and disquie- " tudes, of accusations and retorts, of " charges and denials; which, if the mat- " ter relates to himself only will end " in his recal; if to the British Go- " vernment, in fresh concessions, or direct " hostilities."——This will, assuredly, be the consequence. Our naval Officers will remember, that, for many, many years, the Admiral upon the Halifax station lived a very fat and quiet life, without attempting to make an exertion to recover British sea-

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men (thousands of British seamen), inveigled away by the Americans; but, that, the moment an Admiral came, who set seriously about preventing that evil, he was deserted by the government, and recalled; that is to say, *disgraced*, as far as it was in their power to disgrace him.——The proclamation, however, will have no effect upon Admiral Berkeley, who can produce his orders from the Admiralty to stop and search *all* foreign neutral vessels, *without any exception*, for British seamen. With this order the Proclamation is inconsistent; but, the order was in force first.——To be sure the blustering, at the close of the Proclamation, is ludicrous enough; but it is perfectly in character, and will pass for just what it is worth, and not a jot more. It will not prevent a single man from entering the American service, or the service of any other neutral state; but, on the contrary, will operate as an encouragement thereto, it being now *certain*, that when entered, they will be safe from our power.——But, seeing that this sneaking was resolved upon, of what use *to the nation* was it to appoint "George Henry Rose, Esqr." to go to America upon a special mission? of what use can that mission be to us? To him, indeed, it may be of great use. It will give him about four thousand pounds a year of our money, while he remains there; he will have an opportunity of seeing the country; and, when he comes back he will, *as a thing of course*, be settled upon us, *for life*, to the tune of two thousand, or, at least, twelve hundred a year, in addition to the four thousand a year, which, after the death of his father, he is to receive from us, *for life also*, as *Clerk of the Parliaments!* Mr. Erskine, will be coming home much about the same time. There will be a similar pension for him, for, probably forty years yet to come; and, then, hey for appointing another! And so on, pension without end. ——And these are the *vigorous* ministers! The poor hireling of the Courier, who thought that a stand was about to be made against the insolence of the Americans, and who had, accordingly, assumed a very high tone about the dominion of the seas, does, I must do him the justice to say it, seem ashamed at this falling off in his patrons; "but," says he, "it may be said, that, if "we insisted upon searching American "ships of war, they would insist upon "searching our ships of war;" forgetting, poor man, that in repeating my arguments, he had before maintained the *difference* between us and the Americans, and had asserted, that, though we had a right to search their ships, they had no right to search ours.——The truth seems to be, that there was a moment of vigour; a fit as it were; but that, the fit having gone off, the vigour evaporated along with it, and was followed by the native imbecillity of the body. I was all along afraid, that this would be the case; I have, from the first, expressed my fears of it; those fears are now verified, and I am now confirmed in the opinion, that all the "vigorous" measures in Europe, will end in another peace of Amiens, if not a worse, accompanied with a new batch of ambassadors and a new batch of pensioners.

EXPATRIATION.—— My correspondent, S. V. whose letter upon the expatriation of British subjects, I answered in the Register of the 10th instant, has made a reply, which will be found at page 610, in the last Register.——He now agrees with me, that *an occasional* allegiance and alienage would be mischievous; and he does not insist upon his former construction of the *law of England* touching this subject; but, in support of his principle, he makes use of an illustration, and quotes the opinions of Wicquefort and Vattel. As to these opinions, I have never *appealed* to them, I hold them to be erroneous, and I oppose my argument to them as well as to the doctrines of S. V.—— I endeavoured to show, that it was right, that every man should, all his life long, be held to owe allegiance to the *country*, in which he was born and reared up to manhood. There would be an exception, of course, to such as were born of alien parents; and I left undecided the point, whether, in extreme cases, such as that of our revolution, the subject might not withdraw himself from the authority of his *king*, or *government*. I insisted, that every man, during his infancy and youth, contracted an obligation with the *nation*; that the nation were not only prevented from killing him, or leaving him to starve with hunger or perish with cold or from want of care, but that they were *compelled* to nurse, cherish, support, and defend him; and that, therefore, it would be unjust in the extreme, for him to have the right to say, when he was grown up to manhood, I will now not only carry my talents and strength elsewhere, but when it suits me, employ them for the nation's destruction.——In reply to this S. V. says: "It seems to you to be the very "acme of ingratitude, because when I ar- "rive at manhood, I desert the services of "my *nurse*, who may, in my infancy, have "attended me; because, truly, I have been "in the nurse's arms, fed, administered "to, and unremittantly attended by her, it

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" is ingratitude in me, that I do not, all " my life time, continue in my nurse's arms. " Now, really, Mr. Cobbett, when I do " arrive at manhood, am I to be followed " by my nurse; is she to continue these " kind offices to me at a period when they " are no longer necessary; and, if I do not " submit to these tender kindnesses, am " I to be charged with a sin ten times " worse than the sin of witchcraft? Have " I not, without a liability to the charge " of ingratitude, a right to run away (as " you term expatriation) at the age of man- " hood from my nurse? Surely, her " power ceases, when I am able to " elect my place of residence, just in the " same manner as does the power of the " Court of Chancery, the guardian protec- " tor of infants."——Had not S. V. mentioned the Court of Chancery, whose proceedings are well calculated to awaken in one's mind the awful idea of eternity, I should have thought him in jest; for, it is almost incredible that a man so clever, as he evidently is, should, in sober earnest, have had recourse to such a sophism. For an illustrative argument to have any force, there must be no question upon the score of the analogy; and, what analogy is there here? What resemblance is there between the *nation* and the *nurse* with regard to the circumstances and effects under consideration? The nurse is, in due time and manner, *rewarded* for her services to the child; but are the nation rewarded, until he grows up to man's estate, and has, indeed, used his talents or his strength? The nurse comes *voluntarily* to his aid; but the nation are, some or other of them, *compelled* to support and defend him. The nurse, if he die in his youth, *loses nothing* by him (and the same may be said of his parents); but the nation lose all the food, raiment and labour that has been bestowed upon him. The nurse can, whenever she pleases, *withdraw* all her cares from the child; but the nation never can withdraw its cares, that is to say, the protection, the rights, and immunities, of the subject. S. V. complains, that I would not permit him to forego the kind duties of his nurse; whereas I object to the withdrawing of *his* duties from his country.——My argument, above referred to, requires, I think, a better answer than this; and, until it receive a better, I shall be contented to leave the discussion where it is.——I must, however, just notice, that the proclamation, above spoken of, has, in an incidental way, made the declaration, which S. V. was so anxious to obtain in the shape of a *law*, or a *treaty*. It seems to talk of nothing but *mariners* and *sea-faring men* (words of very indefinite signification), but, by the word *others*, introduced afterwards, the warning and declaration extends to *all British subjects* who may " have been induced to accept of " letters of naturalization, or *certificates of* " *citizenship*, from foreign states," and then comes this declaration, " that no such " letters or certificates do, or can, in *any* " *manner* divest our natural-born subjects of " their allegiance, or in *any degree*, alter " the duty which they owe to us." This is very right, and very proper to be said at this time; but, why not have placed the word *others* in the first part of the sentence, as well as in the last? Is it not notorious, that, where one mariner has accepted of certificates of citizenship, there are one hundred, at least, of merchants, manufacturers, land-jobbers, and fund-holders, who have made such acceptance? The declaration is, however, as to its effect upon legal decisions, complete; and, therefore, I hope we shall never again hear of a cargo being released, in our courts of admiralty, upon the ground, that the owner (a British subject expatriated) is become a citizen of the American States, which cargo would have been condemned, if the owner had been regarded as a British subject. For instance, an American ship is taken by one of our men of war, having on board a cargo of wine, going from France, the property of the house of Turncoat and Co. residing at Philadelphia, but native subjects of England; and, as all British subjects are forbidden to trade with the enemy, the cargo is good prize; but, in come the advocates of Turncoat and Co. and plead, that their clients are become *citizens of the American States*, and that, therefore, their cargo is not good prize. If decisions have, upon such a plea, taken place in favour of the captured, I hope we shall now hear no more of them; and, if our naval officers, upon the American station, look out sharp, and make a good use of the intelligence which may be easily obtained in those resorts of rascality, the sea-ports of America, they will, in a pecuniary point of view, not have to regret being placed upon that station.

POOR LAWS.——The only part of Mr. Whitbread's project that much has been said about, is that which related to the establishment of parochial schools, and that too would, probably, have been forgotten by this time had I not thought it right to resent the unjust aspersion upon the people of England, contained in the preamble of his bill.

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This has drawn forth a good deal of angry language from some of those Scotchmen, whose natural partiality is greater than their justice or their sense, and who, in indulging that partiality quite overlook the circumstance, that some degree of national partiality may be expected to be entertained by Englishmen as well as Scotchmen. Amongst the persons here described, my correspondent, SAWNEY, whose letter will be found in the present volume, at page 540, is, I think, the most conspicuous. He has now sent me another letter, by way of answer to my short remarks upon his former one (see page 531), a part of which last letter I shall here insert, leaving out more than two-thirds of it, which consisted of mere effusions of *wit* and *politeness*, which, as my readers have had a sufficient specimen of them, in his former letter, it would be waste of paper to commit to the press.——He appealed to an estimate of Lord Buchan, in order to shew, that Scotland had surpassed England in *increase* of population; and, without attempting to stir the question, whether either of them had *really increased*, I observed, that I could not submit to be decided by any loose estimate; and that the Lord Buchan was no better authority than Gregory King, who, in his famous estimate, preserved with such care in the archives of that wise and useful institution, the British Museum, was so minute as to include the number of *rabbits* in the kingdom.—Upon this "SAWNEY" remarks, that I question the *correctness* of Lord Buchan and Gregory King *only* because they were *too minute*. This is true in words, but false in meaning. I question their correctness because I find a statement in their estimates, of the correctness of which it was *impossible* that they could possess, or come at, any proof; and, finding this, I have a right to conclude, that the whole of the estimate is mere random guess. If, for instance, a man were to tell us, that he had ascertained the number of *flies* in this kingdom in the month of July last; should we not laugh at him? Should we cite his estimate as an *authority* wherewith to oppose an argument, built upon acknowledged, well-known, and undeniable facts? And to come at a knowledge of the number of flies is not *more* difficult than to come at a knowledge of the number of rabbits, because both are impossible.——But now for "SAWNEY'S" answer to my argument, founded upon the fact, that large sums of money were annually granted by parliament, that is to say, out of the fruit of the labour of the people of England, for the purpose of *furnishing food* and *making work* for the labourers of Scotland, in order to *prevent those labourers from emigrating to America*. This, I said, could not be denied, and, then I drew the conclusion, that the state of Scotland, with respect to its labourers, was not such as to be held up as an example for England; adding, that nothing ever was so outrageously impudent and insolent, as to charge the labourers of England with laziness and vice, and to bid to look, for an example, to the industrious and virtuous labourers of Scotland, and that, too, at the very time, when the former were compelled to give up part of the fruit of their labour to furnish food for the latter, in order to prevent them from wandering away from their country.——Let us hear "Sawney's" answer to this:——"I come now to "the grants of money you speak of, as "drawn from the people of England for "the support of the Scotch. This, I understand, is your *Crown* battery, from "which you are to maul us without "mercy—it is a *sunk* battery to me," [he will be *witty* still] "for the deuce take me "if I know what you mean. For my "part, I am not aware of any annual grants "made to Scotland, but what are of a very "*trivial* kind indeed.—Do you *allude* to "the money advanced by government to "further that *important* undertaking the "Caledonian Canal, which is to be large "enough to *float ships of war* from the "Murray Firth to the opposite side of the "island? I can only say, *I never understood*, that this pecuniary aid from the "public funds, was intended for the *advantage* of Scotland in *particular*; but on "the contrary, that it was expected, that "it shall produce considerable benefit to "the whole of the United Kingdom; and "although 70 or 80,000 pounds laid out "on a work of this sort should afford bread "to a few hundreds of *hardy, frugal-living Scotchmen*, it appears to me, that the "act is no less creditable to the authors of "it than another of the same kind is "honourable to the memories of those who "bestowed ten times the sum for the "building of St. Paul's Church in London, "at a time, too, when money was six "times more valuable than it is at present, "and all, very probably, for a purpose not "more substantial than to gratify the vanity of her *languid, gormandizing Citizens*.—In England, there are grants innumerable of this description; and yet "you choose to say, "Nothing, surely, "was ever so outrageously impudent "and insolent as this." Pray, Mr. Cobbett, what is it? You must not expect

" to tame us into a supple complaisance by " merely laying your hand on your hag- " gling rapier; *na, na*, come, sir, draw— " and you shall find that we are ready to " give you such a reception, as all rude " invaders of Old Scotia justly deserve. " —I am, Sir, yours, &c.——SAWNEY. " —*Peterhead, the 10th of October*, 1807." —My friend Sawney has adopted the mode of his countryman the advocate: " Hoot, " away mon! *admet* the foct for the sake " of the eargument, an' gin you fail i' th' " eargument, *quorry* the foct." But, " na, " na," this will not do " Sawney;" for though you *wittily* say, " the *deuce* take me " if I know what you mean by grants, annu- " ally made to support Scotch labourers, " out of the fruit of the labour of the peo- " ple of England," the *public*, who have read page 492 of this volume, know very well what I mean. I have there stated, that 70,000 pounds a year, has, for many years past been granted, out of the taxes of Great Britain, of which Scotland pays less than a *seventeenth* part, to *make work* for the labourers of Scotland; that 17,000 pounds a year has been granted to *send food* to the said labourers in kind; and, that both grants have been made *expressly* to prevent the labourers of Scotland from emigrating, that is to say, from wandering away from their country. Do you call this an " *allusion*," Sir?——As to the " *important*" work of cutting a passage for ships of war *across this island*, if accomplished, it would be an act of national *suicide*; but, there is no fear of that, and, besides, it is expressly stated in the report, upon which the grant is founded, that the *chief immediate object is*, to prevent Scotch labourers from emigrating. Mr. " Sawney " seems to think it no harm for his countrymen to get a little bread out of this 70 or 80 thousand pounds grant; but, Sir, it is that much *each year*; it has been so for several years, and there is like to be no end to it.——What resemblance is there in the case cited by him of the grant for building St. Paul's church and the case before us? The grant in the former case came out of the pockets of the people in whose country the building was erected, and if the work did gratify the vanity of the " languid and gor- " mandizing citizens," *they paid* for the gratification.——" In England," he says, " there are grants *innumerable* of this de- " scription." I not only *quorry*, but I *deny* the fact; and, let him, if he can, point me out one grant of the kind in England. All our roads, all our bridges, all our canals, are made and repaired by individuals, parishes, or counties; and, indeed, a man must have an uncommon stock of assurance, to assert, that money is granted, in England, that *innumerable* grants are made out of the exchequer, in England, to make work or to furnish food for the people, in order to prevent them from emigrating, such a thing never having been heard of since England was England.

PORTUGAL.——The affairs of this country seem to be in " *an unsatisfactory state*," as lord Castlereagh said of Europe, at the peace of Amiens. In fact, there is another royal government, which, in all human probability, is just going to expire; for, as to the Brazil adventure, it is so very romantic as to merit not a moment of serious attention. The royal family may *go* there, to be sure; but, what are they to *do* there? To reign? The idea is absurd.——The Morning Chronicle says, speaking upon the situation of Portugal, and the talked-of emigration of the royal family, " The *most* extra- " ordinary part of this *most* important affair " is, that the people are in the *most* perfect " tranquillity. They bear of the prepara- " tions by which they are to be deprived of " their sovereign, of their independence, " probably of their means of livelihood, " without a murmur. A stupid torpor has " lulled them into perfect acquiescence, and " they seem indifferent to the fate of their " country."——The people, doubtless, feel wonderful sorrow, at the prospect of being " *deprived*" of their sovereign; for, not to suppose that would be to expose one's self to the charge of being a Jacobin and Leveller; than which, of course, it is better to be thought a highway robber; but, though they may have very sublime ideas of *independence*, they cannot well be deprived of the " means of *livelihood*," unless it so happens, that the vineyards and the corn fields and the meadows cease to bear, upon the departure of the Royal Family, which is, indeed, possible, but not very probable. There is no effect without an efficient cause; and, *if* the feelings of the people of Portugal, upon this occasion, be what they are described by the Morning Chronicle, the writer of that paper may be assured, that the people are under very little apprehension of *a change for the worse*; for, if they were, they would not be perfectly indifferent as to the great change, which they see approaching. The people of Portugal may be very " *stupid*;" but, the most stupid creatures have sense and discernment enough to know what *they like*, and to perceive whether they are in the enjoyment of it. There are degrees in slavery, and in misery of all sorts; and, when you see any one perfectly indifferent as to a change that is about to take place, be assured that he is

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persuaded that that change cannot be for the worse. All the while that the farmer has hopes of getting in his hay in such a state that it may be of some use in the way of food for his cattle, he feels some degree of anxiety about the weather; as the showers succeed each other, his anxiety becomes less and less, till, at last, when he knows that what he called hay a week ago, is now merely muck, his anxiety ceases. A man, going to the gallows, would, for want of time to reflect, tremble at a thunderbolt striking the sledge; but, the Portuguese have had time to reflect upon the expected change; and, therefore, if they are in that state of feeling, or, rather, of want of feeling, which is so feelingly described by the writer of the Morning Chronicle, he may comfort himself with the assurance, that, in *their* view of things, the change would not be for the worse.——Mind, I give no opinion of my own about the effects which the change would have upon the people of Portugal, because I know nothing at all about the nature of their government, or the conduct and character of their rulers. I am, therefore, compelled to reason upon hypothesis; but, I think, I may venture to assert, that, if the people of Portugal are suffered to enjoy the fair fruits of their labour; if they are not ground down to the earth by a set of villains who have, by one means or another obtained the power of making them sweat drops of blood in order to support those villains in idleness and prodigacy; if the liberty of expressing their thoughts, either verbally or in writing, be not taken from them; if one part of them are not armed and stationed about the country for the purpose of keeping the other part in awe and plundering them without mercy, in order to fatten successive swarms of corrupters and peculators; if they have not seen honour after honour of their country bartered away for the advantage or convenience of those whose duty it was to maintain those honours, until they have nothing left worthy of being called a country; if this be *not* the case (and I never heard that it was the case in Portugal, notwithstanding that there long has been an English factory in that country, and necessarily great intercourse with it) then I venture to assert, that the Morning Chronicle is misinformed, and that the Portuguese are *not* so indifferent as to the expected change, as he describes them to be.——The principal cause of the successes of Napoleon has been a persuasion, in the people of the conquered countries, that no change could be for the worse. A reliance has been placed upon *armies*; but armies are always, when the hour of trial comes, the least to be relied upon, in such a state of things. While the enemy is at a distance, an army is kept in a disjointed state; if a regiment mutiny, two or three can be brought against it; and thus, while soldiers are used to overawe the people, they are also used to keep each other up to the sticking place. But, when the enemy enters, all is changed in a moment. The bands are all broken; and those who before haughtily *commanded*, are now reduced to *wheedle*; and, from the wheedling of soldiers, there is but one step to their revolt, especially when they have the people in general with them. The reliance, to be safe, must be upon the hearts of the mass of the people. There is no other, and, indeed, there *ought* to be no other, defence of governments.

Since writing the first article in this Summary, I have received the half-official defence of the Proclamation, the pitiful contents of which defence, I will remark upon in my next. It is misery itself. Never was any thing so shuffling, so mean, so despicable in every respect.——In the mean while, I think it right to insert, below, an excellent article upon the subject, from the Morning Post newspaper, protesting, however, against the sentiments of *the last two sentences*, except as far as they go in commendation of Admiral Berkeley. No; it will not do to attempt to *throw the blame upon the late ministers*. They had nothing to do with the matter. They could not *possibly* have any knowledge of the case. It is all the work of the present set, and pretty work it is! The ministers have, however, the consolation to know, that it has merited and received, the commendations of the Morning Chronicle; and certainly to silence the patrons of that paper was, in their usual view of things, an object worth a tolerably lumping sacrifice.

ON THE PROCLAMATION.

Taken from the Morning Post newspaper of the 20th inst.

The proclamation respecting British seamen engaged in foreign service, inserted in our paper of yesterday, is a document of so much importance as to call for some serious observations from us. We had expected that the firmness of the present cabinet, whose general conduct claims not only our commendation, but the gratitude of the country, could not have been brought to concede so strong and justifiable a right as that of searching any vessels, in case of positive information that British deserters were serving

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on board. To give up the right of searching neutral ships of war generally, is a totally different concession from that which relinquishes the right of search in the case of positive information that British seamen are serving on board a neutral vessel of war. Every nation that values its own independence, must be disposed to respect the rights of other countries, if it be actuated by principles of reciprocal consideration. The act of inticing our seamen to desert their duty, is manifestly an act of hostility against us, as, by diminishing our means of resistance to an enemy, it renders us less capable of maintaining our independence. Whilst the Americans, therefore, or rather the American government, not only permit but authorise such conduct, we cannot be readily persuaded to approve of giving up the right of searching their vessels of every description. If the right of searching ships of war generally were only conceded, we should not perhaps have objected to such an instance of moderation on the part of our ministers. But when it is notorious, from irrefragable documents, not only that the American officers receive our deserters, but that the American government, without any qualification, justifies the transaction, we cannot perceive any good ground for abandoning the right of searching even ships of war, in case of positive information that British deserters are on board. The exercise of such a right would, of course, and must depend on the circumstances of the case. If no deserters should be found, the officers exercising such interference with the flag of a neutral nation, would necessarily be subjected to the consequences of the act. But if it should be found, that, notwithstanding the assertion of the commander of the neutral ship of war, British seamen were by positive information proved to be on board, we do not see, how, consistently with the interests of this country, a British commander could avoid exercising the right of search. To concede the right generally, and to insist upon it under particular circumstances, are very different cases. Every Englishman's house is his castle, and must not be forced, unless under positive information, that its contents are exempted by law from domiciliary protection. Why then should we, as a nation, extend to the vessels of other nations, upon an element, on which we have rule, an exemption which we do not grant to the most favoured inhabitants amongst ourselves. The law of nations, if it have any influence on the affairs of great communities, must subject them collectively, equally with individuals under municipal regulations, to the principles of universal justice. It is no matter whether a subject conceal a traitor, or a neutral vessel a deserter, whom its commander enticed from his duty and allegiance; the right of search is the same, after ineffectual application for his surrender. The whole merit of the case turns upon the previous information, and the demand and refusal to give up the offender. Upon this ground it is that we do not approve of the terms of the late proclamation, or of the recall of Admiral Berkeley, who appears to us to have acted with all necessary moderation and forbearance. It is our opinion, that in both cases too much has been conceded to the Gallic party in America. Besides the recall of an excellent officer from a station, on which he had behaved with such judgment and firmness, may have very serious effect upon the conduct of other officers, who may hereafter be employed upon that service. The negligence of the magistracy of London during the riots in the year 1780, is said to have proceeded from the trial of a Surrey magistrate for his life, a few years before, for having done his duty on a similar occasion. If officers are to be exposed to recall and comparative disgrace, for having acted under difficult circumstances, to the best of their judgment, for the honour and interest of their country, there must be an end of our superiority at sea, and perhaps to our protection at home. For our own part, we must confess that we should have preferred the more decisive determination of making known to all powers, that our officers would seize and carry off British seamen, wherever they could find them, without caring whether they were on the territory, or on board the ship of a neutral power. Is it by pursuing a different line of conduct, that we can hope successfully to continue a contest with an enemy, whose uniform and studied practice it is to convert every thing that bears a neutral character to the advancement of his own perfidious views, and the consequent detriment of the essential interests of Britain? But it may be argued, that, by this concession, we accomplish a great object in adjusting our differences with America. For our own part, we never could bring ourselves to suppose that the Americans, notwithstanding their violence and abuse, would hazard a contest with us; and though our differences with America may be adjusted, we see no likelihood that the system of enticing and encouraging our seamen to desert will be done away, or even checked. By the proclamation, our officers are first to claim the men of the neutral captain! if he refuse to give them up, we are then to give notice to the British command-

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er in chief of the squadron under whose orders such officers are serving; the commander in chief is to transmit to our minister, resident at the seat of government of the state to which the said ships belong, or to the Lords of the Admiralty. Such a mode of proceeding, it must be obvious to every one, will apply but a slow and inadequate remedy to the evil; for, whilst the tedious process is taking place, the seamen will have sailed in the ships to which they have deserted, and even should they return to the ports of the power to which the ships belong, means will easily be found to effect the escape of the offenders, without any means of redress being left to us—a fatal instance of the mischievous tendency of our relinquishing any part of our long established right of sovereignty on the ocean. But, though we can neither approve of the concession thus made to the Americans, nor of the recall of an admiral who has so meritoriously deported himself, we must consider both as necessary consequences arising out of the wretched and pusillanimous policy of our late incapable ministry. They had gone so far in their concessions to the American government, and the public faith was so far pledged by them to the performance of such timid stipulations, that it might prove injurious to our national character, for any administration succeeding to the reins of government, to absolve the country from the wretched obligation, or avoid recalling a meritorious officer, who, on so important an occasion, had conducted himself with such ability, firmness, and sound discretion.

POOR LAWS.

Sir,—You take advantage of the preamble of a bill lately brought into parliament, to introduce some ill-natured, and, as I conceive, ill founded remarks on the Scotch nation. The bill professes to have in view the promotion of morality and virtue, and the formation of better members of society; and, it states that this end is to be attained by the instruction of youth. "Whereas the instruction of youth tends materially to the promotion of morality and virtue, and the formation of good members of society, as is exemplified in a neighbouring nation, &c." or words to that effect. I have read several letters to you on the subject, and your observations in reply. It appears to me, Mr. Cobbett, that in the *very outset* you have not stated the matter fairly, and that this has given rise to all the subsequent discussion. You lay hold of national pride and prejudice, and touch on points that have not, in my opinion, the least bearing on the question.—Why not simply prove that instruction does *not*, or *cannot* promote morality and virtue; that this is not exemplified in a neighbouring nation; and that Parochial Schools do *not* tend to convey the instruction stated to be so requisite. You attack the *wording* of the preamble, but you do not make these words the ground work of your observations. You forget your text, and make a commentary on some other chapter or verse. Instead of proving the falsehood of the proposition contained in the preamble, you proceed to describe a picture of domestic happiness in Hampshire. *A comfortable house, a neat and well trimmed garden*; an affectionate father, and a wife and children equally affectionate. Then you fly off into a comparison of population and taxation; the description of a Scotch cabbin; a bed of heath; a cale yard. All this is very fine, but is it to the purpose? It proves that the Hampshire man though he could not read or write, was moral, virtuous, and a good member of society; but, does it prove that there would not be many more such members of society if instruction were more general? The Scotchman, though he could both read and write had a poor hovel; a bed of heath, and a cale yard; but, was this owing to the time lost in his education, and is it not probable that this state of poverty was much alleviated by reading in his bible, that there is another and a better world? The preamble of the bill, which gives you so much offence, says not a word about superior industry, comfort, neatness, and cleanliness. I grant that in these respects the English are superior to any nation I know. Having said this much, I would wish to narrow the question to the *words* or *meaning* of the preamble, which has caused so much ill blood between you and my countrymen the Scotch; namely, whether the Scotch be really more moral and virtuous than their neighbours the English; and, if they are, whether this superiority arises from their better education or not? I was born in Scotland, and there spent the greatest part of my life. I have been at different times, and for many months together in various parts of it. I have been for some years over a considerable part of this kingdom, and have also been over a good deal of England. I have thus had an opportunity of comparing the *morals* of the three nations. I need not say to which I give the preference. My origin will at once inform you. But, Mr. Cobbett, if you will not believe *me*, will not the concurring testimony of all travellers who have been in Scotland have any weight? Will not their calendars of crimes, compa-

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ratively small, produce conviction? Is not a Scotch regiment, as you know, notoriously much less given to drunkenness and *marauding* than an English one? You attribute the increase of poverty and vice to increased taxation. I do not deny that a man who is poor has more temptation to commit crimes, than if he enjoyed comfort and independence; but, I assert, that whether poor or rich, in misery or in affluence, the more *uninstructed* a man is in *religious* and *moral* duties, the more is he apt to become unprincipled, and the more will crimes prevail. I will likewise venture to assert, that unless a man *can* read, he cannot be properly and effectually instructed in religion and morality. Going to church once a week, and hearing a sermon couched in fine language, one half of which he does not understand, will not, I apprehend, contribute much to enlighten him. The parents not able to read themselves, and not endowed with much eloquence, cannot convey adequate notions on the subject. But, you will say they hold up a good example, and example is better than precept. So it is, Mr. Cobbett, but both united are better than either separately. I agree with you that the great body of the people, labourers and mechanics, have nothing to do with *learning*, and that knowledge does not consist of *words*, but of *things, facts, ideas*. Surely, therefore, a man who can plough and harrow *as well* as his neighbour, and can at the same time *read*, has a *chance* of being better informed than the man who cannot read. I know that reading will not make a better ploughman or mechanic; but, I do think, that if *properly* directed by *parents and teachers*, as no doubt it would be, reading might have a very considerable effect in forming the morals. If religion and morality were carefully instilled into a young man from his infancy, to the period when he goes from under the eye of his parents into the world, (and this I have asserted can only be effectually done by learning him to read), I am of opinion that the impression would remain for a long time, and it is at this early and inexperienced period that vice makes its most successful approaches. You are of opinion, that the ambition of parents will induce a *sufficient* number to give their children a proper education; and that, therefore, they should be left to themselves. I am of the very same way of thinking, but then, I conceive that the *facility* of education should be granted: in other words, parochial schools should be established, that such as do choose may instruct their children, and every encouragement should be held out to them to do so. You accuse most of the Scotch who have written to you on the subject, of not answering your remarks on the grants of *public* money, to build bridges and make roads in certain districts of *Scotland*. Had I your abilities, Mr. Cobbett, I would not be afraid to meet you on this ground; but, I confess I do not see how it can affect the argument. Whether these sums have or have not been granted properly, the question of morality and virtue arising from instruction must remain the same. Were I so situated that I could make the proper references, or had I such a good memory, or such a good library by me as you have, Mr. Cobbett, I have no doubt but I could stumble upon grants of *public* money for the improvement of harbours, roads, streets, &c. &c. in *England*, and probably to a *much* greater amount than the sums you allude to.—I am your obedient servant,—DUN. SCOTUS.—*Ireland, Oct.* 10, 1807.

BAGGAGE WAGGONS.

SIR,—While my horses were baiting at a small inn in a village, I took up a provincial paper, and the first thing that caught my eye was an advertisement or notice, that in pursuance of the mutiny act lately passed, the quarter session of Hampshire had *ordered* the allowance to be increased to farmers, whose waggons or carts should be pressed to carry military baggage. I immediately thought that an innovation had been made in the former mutiny act, merely to put money into the pockets of "the landed interest," at the expence of the public at large. At the end of the next fifteen miles, I paid my annual visit to an old tenant, whose circumstances enable him to live very comfortably; and as he is not prone to grumble like the generality of farmers, I am inclined to give credit to what he says. I knew that his neighbourhood was usually filled with military, and therefore congratulated him on the increased allowance he was to receive. He shook his head, saying in a low tone scarcely audible, "I wish they would carry their own baggage." I observed he spoke this with more than usual earnestness, and as the pay was much greater per mile than he received for fetching coals for a friend of mine living in the neighbourhood, I pressed him to tell me why he was dissatisfied. "The truth is, Sir," he replied, "no pay they can fairly give us, will compensate for the mischief we receive. Why, Sir, this summer my crops though not quite so abundant as my neighbours, ripened exceedingly well, and were cut in as fine weather as a farmer could

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wish for, I had just begun to carry when a summons came for two of my waggons (I had but three) to be at a town three miles off early on the following morning, and there to take up military baggage, and carry it so far that my teams could not return till the day after. On the third day a drizzling rain set in, and continued (more or less heavy) for five or six days. Thus my harvest was retarded, and I was at the expence of keeping my harvest men at least ten days longer than I should have done, and the appearance of my corn is so much injured, that I must either submit to sell it at a very inferior price, or consume it in my own family. Another time they overloaded one of my waggons so much, that the best horse I ever had died in their service. And all this too, Sir, when at the very place where my waggons take up the baggage, there are not less than thirty or forty, sometimes more, horses with a proportionate number of waggons and drivers kept by government, doing nothing, except now and then carrying coals (for the contractor) to the barracks. The injury too they do a farmer in making his men restless and discontented is incalculable.—One would think, Mr. Cobbett, that to a government disposed, as I believe the present to be, to economy, it would be necessary only to mention an opportunity of saving expence, and at the same time relieving an industrious part of the community from an irksome service. But it has been recommended to some of our rulers, that the employment of the waggon train in carrying a part, if not the whole of the baggage attached to regiments passing within a reasonable distance from the stations where those corps are quartered, would be a considerable saving to the public at large, and to the farmers in particular, and yet no alteration has taken place.—Perhaps, the recommendation was not made to the heads of the proper department, and therefore was disregarded. It is certainly no easy matter for a plain dealing man to know where and how to recommend any improvement in the minor concerns of government. And, as no publication is so likely as yours to be read by the persons, whoever they may be, under whose superintendance such an alteration as I have alluded to, would come, I take the liberty of requesting you either to insert this letter, or to put my ideas on the subject in your own more forcible language, at your earliest convenience.——H. H.——*Oct.* 14, 1807.

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

Sir,——The subject of the laws and rights of nations being, in my opinion, much misconceived, permit me to use my endeavours to place it in its proper light. That nations have rights as well as individuals, and laws, too, cannot for a moment be doubted; but that these cannot be enforced nor observed with the same rigour as those of private persons, arises from the different relations which states and individuals bear to each other: in the one, the makers of the laws are the subjects of them; with the other there is a protecting power which can enforce their observance. The essence of every national law is, that it shall not bend to the will of any individual; the law of nations, on the contrary, is for ever liable to that unjust controul, and this it is which has caused some men to deny that it has any existence. The rights of nations, like those of individuals, arise from their acquisitions in society, and such is the nature of man, that it is not always requisite to scrutinise too severely into the origin of these acquisitions; though it is at all times justifiable to resist the encroachments of power, whether public or private; for, though time may legalize the acquisitions of conquest or fraud, nothing can diminish their original injustice. To deny the rights and the laws of nations would be to realize that savage state of nature, which has hardly ever existed but in the warm region of a poetical fancy, and yet to attribute to them any higher origin than the tacit or express conventions of society arising from a sense of interest, is to seek for, in metaphysical refinement, that which exists only in practical convenience. These maxims referred to the conduct of Great Britain in asserting the Dominion of the Seas, and violating the rights of neutral nations, will, I trust, justify her in a departure from the general principles of the laws of nations; which not being capable of being considered in any other light than a compact among a few individuals, cease to be binding upon the rest when they are so far violated by one as to affect their common or individual safety.——I remain, &c.—W. BURDON.—*No. 7, Somerset Street, Portman Square.*

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

Sir;—Because you have thought it right to insert do I feel myself disposed to answer the further observations of your correspondent R. R. who seems to be surcharged with ire in consequence of my having (under the supposition that it must have been owing to some mistake that his former letter represented him as talking about "Occupancy OR *first* possession") kindly agreed to accept his real meaning to be, Occupancy or *present* possession! Now, how-

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ever, that he solemnly assures me, that he meant *first* possession, I am bound to believe him, although all our lexicographers and writers good and bad, and indeed all men women and children (himself only excepted), foolishly suppose with me that the word Occupancy means not *first* but present or actual possession.—It did indeed appear to me, that if he actually meant *first* possession, two claimants, the one relying upon his having been the *first* possessor and the other upon the ground of his being the actual *occupant*, would, upon resorting to your correspondent's rule, be puzzled to ascertain to which of them it awarded the right.—But he says that "that rule being that occupancy or first possession confers right, he cannot see any puzzle in the business", and then he puts the following case to shew that all would be perfectly clear.—"If a ship (whose master is A.) occupy a certain station in the River Thames and is dispossessed of it by force by another ship (B. being her master) there are two claimants, the first occupant and present occupier."—We should I think expect to hear A. maintain that his ship had the first possession, and that therefore he was entitled under the rule, whilst B. with equal plausibility would reply, that self same rule says the right is with me as the occupant.—But, Sir, only observe with what consummate dexterity the framer of this wonder-working rule, in pronouncing judgement eclipses the renowned Solomon, whose fame suffers not less in the comparison with your correspondent than does that of Solon with the brewer and great modern law-giver Whitbread.—"My rule being" (says R. R.) that (what?) "that first possession confers right, the first occupant (A.) has the right," so that you see, Sir, he here finds it convenient to drop that half of his rule, under which B. would be entitled, and that rule is no longer OCCUPANCY or first possession, but *first possession only*.—"But," he proceeds, "if the first ship had left the station, and the other had taken possession of it, and the first had returned and claimed it, the present occupier (B) would clearly be entitled to retain it." Upon what ground? A. will say, 'you told me in the former case that I had the right, because your rule gives it to the first possessor, and, lo! I was in this latter case also the first possessor.' No, no, says the judge, you are not Mr. A. "because, in abandoning the station you relinquished your right to it, and it again became in common." How can that be rejoins A. seeing that when a man of the name of *Wroc*, asserted in opposition to your doctrine, that a first possessor could not transmit the right which he acquired by such possession; you, Mr. Judge, did positively assert, that "*it was never stated by you that the right ceased with the possession.*" You may, A. would probably add, tell me again and again, as you have done in p. 571, that "it is much better to resort at once to reason, for a rule to ascertain the justice or injustice of an action, than to resort to human courts;" but after the sample of reason which you have exhibited, I shall be foolish enough to seek for justice from a court and jury. Such, Mr. Cobbett, are the contradictions and absurdities into which these sticklers for the freedom of the seas uniformly fall!! Having after the above manner cleared the ground (as he says) from the impediments, your correspondent comes to the discussion of the principle of the right, and from his stile of "clearing the ground" it was to have been expected that his reasoning upon the principle would have beamed upon us with all the radiance of the meridian sun. He presumes that "I confound occupancy of "dominion with occupancy of the matter "which confers dominion," and says, p. 571, that "the distinction which he takes between dominion over the earth and over the sea is this, in the one the right to the sovereignty is acquired by the possession or occupancy of the soil itself, in the other case no right to the sovereignty is acquired, because the sea is *not capable of being actually possessed from its nature*"; but he some how or other forgets to point out the one thing needful, which is WHAT that quality in the nature of the sea is, which renders it incapable of being actually possessed and prevents one nation from acquiring a sovereignty over other nations with respect to it.—At present his assertion is a merely gratuitous one.—Although however the sea is incapable of being actually possessed from its nature, yet the gentleman contends that all nations have a right to it by occupancy! Nay, that a *certain portion* of this self-same sea may belong EXCLUSIVELY to nations!! What that certain portion is he does not, however, define, but it extends it seems "as far as "may be necessary for *navigating their ves-* "*sels*." Here again I must candidly confess that I am unable to comprehend what he means.—There is certainly something which intercepts the sun's rays, possibly my dulness. He surely cannot intend that as it is necessary, for instance, for the English, the French, the Dutch and many other nations to steer one and the same course in going to their respective settlements abroad, at least, for a considerable part of the passage, so the

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sea through which they *navigate their vessels* in going there belongs EXCLUSIVELY to *each* of them! If I were not afraid that he would call it an unwarrantable presumption (as he did my well intended supposition that he meant present and not first possession,) I should imagine his meaning to be that so much of the sea as any particular vessel covers for the time being belongs exclusively not to the nation to which the vessel belongs but to the owner of the vessel. But then we should be at sea again, for want of knowing *what* there is in the "*nature of* "*the sea,*" seeing that it admits of *partial occupancy* and of "exclusive right" as to a certain portion of it, which constitutes an obstacle to a dominion as extensive as we contend for.——Why, for example, may not the king upon this ground of occupancy, be entitled to the sovereignty of the Bristol Channel, because English vessels occupy it, as much as to the sovereignty of England because England is occupied by Englishmen. What is there, I ask, in the *nature* of the thing which stands in the way of the right? Let it not be understood, that I am placing our claim to the dominion of the sea, upon the ground of occupancy, for I have said so much upon it only to show that there is nothing substantial in the distinction which hath been taken.——The gentleman hath not ventured to touch upon that part of my former letter, where, (after showing that all the cases which he had stated were inapplicable to the point in dispute, inasmuch as the right there was, under the guarantee of some established law,) I brought the question to a focus in the following proposition:—Suppose, that when all things were in common, two individuals, or two tribes, were equally desirous of possessing any particular unoccupied spot or territory, natural reason would not dictate that it belonged to one of them rather than to the other; and there would be no established law in such a state, to be appealed to or to which either would be bound to submit? I asked him which he supposed would decide the point but FORCE? That question he has not attempted to answer.—It shall be conceded to him that the sea was, like the earth, originally in common and (for argument's sake) that the sea unlike the earth did not "from its nature" admit of a sovereignty being acquired in it by occupancy merely; would it follow that this nation cannot have acquired a right to such a sovereignty by any other means or upon any other ground? Is the writer ignorant that other nations have fought and struggled hard with us in order that they might *themselves* possess that very sovereignty which we have conquered? Is he indeed ignorant that after such a contest, RIGHT to the object contended for, is *with the conqueror*? Does he discern aught of reason or natural justice in the outcry raised against us by the vanquished nations for maintaining that dominion which they strove to secure for themselves, and which they will contend for once again if by suffering that dominion to slacken in our grasp they discover any chance of success? Why did he not, I ask him, join issue with me upon the proposition which I laid down instead of evading it by the subterfuge that that proposition formed a part of what was said about the "expediency of the measure?" When in a farm yard I have been an observer of a battle between two cocks, it has often amused me to see one of them after being beaten and after running from his opponent as fast as his legs could carry him, stop when at a safe distance and *crow* defiance. So, Sir, does this Mr. R. R. after having fled from the argument with all due speed stop all at once and like the worsted cock ask, "If I still hold out?" He asks me also, if after what he has advanced I will "insinuate that reason is not the best "rule to determine whether the dominion "of the sea is just or unjust?" To which my answer is, that I never insinuated any thing to the contrary.—What the deuce should decide the point as to the right (in the absence of positive law) but reason? The question is, as between ourselves, who has the true conception of the thing, he with his reason or I with mine? Why did he not apply his reason in commenting upon the proposition which I stated in my last letter?—He assures me that it is much better to imbibe reason "at the pure source of "the stream." I thank him heartily for his information, and in return advise him sincerely before he writes a third time against our right to the Dominion of the Sea, to repair once more to that same stream, and (as the common people say) mend his draught.—I remain, Sir an admirer of your patriotic exertions and your well wisher. ——WROC.——*Lincoln's Inn, October 21.* 1807.

THE ARMY.

SIR,——I believe it has excited the surprise of a great part of the community, that ministers have not before this time carried, either Mr. Windham's, or some other permanent plan into execution for the defence of the country. No one will deny, but that the situation of Europe at present, imperiously calls for a measure, the effects of

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which are to be in some degree co-existent with the other branches of our constitutional law. The advantages derived from an institution when once established, are great in proportion as the plan is persevered in. It assimilates with the spirit and character of a nation, its operation is steady and uniform, and the benefits obtained from it lasting and durable. Measures of expediency, without any reference to their ultimate effects, are always hurtful in as far as relates to internal government. They have a tendency to throw a country into an unnatural state, which time reduces to its true level; they render the constitution sickly and feeble; give it an artificial strength during their operation; and when that ceases the state falls below the common standard of health and security. The operation of great and permanent principles should alone be permitted in legislation: it is never well administered when left to the uncertain effects of transitory causes. The many military plans and regulations we have had in this country for some years back, have for these reasons appeared to me prejudicial and improper. Excepting Mr. Windham's late measure with regard to the levée en masse, which has not yet been acted upon, none of them seem to possess the character of what may be called, a general and comprehensive plan.—There is something peculiarly absurd in the idea, of our supporting a regular land force, sufficient to repel an enemy determined to invade us; and, at the same time, to protect our numerous colonies. Our limited population, our manufactures, the state of our finances, and the extent of coast to be guarded; all conspire against such an opinion. France is a military nation, has existed for many years by conquest, and has on foot a larger army than the aggregate force of many of the European states put together. We have to support a large marine, which necessarily gives employment to many who would otherwise become soldiers. Our attention is divided betwixt the army and navy, which makes the institution of both more imperfect than they would otherwise be.—France, on the contrary, deprived of a navy, devotes her whole attention to the perfection of her military force; and the wars she has been engaged in since the revolution, has brought it to as high a pitch of excellence, as perhaps it will admit of. It is also worthy of remark, that the conscripts which she has successively drawn from her population, to increase and fill up the deficiency of her armies, have in the course of a very short period of time (from the capacity and diligence of her officers) fought by the side of veterans, who have been constantly in the field, since the commencement of the revolutionary war. We have been for many years alarmed with fears of invasion, and are still, and will be, in all probability, continually exposed to them, while France is our rival and a military nation. What I would propose, therefore, in order to counterpoise in some degree her large army, is a permanent plan of defence capable of producing such a force, as to render us secure against external threats and attacks. This force, from circumstances arising from the peculiarity of our situation, cannot be regular; it must not be composed of men whose services are voluntary; it must be a force, embracing a great part of those capable of bearing arms, supported by law, and subject to the military code while in the field. A large force is indispensable, in order that we may be enabled to draw to one point, as great a number of men as possible in the least possible time. We do not know on which side we may be attacked, it is, therefore, necessary that we should be well defended on all sides. If an invading enemy once obtains an advantage, it will be found difficult to deprive him of the benefits arising from it. The consternation it causes insures his future success. If we cannot oppose him at first with a force equally efficient with his own, we must supply this defect by the superiority of our numbers. The force I allude to, as one to be adopted, is a numerous militia. To consist of at least six hundred thousand men, to be constantly maintained both during peace and war. To be ballotted for annually, or every two years. Those who have served for one period, to be subject also to the ballot for the next; and all deficiencies to be supplied in the same manner. This force should be mustered and exercised, at least once every two weeks during war, and once every month during peace. Half-pay officers, and military men, incapacitated from engaging in actual service, would easily be induced to undertake the discipline of it for a small compensation. While in the field the strictest order ought to be observed, and all offences punished without respect to persons. Military exercises should also form a part of the education of our youth at all public schools. It is unnecessary to enter further into detail, as it would be only repeating what has already been adopted with regard to similar measures. Many arguments arising from our situation, I am aware may be offered against a plan such as I have above hinted at. But, all will readily acknowledge, that security ought to be the first object of a nation, as it

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is the first principle of the social union. What signifies our laws, liberties, and a constitution the envy of the world, if we cannot preserve them? It will be said, that such a force could not be very efficient. It must be admitted, that it would not be equal to a regular force; it would, however, be better than a volunteer one. But, are we to have no military force at all, because we cannot have one so perfect as we would wish? I am convinced, that were some such plan to be adopted, and to become as permanently established and observed, as any other part of our constitution, that the happiest effects would result from it, both to our security and prosperity. In the ancient republics, a citizen was also a soldier, when the necessities of the state required his services; and although, I will allow, that there is a great difference, betwixt their situations and those of the nations of modern times; yet, it is not so great as to render what was practised by the former, incompatible with the circumstances of the latter. We all know what commotion it made in the country, when France after the breaking out of the present war, threatened us with invasion. All who witnessed the effects of that threat, must be astonished that no step has yet been taken to render us permanently secure.——R. M.——*Oct. 7, 1807.*

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

RIGHT OF SEARCH.—*By the King, a Proclamation, for recalling and prohibiting seamen from serving foreign princes and states.*

GEORGE R.——Whereas it hath been represented unto us, that great numbers of mariners and seafaring men, our natural-born subjects, have been enticed to enter into the service of foreign States, and are now actually serving as well on board the ships of war belonging to the said Foreign States, as on board the merchant vessels belonging to their subjects, notwithstanding our former Proclamation, recalling them, contrary to the duty and allegiance which our said subjects owe unto us, and to the great disservice of their native country; we have, therefore, thought it necessary at the present moment, when our kingdom is menaced and endangered, and when the maritime rights, on which its power and greatness do mainly depend, are disputed and called in question, to publish, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, this our Royal Proclamation:—We do hereby strictly charge and command all masters of ships, pilots, mariners, shipwrights, and other seafaring men, being our natural-born subjects, who may have been enticed into the pay or service of any foreign State, or do serve in any foreign ship or vessel, that, forthwith they and every of them do (according to their bounden duty and allegiance, and in consideration that their native country hath need of all their services), withdraw themselves, and depart from and quit such foreign services, and do return home to their native country; or do enter on board such of our ships of war as they may chance to fall in with, either on the high seas, or in any rivers, waters, havens, roads, ports, or places whatsoever or wheresoever.—And, for the better execution of the purposes of this our Royal Proclamation, we do authorize and command all Captains, Masters, and others, commanding our ships and vessels of war, to stop and make stay of all and every such person or persons (being our natural born subjects), as shall endeavour to transport or enter themselves into the service of any Foreign State, contrary to the intent and command of our Royal Proclamation, and to seize upon, take and bring away, all such persons as aforesaid, who shall be found to be employed or serving in any foreign merchant ship or vessel as aforesaid: but we do strictly enjoin all such our Captains, Masters, and others, that they do permit no man to go on board such ships and vessels belonging to States at amity with us, for the purpose of so seizing upon, taking, and bringing away such persons as aforesaid, for whose discreet and orderly demeanour the said Captains cannot answer, and that they do take special care that no unnecesary violence be done or offered to the vessel, or to the remainder of the crew, from out of which such persons shall be taken:—And in case of their receiving information of any such person or persons being employed, or serving on board of any ship of war belonging to such Foreign State, being a State at amity with us, we do authorize and command our Captains, Masters and others commanding our ships of war, to require of the Captain or Commander of such foreign ship of war, that he do forthwith release and discharge such person or persons, being our natural-born subject or subjects; and if such release and discharge shall be refused, then to transmit information of such refusal to the Commander in Chief of the squadron under whose orders such Captain or Commander shall be then serving, which information the said Commander in Chief is hereby strictly directed and enjoined to transmit, with the least possible delay, to our Minister residing at the seat of Government of that State to which the said foreign ships of war shall belong, to our Lord High

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Admiral, or Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for the time being, in order that we, being apprized of such proceeding, may forthwith direct the necessary steps to be taken for obtaining redress from the Government to which such foreign ship of war shall belong, for the injury done to us by the unwarranted detention of our natural-born subjects in the service of a foreign State:—And whereas it has further been represented unto us, that divers mariners and seafaring men, our natural born subjects, have been induced to accept letters of naturalization, or certificates of citizenship, from foreign states, and have been taught to believe that, by such letters or certificates, they are discharged from that duty of allegiance which, as our natural-born subjects, they owe to us; now we do hereby warn all such mariners, seafaring men, and others, our natural-born subjects, that no such letters of naturalization, or certificates of citizenship, do, or can, in any manner, divest our natural-born subjects of the allegiance, or in any degree alter the duty which they owe to us, their lawful Sovereign. But, in consideration of the error into which such mariners and seafaring men as aforesaid may have been led, we do hereby publish and declare our free pardon to all such our subjects, who, repenting of the delusion under which they have acted, shall immediately, upon knowledge of this our Royal Proclamation, withdraw themselves from foreign services, and return to their allegiance to us; and we do declare that all such our subjects, who shall continue in the service of the foreign states, in disregard and contempt of this our Royal Proclamation, will not only incur our just displeasure, but are liable to be proceeded against for such contempt, and shall be proceeded against accordingly; and we do hereby declare, that if any such masters of ships, pilots, mariners, seamen, shipwrights, or other seafaring men, being our natural-born subjects, shall be taken in any foreign service by the Algerines, or other Barbary powers, and carried into slavery, they shall not be reclaimed by us as subjects of Great Britain.—And we do further notify, that all such our subjects as aforesaid, who have voluntarily entered, or shall enter, or voluntarily continue to serve on board of any ships of war belonging to any foreign State at enmity with us, are, and will be guilty of high treason; and we do by this our Royal Proclamation declare, that they shall be punished with the utmost severity of the law.—Given at our Court at the Queen's Palace, the 16th day of October, 1807, and in the 47th year of our reign.—GOD SAVE THE KING.

COBBETT'S

Parliamentary Debates.

The Ninth Volume of the Parliamentary Debates, comprising the period from the 5th of March to the close of the First Session of the Fourth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on the 14th of August, 1807, is ready for delivery. In the Appendix to this Volume will be found the First and Second Reports of the Committee of Finance, the Report on the Commercial State of the West Indies, and the Annual Accounts relative to the Finance and Commerce of Great Britain and of Ireland—documents which are not to be met with in any other work extant. Complete sets from the commencement in 1803, may be had of the Publishers, and also of Mr. Archer, Bookseller, Dublin.

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OF

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*** The magnitude of the Parliamentary History, the great labour and expense attending it, and the comparatively small number of copies, which, to avoid serious risk, it has been thought advisable to print, render it necessary, thus early, to adopt precautions calculated to prevent any broken sets remaining on hand at the conclusion of the work. A copy, therefore, of this Notification will be attached to, or delivered with, each copy of the THIRD Volume, and no person can be permitted to purchase the FOURTH Volume, unless he produce to the publisher the said Notification; which, and which only, will be considered as a satisfactory proof of his having purchased the former Volumes.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 18.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1807. [PRICE 1OD.

"But, amidst this exultation, I must confess, that I am continually haunted with fears, that, by-and-by, "all of a sudden, we shall find that this vigour is a momentary flash, and that, at bottom, these ministers, like all the former, for many years past, will be ready to give up the rights of their country, if they "should find it necessary to the preservation of their places."——POLITICAL REGISTER, Sept 19, 1807, page 426.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN STATES.——As the King's *Proclamation*, lately issued, relates, as to its object, solely to the American States, it will be best to continue this title to the articles, wherein that famous document is treated of.——Some remarks were, in the preceding number, offered upon the proclamation; but, after those remarks were written the demi-official defence of it has appeared in the Courier news-paper, which defence I shall, long as it is, first insert; because, not only is it fair to communicate to my readers what has been said on the side opposite to that which I take, but, it is useful to have such papers upon record, without which they could not, at any future period, be referred to. "As a difference "of opinion seems to prevail with respect "to the late Proclamation issued by Government, it appears to be necessary to "submit to the public the following observations.——In the first place, however, "it may not be improper to bestow a word "or two upon those who have stopped to "criticise particular expressions in the Proclamation, and to whom the detection of "an inelegance of expression seems to have "afforded peculiar satisfaction. The words "'make to stay,' which have shocked the "ears of those delicate critics, will be found "in all the Proclamations which have been "published for the last century. 'They "are the words of our fathers, and the "children have not forgotten them.' It "may serve too to abate the anger of these "critics to shew that the paragraph relative "to the Algerines has been invariably used "in all proclamations for recalling seamen "for the last 100 years. And surely it is "not now so absurd a clause as it was during the greater part of that period, now "when the Americans are a separate nation, trading largely with the Mediterranean, and being often the objects of the "hostility of those Corsair Powers? If we "are asked why our ancestors held out this "menace? we can only reply that they "knew the characters of their countrymen "——they knew that the idea of bondage "was worse than death; and that to hold "out the probability of slavery without redemption, was to present to the mind of "an Englishman a picture of intolerable "misery.——The late Proclamation has "been viewed as a concession to America, "as an adjustment of the differences with "America, as a sacrifice of the national "honor and security. We were informed "yesterday, and with pleasure we heard it, "that the mercantile interest, conceiving "it to be a concession to America, were "displeased with it. With pleasure we "heard it, because it served to strengthen "us in the opinion we have ever maintained, that the patriotism of the monied interest has not, as some simpletons have "told us, decreased in the ratio of the increase of their wealth, and that they have "indeed been ignorant of the character of "British merchants, who characterized "them as preferring their interest to the "honor of the country, and ready to sacrifice the grand principles upon which "the glory and greatness of the nation rest "to the sordid principle of gain ——The "Americans have so few ships of war that "they can care less about our searching them "than our searching their merchant ships "—and if they have felt, or affected "to feel a great sensibility and sense of "wounded honour at the affair of the *Chesapeake*, it is less, we suspect, because "they supposed we were exercising a principle we had never exercised before, than "because they hoped by the display of "their passion and their regret to surprise "us into concessions upon the question of "the search of their merchant ships. That "is their sore and tender point—they "would, we have no doubt, abandon their "objections to our searching their ships of "war, or indeed give us up their ships of "war, if we would consent to let their "merchantmen pass unvisited and unsearched. But let us see how the ques-

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" tion would have stood had we maintained " the right of searching ships of war. Some " there are, we know, who are for search- " ing all ships, because we are masters of " the seas, and for not suffering any other " power to exercise the same right against " ourselves—there is something imposing " in the idea. But could we always pre- " vent Americans searching our ships of " war? True we could, if our immense " naval superiority could always be brought " to bear at every point. But might it not " happen that an American frigate might " meet with an English sloop, and insist " upon exercising the same right which a " superior British force would have exercis- " ed against the American? No British " sloop would we are sure, permit a foreign " Power to search her. No. She would " nail the flag to the mast and go down ra- " ther than permit it. Here then, fresh " disputes would arise, and the principle " would be the fruitful source of acrimony, " vexation, and probably of War. We " have thus put the case, and shewed the " operation, of the principle of our insisting " upon the right of searching ships of war " of neutral nations without allowing them " a reciprocal right. Let us put the case " the other way, and suppose that we ne- " gociated upon the principle of allowing " the right of search of ships of war to be " reciprocal. We desire to visit and search " for British seamen, about six or eight " frigates, the whole of the American Na- " vy; and to accomplish that desire, we are " to allow the Americans to search our nine " hundred sail, a sixth of which are ships " of the line! Are we to suffer an Ame- " rican frigate to overhaul a British ship of " the line? We see the indignant counte- " nances of our readers, at the bare sug- " gestion of such an idea. How were mi- " nisters to act then: if they claimed the " right for us, without allowing it to be " reciprocal, they could not have in all " places, at all times, a force that should " be so superior as to prevent the Americans " from enforcing the search against us. " Hence disputes and hostile proceedings " would certainly and perhaps not unfre- " quently arise. If they claimed the right " and allowed it to be reciprocal, they " would, for the sake of searching six or " eight frigates, yield up the whole Bri- " tish navy to an American search.——But " it is represented as a concession to Ame- " rica—as a new system upon which we are " to act. During and before the 17th cen- " tury, the instructions to our officers were " to search all ships, without making any " distinction between merchantmen and " ships of war. During the last century, " nay, from the commencement of the " reign of King William, the instructions " to search ships of war were omitted. " Which of the two modes of proceeding " were to be followed—the former or the " latter?—the latter it may be said being " nearer our own times, was more likely to " be congenial to the present state of the " world—(We beg here that we may not " be supposed to have abandoned our opi- " nion with respect to the search of the " Chesapeake—it was a case sui generis— " it stands by itself: there was great pre- " vious provocation on the part of the Ame- " ricans—a daring defiance of our power— " an overbearing insolence, accompanied " with declarations which we know to be " false; the men had been paraded under " our very noses and carried off in triumph " on board the American). There are some, " who, in representing the proclamation as " a concession, seem to wish to have it un- " derstood that ministers had ordered Ad- " miral Berkeley to enforce the search of " American ships of war, but that, finding " the effect it had produced, they had since " revoked the order. The fact is, that it " formed no part of Admiral Berkeley's " orders or instructions—that it was his " own act.—But why, it may be asked, did " ministers bring forward the prohibition to " search neutral ships of war so prominent- " ly now? In the first place let it be re- " collected that they accompanied that pro- " hibition, with as prominent an expres- " sion of their determination to search mer- " chant ships. They wished, no doubt, to " give notice to the American government, " that they should make all questions relative " to the enticing or receiving British seamen " on board American ships of war, ques- " tions as between government and govern- " ment—that, according to the degree in " which that system was adopted, they " would make it either the cause of re- " monstrance, perhaps even of reprisal if " necessary, or even should the system be " pertinaceously persisted in, of war.— " Every one must see that however govern- " ments may be ignorant of what passes on " board merchant ships, they cannot be ig- " norant, and are therefore responsible for " the conduct adopted by their ships of " war, the names of the officers in which, " and the quality and description of their " crews, cannot be unknown to them.—— " Ministers no doubt wished also to separate " the two points of searching ships of war " and merchantmen, and to mark in a

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" broad and distinguished manner their de-
" termination not to abandon the right of
" searching American merchantmen which
" swarm on the seas, and are perhaps as
" 500 to 1 when compared with the num-
" ber of their ships of war.—They might
" desire too to prove to the American go-
" vernment, that whatever might be their
" feelings or determination with respect to
" the affair of the Chesapeake, not the
" smallest idea of making any sacrifice or
" modification of the right of searching
" merchant ships, entered into those feel-
" ings or that determination. When per-
" sons talk of concessions to America, let
" them recollect that part of the proclama-
" tion which relates to letters of naturali-
" zation, or certificates of citizenship from
" foreign states, and which lays down the
" principle, that no such letters or certifi-
" cates shall or can divest British seamen of
" their allegiance to their lawful sovereign.
" This is the first time, we believe, that
" this principle has been broadly laid down
" in any proclamation.——And now with
" respect to the idea that this proclamation
" is to be considered as conceding so much
" to the Americans, that the differences
" may be considered as adjusted between
" the two countries. Ministers certainly
" did not intend this prohibition to search
" ships of war as any concession—they no
" doubt weighed the subject maturely, and
" they felt that they could not allow a reci-
" procal right without making the balance
" of advantage infinitely on the side of
" America. It is not by any means to be
" considered as an adjustment of the dif-
" ferences with America—if it were, if the
" American ministers had thought it so,
" why have not long ago the negociations
" been brought to an amicable conclusion
" in this country? It were impertinent
" for us to pretend to know any thing of the
" progress of the negociations or of the
" state in which they are; but as ministers
" were no doubt ready long since to have com-
" municated to Mr. Munro or Mr. Pinck-
" ney their determination not to claim or
" enforce the right of searching ships of
" war, the negociation would have, 'ere
" this, terminated, had America resolved to
" content herself with that determination?
" Besides, if the proclamation could be
" considered as tantamount to an adjustment
" of the differences between the two coun-
" tries, why, it may be asked, is Mr.
" Rose going on a special mission to Ameri-
" ca? Of the nature of that mission we
" cannot, of course, know any thing, but
" surely it requires no great sagacity to dis-
" cover that it must have some relation to
" the points in dispute between the two
" countries. That the Americans will not
" hazard a contest we have always been of
" opinion; but we do not think by any
" means that the proclamation is to be con-
" sidered as any adjustment of our dif-
" ferences with them."——In order to get the rubbish out of the way, and to clear the ground whereon to remark upon the contents of this article, as a defence of the proclamation, we will first dispatch the concluding part of it, wherein we are asked, " why, if the proclamation is to be consi-
" dered as an adjustment of the differences
" with America, Mr. Rose is now sent up-
" on a special mission thither?" Aye, *why*, indeed, is he sent thither, whether the proclamation is to be considered as an adjustment of the differences, or not? But, this question should be put to old George Rose and the rest of the set. We, who shall have to pay so dearly for the travels of the reversionary Clerk of the Parliaments, cannot tell, or guess, what use *to us* the mission can be of; and, it is most grossly insolent to produce as a proof, that the proclamation is wise and vigorous, that we are to pay for sending a man to America to explain it to the government of that country. One of the faults, that has been complained of, is, that the proclamation, while it evades and shuffles and blusters and whines, *settles* nothing; and, in answer to this complaint, which is a very heavy one, we are bid to look at a proof of the truth complained of, and, in that proof, to behold a considerable and lasting addition to our taxes.——Taking the defence, now, in its due order, the verbal criticism is the first point that attracts our notice. The use of the phrase " make to stay" is justified upon the ground of their having been made use of heretofore upon all similar occasions; and then the defender breaks out in a sublime and pathetic quotation: " They are the words of our fathers, " and the children have *not forgotten* them." What! *make to stay*? Oh, the wonderful merit of having remembered that noble saying of our fathers, *make to stay!* Nay more, " *stop and make to stay*"! Oh! dear, glorious and ever-memorable words, the blessed bequest of our gallant fathers!—But, there were *other* " words of our fathers," which this defender and his clients seem to think may as well be pretty completely forgotten. Our fathers, for instance, contended, and maintained, that England had a real *sovereignty of the sea;* that the sea, round about her even to all the opposite shores, was her *own;* that she had a right to do

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thereon whatever any one had to do upon lands that were his exclusive property; amongst the rules for the exercising of her dominion thereon, one was, that her ships of war should, when they saw occasion, search the ships of war of neutral nations, for English seamen; and, when her ships of war did make such search, producing a complaint from neutral nations, the answer which "our fathers" gave was, "*such is* "*and always has been our right, and, by* "*God, we will maintain it.*" These, too, as will be seen by searching the records of the English admiralty, were the words of our fathers; and, I imagine, the reader will think them full as worthy of being remembered as the words "*stop and make to stay*," the simplicity of which, when hashed up with the modern half-poetry half-prose of the "Captain" of Eton, produces an effect somewhat like that which would arise upon seeing lord Erskine of Clackmannan in the ruff and beard of Sir Thomas More, or the Duke of York in the long-skirted coat and jack-boots of Buonaparté.—As to the declaration relative to those British seamen, who, after voluntarily entering into the service of foreign states, shall be captured and held in slavery by the kings of Africa, there is not, that I can perceive, any other objection to it than its splenetic appearance. It forms one of a list of threats; which threats are all against the *defenceless*, while nothing is distinctly threatened against any party that can reasonably be supposed ever to possess the capacity of self-defence.——This writer says, that he heard *with pleasure*, that the people in the city were displeased at the proclamation, as containing the expression of a sacrifice of our national rights; and, that his pleasure arose from the reflection, that this was a proof of the truth of what he before believed, namely, that "the patriotism of the *monied interest* "had not, as some simpletons aver, "decreased with the increase of wealth." Now, first, I disbelieve the fact. I do not believe, that what this writer calls the "monied interest," and from the dawn of which interest we may date the decline of England, were at all displeased with the proclamation; and, if they were, I should be inclined to attribute their displeasure to any thing but patriotism. The truth is, that they never think upon subjects of this sort but as the questions and measures affect themselves. They have had no feeling at all connected with the proclamation; and the contrary is merely supposed for the purpose of paying a compliment to them, [illegible] where no concurrent testimony [illegible] the origin of this mean and shuffling defence of the proclamation.——But, we are told, that there is *no* concession to the Americans; that we have not claimed the right of searching neutral ships of war; and that, therefore, we give nothing up now. Afterwards, indeed, it is acknowledged, that during and before the 17th century, we did claim and exercise this right; but that, we have abandoned it since; and, that now, "it was more "proper to follow the practice of the age "nearest us, as *more likely to be congenial* "*to the present state of the world.*" Away goes, then, in the twinkling of an eye, all the high talk about raising ourselves to the extraordinary circumstances of the times; about, resorting to our "*ancient* and indu-"bitable rights upon the seas, which rights "had been suffered to be dormant, when "Europe was balanced as to power;" away goes all this, at once, and we are now told, that the settled practice during the last hundred years is quite sufficient for all our purposes! Just the thing for the present state of the world!——It is, however, false to say, that we ever till now abandoned the right. To search *all* neutral ships for British sailors has *always* formed part of the instructions to all our naval commanders. Of course, they formed part of Admiral Berkeley's instructions, and he did nothing without due authority, except offering the Americans permission to search *his* ships.—— This right is now abandoned; and, at what time is it abandoned? Why, at the moment when the Americans have in force a proclamation depriving us of all the benefits which we enjoyed under our treaty of amity with them; at the moment when they are engaged in the commission of an hostile act against us; at a moment when they are doing us all the harm which it is, under any circumstances, in their power to do us; at a moment when they are excluding our ships of war from their ports, and receiving with open arms those of our enemy, while, on our side, we have taken no one step in the way of retaliation; at this moment it is, that our ministers come out with a proclamation, conceding the point upon which the hostile proclamation of America solely arose, and making that concession the basis of negociation as to other points. And this they call vigour!——Great stress is, however, laid upon the explicitly expressed determination not to recede from the right of searching *merchant* ships. That is to say, that they have not given up that which the Americans did not ask them to give up. There is, indeed, an insinuation in another defence of this proclamation, that the Americans *have*

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asked them to give up that also: But, they, like other nations, ask what they do not expect to get; and, if they were to insist upon it, as it is very probable they may do *now*, my opinion is, that that also will be given up, and if it be, the abandonment will not, while *taxes* can be raised in England, want defenders. This searching of the merchant ships, is, this writer tells us, the *sore* place with the Americans. The fact is otherwise. They have their *vanity* to gratify; and our wiseacre vigorous men have afforded them food for it. The former will compare this proclamation to the famous *Declaratory Act*; or, as I did, in the case of Pitt's taking out the Lillies, to the conduct of the *hunted Beaver*. The Americans are not to be deceived by mere words. They know, that all the bluster is for show, and that all the abandonment is for real practice. —In the next argument, this defender admits, to its full extent, the doctrine of *equality* upon the seas, which has, by all the partizans of the ministers, been, from the moment that this dispute began, so strongly reprobated. Suppose, says he, we had, as *some persons* contend we ought to have, maintained our right of searching American ships of war. *Could* we have done it without permitting them to search ours? Might it not happen, that, in spite of our great naval superiority, an American frigate would search an English sloop, if she happened to meet her alone? "Here, then, fresh disputes would "arise; and the principle would be a fruit-"ful source of acrimony, vexation, and, "probably, of *war*." So, the *fear* of our arms was to do nothing? Our insisting upon the principle was not to induce the Americans to submit to it, without insisting upon a perfect equality? And we wanted, I'll warrant, the *power* to assert our sovereignty in any part of the sea where our fleets did not happen to be actually stationed? The tax-gatherer goes to many a man, who would very much like not to pay him. To many a man much stronger than himself, and yet he pays him very quietly, as soon as he can scrape the money together. The exciseman searches the house of many a man, who, were there nobody but him and the exciseman in the world, would kick him into the street before his feet were well over the threshold. In these cases, the cause which produces non-resistance and submission, is, the knowledge, that, *elsewhere*, there is *a power to punish resistance*; and this knowledge, in the case supposed, is to have no effect at all! But, the enforcing of this principle might, possibly, lead to *war*. Horrid thing, to be sure; but what may *not* lead to war? It would lead to only *one* war; for, by that war the matter would be settled for ever; and, observe, that this very wiseacre states, that according to the *complaining* system, now to be adopted, *war* is to be the final remedy.——It is to be observed, that the proposition of Lord Stanhope, that all nations were perfectly equal in point of rights upon the seas, and which proposition was rejected by the noble Lords, is now promulgated in a proclamation, as explained by the defenders of that proclamation; and, every argument, used by the Morning Chronicle, against the partizans of the ministry, is now used by those partizans against those who disapprove of the proclamation. Never was triumph more complete than that obtained by that paper over its opponents!——Having stated, that, to assert the right in question without acknowledging a similar right in the Americans, must produce ill-blood, and, probably, war, this defender next tells us, that the Americans have not above eight frigates, and that it would be foolish in us to expose our thousand ships of war to be searched for the sake of searching their eight ships. Foolish enough, indeed; "but, "*what*, then, were ministers to do?" How I hate this slang of the offices: "ministers," without the article before it. This, at any rate, was not the language of our fathers. It is the slang of modern battling corrupt place-hunting factions. "What were they to do?" Why nothing but let things remain as they were; nothing but let the officers of the navy exercise the right of search; for, as to the risk of *producing war*, if that is to be considered as a sufficient reason for forbearance, what right could ever be exercised that was hostile to the interests of any foreign nation.——The *time*, too, of issuing this sneaking proclamation was the very worst that could have been chosen. If at all, it should have been the moment that authentic intelligence was received of the affair of the Chesapeake. Coming after the threats of the American government had arrived, and particularly after the hostile conduct of that government had been made known here, it must be considered as the effect of fear, as doing that which "ministers," to use the Downing Street slang, thought they should be compelled to do. And, it is impossible not to believe, that this giving up of the great point at issue will have the worst possible effect upon any negociation (I almost laugh at the idea) which we are now about to carry on with America. We are desired to look at the proclamation for an instance of *vigour* in the declaration about the *certificates of citizenship*; but, at this the Ameri-

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cans will laugh most heartily, knowing very well, that it will make no real alteration in the state of things, and that the declaration is mere sound.——But, some one will say, "what could have been the *motive* of the "ministers, in issuing such a proclamation?" Precisely of the sort that Pitt's motives used to be, when, after having bragged and blustered for a month or two, he, all of a sudden, did exactly what those, to him, useful persons, the opposition, had blamed him for not doing, and then, in their hearts, cursed him for doing. "I am sure," used he to say, in his opening harangues, "that "there is one transaction alluded to in "the Speech from the throne, that the "honourable gentlemen opposite will ap-"prove of," sniggering to himself all the while, and they nodding assent with their hearts full of bitterness, while the poor nation stood gaping on, like so many bumkins at the mummery of a mountebank and his man. It was a clever trick to shut up the mouths of those who would have made some good three-hour speeches about aggression and violence; and, what is more, it would probably save some half score of those pithy monosyllables, that are more valuable than long speeches.——This was the constant practice of Pitt, and, for the purpose of keeping his place, an excellent practice it was.——Thus will it be, I am fully persuaded, as to measures with respect to other nations. The *high talk* will be tried; but, if that will not do, it will be laid aside; the advice of the "gentlemen opposite" will be adopted; and some peace, much worse than that of Amiens, will be made.

PORTUGAL.——The talk of an expatriation of the Portuguese government still occupies the public; and one of those luminaries of the world, the London news-papers, observes, that it will be "a spectacle "worthy of angels to see *a people*, rather "than lose their independence, flee to a "distant land, there to erect the altars and "keep alive the flame of liberty." But, what does this sublime writer mean by *a people*? Does he really suppose, that the people of Portugal are actually going to ship themselves off to the Brazils? Does he suppose, that the fleet, like Noah's Ark, will carry away animals and all? Why, man, the people of Portugal are to remain, and, therefore, let what will become of the government, they must lose whatever they have to lose by the change. I know not whether there be any *Whitehall* in Portugal; but, if there be, I can easily form an idea of the confusion, the uproar, the weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth that must there prevail at this moment. What lamentations and shrieking and wringing of hands and tearing of hair there must be amongst the place-men and place-women, and pensioners of both sexes. If there be a Whitehall at Lisbon, the alarm from the earthquake was a trifle compared to the alarm of this day. And yet the Morning Chronicle tells us, that the people are perfectly tranquil; that they have not only dry eyes, but that they stand by and see their government packing up for exportation, with as much indifference, as if it were one of those cargoes of grape juice and brandy, which they have been accustomed to see shipped off to the sots of England. Incredible! What a scrambling, too, there must be, if the Government should really sail away! The few days (for there must be some) that will pass before the arrival of the French, will be spent in plunder and devastation. All the nice trim houses of our factory will be gutted to the very walls. There will be pillage in every quarter going on at one and the same moment. Strength of body will be a valuable endowment, and, as the Edinburgh Reviewers observe, talents, by their natural buoyancy, will rise to the higher regions of things. But, alas for talents, such as theirs! There will be no occupation for speculating political parasites and place-hunters. The very ground will slide from beneath them. Their tongues and pens will alike be useless; they will be reduced to the proper alternative: hang or starve. If there be any news-papers in Portugal, the lot of their editors, if they out-live the few days of no-government, will not be so bad; for editors of journals will be wanted; and they are not of the true breed, unless they will be perfectly disposed to praise Napoleon as loudly as ever they did their former sovereign, whom they will not scruple to speak of with contempt and scorn. The players, too, will, if they are not bastards of their kind, suit both their tragedies and their comedies to the times; and, however lofty some of their present connexions may be, they will shift their endearments with as much facility as they do their dresses, despising more than others their former admirers, because they know them better. But the Whitehall of Portugal, if there be one, is the apparition that haunts me, day and night. I sometimes think I see the lords and secretaries, the confidential servants of a gracious sovereign, come tumbling out of the doors and windows with all their clerks, door-keepers, and sweepers, and waggon-loads of papers and red tape at their heels. And yet the Morning Chroni-

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cle tells me, that "the people of Portugal "are *perfectly tranquil!*"——I must observe, and, that, too, with some little vexation, that I do not perceive many persons here ready to enter into my feelings of anxiety for the Portuguese government; and, I have sometimes been inclined to think, that we really are that cold people which the French and others have described us to be. Perhaps this want of sympathy may arise from the circumstance of there being no *parliament* in that country. There, I hope, we should all have but one feeling.——In one or two of the newspapers, some hints are thrown out respecting the advantage, which *we* may derive from the transportation of our ally, her most faithful majesty, and her government, to South America; and, indeed, such an event would give us a pretty good chance of being obliged to pay an additional million annually for ambassadors and secretaries and all the long-train of diplomatic connection with a government at such a distance. Ambassadors would, of course, be shifted and pensioned off, as they are now, at every change of ministry; and, if we had a royal ally at the Brazils, we should have an ambassador or two continually afloat. What charming work this would be! What numbers of the booby sons would be inspired with a passion for visiting South America! And, then, there would, in all probability, be an English fleet and army wanted to get things into a settled state at the Brazils; and what Englishman, of any generosity (particularly if the money did not come out of his own pocket), would refuse a subsidy, under such circumstances, to our ancient ally?——I see, for my part, a vast field opening in this transportation project; but, *how* it can "*annoy* Nap leon," as the wiseacre of the Courier seems to expect, I cannot, I must confess, perceive. He will go, and take possession of Portugal, and will give it to whomsoever he pleases, and lay it under what tribute he pleases. It is so much of clear gains; and why need he trouble himself with what is doing in South America, where he is not seeking to make conquests at all? What he wants is to be master of all Europe; what his relations and generals want, is, to be kings and princes in Europe; how are they, then, to be annoyed by the voluntary transportation of the old governments to South America? How can this possibly "annoy" them?—— Europe, *as it was*, will be no more. The thing is done. The European revolution is made; it is struck, and has only to receive a little rounding and polishing. Luxury, effeminacy, debauchery, cowardice, had arrived at the point when their destructive effects necessarily broke out against governments, which only partook in the vices of the people. You may as well hope to stop rain, in its way to the earth, as to stop the progress of these effects, without removing the causes of them. And, have we any where seen an attempt to remove those causes? Have we not, on the contrary, observed, that, in every country subdued by France, there has been the old scenes of frivolity and debauchery and corruption exhibited, even to the very hour of the conqueror's arrival. It never seems to have entered into the mind of any one government, that its danger arose from its own faults, or faults within the reach of its correction. For defence, the governments have uniformly had recourse to the means usually employed against enemies like themselves; and, the wonder is, not that such means should have failed, but, that they should have afforded one hour's respite. Uniformly, without one single exception, we have been assured of the unshaken *loyalty* of the people, in the countries about to be invaded by France; and, without one exception also, we have found, in the end, that the people received the French with open arms. Now, there must be some substantial reason for this; some cause of settled growth; something quite different from the *seductions* of the French, and the enchanting novelty of their principles. The cry of liberty and equality might do something; but, now that France is become a monarchy again, now that she scouts the principle of liberty and equality, we see no more disposition in the people to resist her than we saw before. Nay, in America, where the people are merely distant spectators of this revolutionary scene, we see, that the decided partiality for France has not been at all diminished by the changing of her government from a democratical republic to an absolute monarchy. While she called herself a republic, that was the express ground upon which her American partizans justified their partiality. They deceived themselves. Their partiality arose from an admiration of the genius and courage and fortitude of the French, operating as a chastisement of vices, which it is natural to man to hate, or to despise.——In spite, however, of the numerous proofs of these truths; in spite of the woeful experience of eighteen succeeding years, each year rising above the former in the awfulness of its lessons, our newspaper writers still hold out to us the hope of *delivering* Europe, without including amongst the means, a re-

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formation of those abuses, which have produced its subjugation. "This act of rigour," says one of them, speaking of the affair of Copenhagen, "has already elicited an electric spark, which has given a shock to the "morbid feelings of the Continent; and, if "we boldly follow it up with correspondent "measures may yet accomplish much towards its deliverance. It may be the "means of separating Russia from an alliance, which she is already beginning to "contemplate with disgust; which is a foul "stain upon her honour; and which if continued, will involve her in inevitable destruction. It may also be the means of "*awakening Austria* from her ruinous "trance, and of stimulating her to concert "measures, which may eventually contribute *to redeem the violated rights of mankind.*——As for Bonaparte, he may continue safe as long as his armies continue "faithful, and as long as the *terror of his "despotism* can preserve a counterpoise to "the *exasperation* of public opinion. But "his generals may have ambition as well as "himself, and his armies, like himself, "may require a respite from the perils of "battle, and the fatigues of the camp. "*The favour of the multitude*, even under "a *legitimate* government, is a frail and perishable possession; with his title to it, "can we then expect it to be impregnable? "A feeling of interest in the power and "prosperity of the government, may, "moreover, be subdued by the *miseries of "personal subjection*, and the splendor of "national glory may be eclipsed by the "clouds of *individual affliction*. These "causes are *possibly secretly* producing "their effect, and *the mine may explode in "the citadel of fancied security*. Should "the tide of *popular indignation once decidedly turn against him*; should the pressure of suffering once become so intense "as to enflame the enthusiastic contagion "of generous despair, and stimulate the determined resolution of just revenge, *this "monster may still be condemned to pay the "tremendous forfeit of his unparalleled "crimes*."——That electric spark, of which this writer speaks, has escaped my observation; nor have I seen any signs whatever of a separation of Russia from her alliance with France. "Awaken Austria from her "trance!" Awaken her *to what?* What measures is she to concert for the redemption of the violated rights of mankind? And, besides, what does this writer mean by *rights* and by *mankind?* Who are the persons that have *suffered* from the conquests of the French? Let this first be shewn; let it be shewn, that the mass of the people in Holland, in Italy, and in Germany have suffered from the change which their governments have undergone, before we talk of the violated rights of *mankind*. I do not say, that they have *not* suffered; but, a writer who assumes a tone like this, and who bids us hope for the deliverance of Europe, should prove to us first, that the *people* of Europe *wish* to be delivered.——Still, too, though in the face of experience to the contrary, we are invited to hope for safety from the hatred of the French people to their sovereign, for endeavouring to stimulate them to hatred against which sovereign, be it, remembered, that, in our own courts of justice, Mr. Peltier was tried and convicted, to the clearly expressed satisfaction of this same writer and his numerous associates, including the editors of the Edinburgh Review, the latter being quite lavish of their abuse upon him! But, what foundation have we for this hope? Is there any authentic document, whereon we can lay our finger, and say, "here is a proof that the "people of France hate Napoleon?" Is, there any such proof of an "exasperation in "the public mind; of the miseries of sub-"jection; of individual affliction?" If, there be any such proofs, let us have them. ——It is curious, too, to see "the *favour "of the multitude*" first represented as "a "*frail and perishable possession*," and, in the very next sentence, to be told, that, "if the tide of *popular indignation* once "turn against him, the monster may yet "be condemned to pay the tremendous forfeit of his unparalleled crimes." I like this last idea best; and, may *all* the unpunished tyrants, whether military or civil, whether ruling by the sword or by the terrors of unjust judgment, take warning by the times! But, I see no *symptoms* of discontent in France. The causes of Napoleon's destruction are, possibly, we are told, "*se-"cretly*" at work. Possibly, indeed, but we know nothing of it; and there may, possibly, be no such causes in existence. The "*terrors* of his despotism" may, for aught I know, be great, but, be that as it may, these terrors are exercised by Frenchmen themselves; and, as to the probable designs of his generals against him, though such designs may be entertained, it is very evident that he fears them not; or we should not see him leave France for six months at a time. Princes do not leave home, when they suspect that they have rivals there, particularly if those rivals are amongst their generals. He is at this moment travelling to Italy, while he is sending a general to take

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possession of Portugal. And yet, we are to believe, that his crown totters upon his head. In almost the same breath, we are desired to believe, that the royal family of Portugal are beloved, nearly to adoration, by the people; and then we are told, that that people stand and look on, indifferent spectators, of the expatriation of that same family. Nay, now that the pinch is come, it is, by these same writers, conjectured, that the royal family will hasten away before the French have actually entered Portugal, "lest *that circumstance* being known, might *encourage* the "populace to commit acts of *violence* and "*outrage*."——Let us not be deceived any longer. Napoleon is quite sufficiently established in power at home, and is the most formidable enemy that England ever had to meet. Our means both of defence and of offence are surprisingly great, when compared with our population; but, if the hour of *invasion* comes, and come, first or last, it will, in some part or other of the kingdom, those means will avail us nothing, unless *the people* are chearfully disposed to employ them; and, for them to be so disposed, they must be convinced, that a change of government *would be for the worse*. They must be well convinced of this, or, like the people of Portugal, as described by the Morning Chronicle, and now described by the Courier, they will look with perfect indifference at the confusion and the dismay of the government, and will only wait for actual invasion, as the signal for committing acts of violence and outrage. Those who thrive upon corruption may wrap themselves up in the hope, that no day of reckoning will ever come; and, they may flatter themselves, that the people will always submit to the effects of those corruptions, rather than run the risk of greater evils. But *so hoped* and *so reckoned* all the corrupt combinations in the countries upon the continent!

The letter of Dus Scotus, inserted in my last sheet, at page 657, shall be attended to in my next; but, in the mean while, I must observe, that the *words* of the preamble of Mr. Whitbread's bill cannot, in fair dealing, be separated from the main object of the *whole set of poor bills*, with which that gentleman menaced us; nor from the *speech*, with which he introduced the parochial school-bill. True, the education was to produce good morals, but this merely for the purpose of preventing laziness and those other vices, which more immediately tend to increase the *poor-rates*.

Botley,
Oct. 29, 1807.

WEST INDIA COMMERCE.

SIR,——You deserve the thanks of your country, for your masterly and truly English publications, concerning the course which we ought to pursue respecting our Domination of the Sea, and particularly towards America; that country which, as you observe, has succeeded the Dutch in milking the cow, while others were fighting for the horns. I have lately seen a pamphlet relative to this subject, published under the smooth title of "Oil without Vinegar;" and I send you some remarks which occurred to me on reading it. The *oily* author sets out with a fulsome parade of impartiality, that naturally excites those suspicions, which the sequel of his work so fully verifies. He tells us, (p. 6) that "having lived nearly as long in England as he did in America (his native country), he feels a great attachment to both nations, and thinks he feels a tolerable degree of impartiality, and confesses he is very desirous of preventing hostilities between the two nations." I cannot say, that I believe him to be equally correct in these two representations of his feelings. I can readily admit, that he "feels a tolerable impartiality towards both countries;" that is, that he does not care sixpence for either, except in so far as his selfish interest is concerned; and, I can believe, that he may be "very desirous of preventing hostilities between them," by the sacrifice of the rights and interests of England, as conceiving that his selfish interest may be hurt by the maintenance of those rights and interests. But *no man can serve two masters*: and that he or any other person can at the same time feel a great real attachment to two nations, I think as little credible, as that a woman can be strongly attached, and preserve a loyal fidelity to two husbands at the same time. I feel no such amphibious indifference, and put no faith in such impartial advisers. To borrow an image of Mr. Burke, I would not leave to such an arbitrator my right to a fish pond, being well convinced, that if he gave me the land, he would give the water and the fish to my adversary, and that his only object would be to render the transaction subservient to his own advantage. If the professions of these half-and-half gentry are true, what are they but beings released from the strongest tie of social connexion, who when they change their climate shift off their allegiance with their clothes, whose country is that region, where they can for the moment make the largest gains, and who in discussing the conflicting claims of nations, are swayed from the balancing *impartiality*

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of their own apathy, by the smallest influence of their selfish interest? If their professions are untrue—I shall only say

"An open foe may prove a curse,
"But a pretended friend is worse."

One most striking feature in this curious performance is the uniform and total want of attention to fairness or accuracy, with which every matter of every description—great or small—of fact or of argument—of history or of conjecture—is represented. In p. 13, the author says, that "he finds in the report of the committee of the House of Commons" (see your Register of August 22, for the Report without that part of it called the Appendix) "the examination of a Mr. Henry Shirley, who *he concludes* is a West India planter." Now, Sir, by these words "he concludes" the fact is evidently intended to be left in doubt. What then shall we think of the accuracy of this *oily* gentleman, when turning to the Report itself, p. 66, we find that the very first words uttered by Mr. Shirley, and the whole of his testimony, shewed, that he had been a planter from the year 1773, to the day when he appeared before the committee; and that he had resided in Jamaica *as a planter* 20 years? In p. 14, the author, Mr. Mascall Medford, after saying that "there seems to be much candour and good sense in Mr. Shirley's answers," professes to annex part of the examination of Mr. S. consisting of two questions, with the answers to them. The latter question and answer he gives thus. *Question*, "Would the British planter's market for rum be injured by a monopoly of their supply being granted to the British North American colonies?" *Answer*. "It would make the planter still more dependent on the British merchants, who cannot be very indulgent in such times as these. They seem to pity our case, but they add to our miseries by always deriving a profit from our distresses." Knowing Mr. Shirley to be a man of an uncommonly clear head, and acute understanding, and presuming that the members of the committee of the House of Commons were not perfect ideots, I could not believe, particularly when by the perusal of Mr. Mascall Medford's own pamphlet, I had learned to set a proper value on his authenticity.—I could not believe, that Mr. Shirley should have uttered, or that the committee should have been satisfied with such words, as an answer to such a question. Upon looking into the Report, p. 67, I found that Mr. Mascall Medford, had, agreeably to his system, suppressed *twenty seven lines out of thirty*; and, in truth, given only the introduction of Mr. Shirley's answer, which taken entire furnishes a very particular and satisfactory explanation of the matter inquired into. Again, p. 19, he tells us that it was the ministerial party which wished for the Spanish war of 1739, whereas every body who is acquainted with the history of that time, knows that the minister, Sir Robert Walpole, was very averse to that war, and that he was driven into it by the clamours of such men as Mr. Mascall Medford, who would set up their wretched personal interests, as the rule for the conduct of nations.—These misrepresentations I have placed by themselves, because, I do not perceive that Mr. Mascall's argument gains any thing by them, or that it would have lost any thing by a plain statement of the truth; so that I am unable to account for them, but in one of these two ways; either that Mr. Mascall was afraid, that if he yielded to a correct representation of a fact in a matter of indifference, he might lose his expertness at misrepresentation, in cases where misrepresentation might be necessary to his object; or, secondly, that his skull is so impenetrably thick, and his intellect so imperviously cloudy, as to render him incapable of understanding and exhibiting any matter, as it really exists. Whichever of these may be the true account, you will agree with me, that the fact itself proves him to be totally unworthy of attention as a public adviser.—I will now proceed to some more important and more wicked misrepresentations of this gentleman. His third chapter is intitled, *Of the Mistatements of Writers on the Subject of the Report of the West Indian Committee, and of those who pretend to state Facts*. The specimen I have already given you of this Mr. Mascall, will probably cause you to feel some surprise, that a chapter with such a title should occur in a work of such a writer; but, before I shall have done with this same chapter, I believe you and your readers without exception, will wonder that such a chapter could be produced, even by the pen of impudence itself. The first statement which he attacks is the representation made by Mr. Wedderburn, that "sugar upon an average of eight estates in the island of Jamaica, for which he was factor, had not been made during the years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, at a less expence than 20s. 10d. per cwt. besides the money received for the other produce of the said estates (rum) during the same period." In order to explain and prove the fact stated, Mr. Wedderburn delivered in abstracts of the accounts of these eight estates, during the said years, (except

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as to 1803 for one estate) which are printed in the report. These abstracts specify the cost of the articles sent from England, the amount of the expences incurred in the island (consisting of hired labour, taxes, lumber, salt fish, meat, flour, medical attendance, tradesmen's bills, salaries and commission to the persons having the care and conduct of the estate, &c.) the quantity of rum, and the quantity of sugar made yearly during the whole period. An average is then drawn of the British and insular expences per annum, from which is deducted the annual average money for which the rum was sold. An annual average is then drawn of the quantity of sugar made, and the average expenses over and above the whole money received for the rum is then divided by the average number of cwts. of sugar, in order to ascertain what is the proportionate cost of one cwt. These eight estates appear to be situated in two of those large divisions of the island called parishes; and they differ in size and other circumstances. Accordingly, the expences incident to them differ also; those on the least expensive (enjoying some very peculiar advantages) yielding an average of only 12s per cwt. and those on the most costly an average of £1. 8s. 4d. per cwt. of sugar, the general average being 20s. 10d. I confess to me this exposition seems to be clear, candid, and satisfactory: but it will not do for that paragon of correctness, that model of veracity, Mr. Mascall Medford. Let us hear his objections. The first is, that if the cost of making the sugar be 20s. 10d. and the expence incident to its transportation to this country and sale here be 15s. per cwt. (and the document inserted in Mascall's own appendix, No. I. proves that it is somewhat more) the cost of making, bringing it hither, &c. is greater than the average selling price. This, as applied to the coarser sugars has for a considerable time been undoubtedly true. "And, yet," says Mr. Mascall, "we see the West Indian merchants living like princes," which gives occasion to this ingenious gentleman for some fine writing about "iron bridges, wild beasts in the tower, bears, toads, and tortoises, which" it seems, "exist on nothing, but do not get fat, while the West Indian merchant lives on less than nothing and gets very fat." Now, Sir, I know nothing of these "West Indian merchants who live like princes," and, I think, after what you have seen of Mr. Medford, you will admit that a man without being very unreasonable, may ask this gentleman for some proof beyond his bare assertion of any thing which he advances: but, the fact is, that supposing what he had said to be ever so true, it is nothing to the purpose. The owner of the sugar, the person who immediately suffers, is the planter. The planter's distress is the primary grievance, it is the prominent object exhibited in the Report. The merchant suffers only through the planter. The interests of the planter and the merchant are by no means identified. In some cases they are directly opposite. This Mr. Mascall perfectly well knows; his whole pamphlet proves that he knows it. In p. 14, he quotes with approbation the expression of a planter, "they" (the merchants) "add to our miseries, by always deriving a profit from our distresses." Pp. 15, 16, are filled with whining hypocritical expressions of pity for the extortions, which the planters suffer from the merchants: he calls the merchants "blood suckers, who are drawing the planter's existence from them:" he invokes providence to interfere against their extortions: and, yet, in pp. 30, 31 of this same book, this same man alledges the wealth of the merchant as a proof of the prosperity of the planter, the wealth of him whom he describes to be an oppressor, as a proof of the prosperity of his victim. If this slippery gentleman shall say he means to include planters under the word merchants, I assert it as an indisputable fact, that many of them (I do not say all, for some of them have other resources besides their West Indian estates) are in the very jaws of absolute want. This is notorious amongst all who know any thing of West Indian concerns. In the report in question, it is proved over and over again that their estates bring them in debt. Mr. Shirley, p. 66, proves that an estate on which he had expended £170,000 yielded him last year about £5,600. The legal interest (6 per cent.) upon £170,000 is £10,200 per annum; so that here was a deficiency of £4,600: but there are many still stronger cases. Mr. Wedderburn, p. 22, gives an abstract of the receipts and expences upon an estate in Westmoreland, Jamaica, for the year 1801, and the five following years. It appears that, on an average of the first five years of this period, the annual receipts exceeded the annual outgoings by a balance of £2,827. This estate Mr. Wedderburn states, cost the proprietor a great deal more than £50,000, so that £2,827 the annual excess of receipts above the actual outgoings would be a great deal less than the legal interest of the money laid out. But in the last year 1806, the total receipts were £3,866, the outgoings £4913; so that not only the proprietor did not receive one farthing by way of interest on the

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capital expended, but over and above that total loss his estate was an additional charge to him of £1047. This I take it was by no means a singular case; and all the persons examined concur in stating that the distress of the planters is general. In fact, the planter whose estate produces ordinary or inferior sugar (which is the case with most of the estates in Jamaica) must, if he have nothing but such an estate to depend on, be actually starving. He must sit with his family around him contemplating the prospect of irremediable ruin. When he beholds his children, he must sigh to reflect that he gave them an education, calculated to qualify them for that condition of life to which they were born, but which can now only aggravate the poignancy of their sufferings under the degradation to which they are condemned. In these circumstances, to be mocked with taunts of prosperity and wealth, to be told that his fat and thriving looks prove he must have "an art beyond that of the bear, who subsists by sucking his paws, or that of the toad who lives without light or food," is a sort of insult, which, I suppose, no man will be required to submit to in silence; and which (for the credit of our common nature, Mr. Cobbett,) I hope no man living is capable of offering, but *Mascall Medford, Esq. of Philadelphia.*—I have said that the interest of the merchant and the planter are by no means identified; they are, however, very frequently intimately connected, particularly in those cases (by far the most numerous) in which the merchant is the mortgagee of the planter's estate. Still, even in these cases it is plain, that any great distress must first fall upon the planter, nay, he may be absolutely ruined by the seizure of his estate; the Negroes and stock on which may yet be just sufficient to pay the merchant his debt. I have said too, that the interests of the merchant are sometimes directly opposite to those of the planter. I will give an instance, merchants charge their commission on the *gross* proceeds of the articles which they sell: let us suppose a duty of five shillings per cwt to be laid on sugar, and that in consequence of such duty, the gross price of sugars should rise half a crown per cwt. above what they were before: in this case it is evident, that the additional duty would be paid in equal shares by the planter and the consumer, the former receiving (neat) half a crown less for every cwt. that he sold, and the latter paying half a crown more for every hundred weight that he bought; but the merchant would not participate in the planter's loss. On the contrary, he is a gainer to the amount of his commission on the two shillings and sixpence increase in the gross price. Mr. Mascall says, "we see West India merchants living like princes; but, when they come before the parliament they have got the whining cant of beggars." To such an insolent insinuation of wilful false testimony given upon a solemn investigation, directed against such a body of men, I suppose the West Indian merchants will not condescend to make any reply: but, I will observe, that the evidence of the merchants examined, carries with it the strongest internal marks of authenticity. All who were interrogated concurred in stating, that one cause of the diminished consumption and the reduced price of sugar, was the high duties upon it. Now, Sir, I have already shewn that an increase of duty, unless it does produce a diminution of consumption and of price, is a measure of advantage to the merchants. Here, therefore, unless what they say is strictly true, they are speaking in direct opposition to their own interest; and in such a case, surely one should be inclined to give credit even to Mr. Mascall Medford himself. His next objection to Mr. Wedderburn's statement of twenty shillings and ten pence, as the average cost of making an cwt. of sugar is, that "among the chief expenses of the 20s. 10d. are loss upon bills of exchange drawn on England, and the interest of the money advanced." Now, is it credible (I do not mean to you, Mr. Cobbett, for you tell us you are conversant with American morality) to any one unacquainted with American morality, is it credible, that when this man wrote this paragraph, he had before him, as his pamphlet proves that he had, the Report of the West India committee containing Mr. Wedderburn's documents, setting forth every item both of supplies from Europe, and expenses in the island, by which it appears, that not one single farthing of expence was incurred by bills of exchange drawn on England, and that no charge whatever was made for interest on capital, or even for loss upon Negroes, though it is distinctly stated that such a loss was annually incurred? As to bills of exchange upon England, if Mr. Mascall knows any thing of the subject upon which he has taken upon himself so flippantly to write, he must know they have borne a premium; and if he does not know any thing of his subject, he should at least have suppressed his flippant pretensions to instruct the world.—His next objection is to the precision of the average cost stated to be 20s. 10d. "Indeed," says he "if the president of the board of agriculture had been asked if he, amongst the hundreds of volumes

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written on that subject, had pretended to calculate the first cost of a bushel of wheat, would he have pretended to state it to a penny?" To this triumphant question the answer is most easy and complete; indeed, I am almost ashamed to expose the fallacy of the inquiry, which is so gross, that none but a natural fool can possibly fail to detect it. To compute the average cost of raising a bushel of wheat is a matter of difficulty, because the labour, rent, machinery, charges of superintendance, and probably other items which do not at this moment occur to me, are applied to the production of it indiscriminately, with the production of a variety of other commodities of different qualities, and value, and disposed of in different manners; but a sugar estate produces nothing but sugar and rum: all the expenses therefore, incident to the culture of such an estate are employed in the production of those two articles; and as these expenses always very considerably exceed the value of the rum sold, this excess furnishes indisputable evidence of the cost of raising the whole sugar produced on that estate, and the sum of this excess divided by the number of cwts. of sugar, will exhibit as indisputable a representation of the cost of each cwt. So in England, if we should suppose a farm to produce nothing but wheat, it is manifest that not only the president of the board of agriculture, but every common farmer who can write and perform a rule of three sum, could tell with great exactness the average cost of producing every bushel of wheat produced on such a farm. He would first ascertain what had been his total expense; from that amount he would deduct what he had received for his straw and stubble, and the remainder, divided by the number of bushels of corn, would give to a farthing the precise average cost of producing each bushel.—— *Nay*, Sir, so fatally does this fetid *Oil without Vinegar*, discolour every thing that it touches; so undeviatingly does this Mr. Mascall Medford falsify every thing of which he writes, that though from what I have already stated, the expences attending the culture of wheat are not so easily distinguishable as those of sugar, yet I will venture to guess (and he must be a sorry guesser whose conjecture shall not be nearer the truth, than one of Mr. Mascall Medford's loose assertions) that among the hundreds of volumes written upon agriculture, about which he speaks so fluently, (and I will answer for him so ignorantly) there shall not be found one out of five treating practically on raising wheat, which shall not contain calculations, exhibiting that very cost which he so peremptorily asserts is incapable of being calculated. Seasons and situations will cause differences in the cost of producing wheat, as well as sugar. He therefore, who wished for an extensive average, should exhibit the results of different seasons and different situations. Mr. Wedderburn has done this. He has exhibited the results upon eight estates, in different situations (being as I understand his evidence the whole number with which he is connected), during six successive years, not one of which as it appears was marked by any circumstances which could render the culture of sugar more costly than ordinary. I am not at all afraid to submit to the candour of any one of your readers (not being an American) to determine whether these data, are or are not sufficient grounds for the deduction of the average stated.—With these facts before his eyes, and without a shadow of evidence in disproof of them, (indeed it is manifestly impossible to disprove them, but by shewing Mr. Wedderburn has exhibited forged documents), Mr. Mascall has yet the effrontery to state, that 20s. 10d. is the price "at which sugar might be sold in the West Indies with a reasonable profit, after having paid exorbitant prices for slaves, as well as of all sorts of materials imported from Europe."—This is an absurdity of the same kind, (though much higher in degree) as it would be to tell an English gentleman who farmed his own estate, that if he could every year sell his produce for what the cultivation of his farm had cost him, without including any thing for rent, he would have reasonable profit. The design of this impartial adviser in this misrepresentation, is to steel the hearts of Englishmen, against the distresses of their countrymen, and as he had before attempted to excite animosities between the planters and the merchants, so he now strives to provoke the enmity of the nation against both, that his other country, America, may profit by our dissentions.—Such is the *train oil* which flows in copious streams through every part of this American fabric, and, I must say, that the foul article in which Mr. Mascall so largely deals, seems to have an affinity marvelously animating to his brain. Like Curl in the Dunciad,

> "Aided by *blubber's* sympathetic *grease*
> "Vig'rous he rises, from th' effluvia strong
> "Imbibes new life, and scours and stinks
> "along"

But as the odour is somewhat too powerful for most English nerves, I will make but a small addition to the samples which I have already drawn off; and having hitherto illustrated the veracity, I will now briefly bear

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testimony to the political wisdom, of this enlightened and disinterested counsellor of the statesmen in the new and in the old world. In case of a war with America, he says, p. 62, "It is by privateering that America will do the greatest injury to Great Britain. From the number of ships which she will have ready to fit out, I conceive it will be almost impossible to carry on any trade to the West Indies, but such as would be attended with ruin to all parties. In the American war, West India premiums got up from 5 guineas to 23 guineas in the summer, and the under writers were ruined. At present, I do not suppose if a war breaks out, that 40 guineas would pay from Jamaica." The gentleman's logic seems to be this: "Because, in the American war, when France had a navy—when Spain had a navy—when Holland had a navy—and when America also had a considerable number of privateers—when all these acted against England, and when the two first mentioned parts of this force were sufficient to make the grand fleet of England retire before them in the British Channel itself, and even to threaten the arsenal and citadel of Plymouth, and at the same time to maintain very large fleets in every other quarter of the globe; because, under these circumstances, the force which Great Britain could spare for the protection of her West Indian fleets, was so inadequate, that the insurance of such fleets could not be effected for a less premium than 23 guineas per cent.—therefore in 1807, when (according to his own account, and before the transactions at Zealand had added 40 sail of Danes to the British navy) Great Britain has 1026 vessels of war, and not an hostile squadron dares shew itself on any ocean of the globe; therefore, the force which she can spare for the protection of her West India fleets will be so much more inadequate, and the risk of capture so much greater, than in the American war, that the premium of insurance must necessarily rise to 40 guineas per cent." This is terrible enough; but this is by no means the worst. Jamaica and all the other West Indian islands are to be taken. To facilitate these objects, I suppose all British fleets are to be directed carefully to absent themselves from the West Indian seas. Upon consideration, however, Mr. Medford thinks it possible, that the American troops whom he has dispatched to take Jamaica may be unsuccessful: but, then, he has in reserve for Great Britain a supplementary calamity, equally destructive. The negroes are to revolt. Why, he does not tell us. However, if we may be allowed to form a conjecture from his general plan of argumentation, we may suppose his reasoning to be of this sort: "As the Negroes of Jamaica, before they had any definite evidence of the military strength of that island, remained in quiet and contented submission to their masters, therefore, it follows of course, that as soon as these Negroes discover that this same force *is* sufficiently strong to repel the whole power of America, they will immediately rise up in arms against it." Nay, even this is not all. Canada too is to be taken, though Mr Medford thinks "it would not be an advantage to America—though they (the Americans, I suppose) have barren land enough—though like Scotchmen they always go to the South—though the Canadians do not love the Americans—and though *not liking to speak positively without having solid grounds*," (you may well stare, Mr. Cobbett, but these are actually the words) Mr. Mascall "finds *upon inquiry*, that the forces of Massachusets, Vermont, and New Hampshire could not march from Vermont to Quebec, *quite so fast as from London to Liverpool, because the road is not quite so good!!!*"——So much at present for the wicked trash and nonsense of this interested scribbler. I am sorry to soil the pages of your Register with so much of his filth; but as his most unexampled hardihood of groundless assertion might mislead readers on a great national subject, it may be useful to shew, as I have done, that he is perfectly destitute of every claim to the lowest degree of confidence, respect, or attention.—Now, therefore, commending Mr. Mascall Medford to your wholesome correction, and the report of the West Indian committee of the House of Commons to your developement and illustration, I could in particular wish you to direct your attention to that most important fact, (and because most important and decisive against Mr. Mascall, wholly unnoticed by that honest and impartial adviser), stated in the Report p. 6, that "nearly the whole French mercantile marine has been sold to neutrals, under the stipulation of each vessel being returned into French ports, in order to be navigated as French ships, within twelve months after peace; and with the enjoyment during war of the same privileges in the ports of France, as if they were actually French; for instance to import sugar at a duty of 4 shillings per cwt. less, than the duty imposed on sugar imported in neutral vessels." See also the evidence of Mr. Wilson of this, from personal knowledge, p. 56. The question of permitting this (falsely called neutral) intercourse between the French colonies and France, and her dependencies in Europe, is

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commonly treated merely as a commercial question, and indeed it is a commercial question of very high moment, but, I apprehend that it has no remote bearing upon naval greatness and every thing belonging to it. At the same time that we maintain our just rights and ancient practices, respecting this (falsely called neutral) trade, and inflict that, which I am persuaded would be felt by Buonaparté, as the severest wound we could inflict on him, by blockading the French and Spanish West Indian colonies, we have the means of conferring a mutual benefit on America and ourselves, by laying open to her the trade with our own West Indian possessions. You are, I am sure, perfectly aware of all the extensive benefits that would result from this measure. I shall, therefore, leave the detail of them to you, and here close this long letter, subscribing myself, A SUBJECT OF ENGLAND, AND NO CITIZEN OF AMERICA.

EXPATRIATION.

Sir;—Notwithstanding the unfavourable description which I have received, from the *cool* and *dispassionate* pen of that profound commentator on the dusty pages of Bracton and Fleta, S. V. who from a disposition for "*manly and liberal animadversion*" has designated me as "abortively vomited from the fissures of alma mater," I shall venture once more to make an appearance in the pages of your valuable Register. S. V., who has attributed to me the crime of *personal scurrility*, has evinced himself, beyond all doubt, to be a *particeps criminis*; but I will satisfy you, Mr. Cobbett, that personality is *solely* the possession of your erudite correspondent. S. V. has chosen to say, that when I used the words, "that the "most uncivilised wretch, or the most li- "centious libertine, could not promulgate "a doctrine more repugnant to integrity, "gratitude, and humanity," that they were personally directed to him. Now, if S. V. will take the trouble of perusing again the passage immediately succeeding, he will find, most indisputably, that they could not have been so intended. The passage immediately following is this: "Were there no "other memorial characteristic of a *French-* "*man's* disposition, this alone would inde- "libly stamp the truth of Voltaire's de- "scription of his countrymen, that in their "exterior they are monkeys, and in their "hearts tigers." Could I, let me ask, be *fairly* construed to have intended any thing by those words personal to S. V.; or were they not clearly and explicitly addressed to the Frenchman Pecquet? The charge of personal abuse, therefore, I am apprehensive must be borne upon the legal colossal shoulders of S. V., who will exclusively enjoy all the merit and demerit attendant upon it. With respect to any prejudice in favour of S. V., his letter did certainly not produce that effect. At a period when the momentous state of this country calls for extraordinary energy for its safety, and when every exertion must prove unavailing, unless her sailors, from affection, or some other powerful stimulus, are united in her defence, I confess I did not entertain any thing like predilection for the man, who could assiduously travel over the musty pages of almost obsolete authors, to drag to light some equivocal passage, which accompanied by a strained and distorted interpretation, might appear to legalize a defection, which if acted upon, must inevitably leave the country a weak and defenceless prey to her enemies. Could I, Sir, believe such a man to be an Englishman, *divested* of *every interest* but what was reconcileable with his country's welfare? Could I, though I should have played the hypocrite in mildness and urbanity as masterly as S. V.; could I have complimented him, without blushing for my own depravity? No, Mr. Cobbett, opposit natura! No man, Sir, unbiassed by self-interest, ever yet took such extraordinary pains as S V., to discover latent doctrines in mouldy folios, which when published meet with no admiration, but, on the contrary, produce sorrow and regret. If S. V. denies the truth of what I assert, let him consult the effect which his letter had on yourself and correspondents. What was the result of the doctrine on your mind, Mr. Cobbett, whom even the paid hireling has never yet charged with intentional error? What was its effect upon your correspondents? If I am not much mistaken, the absurdity of the doctrine was noticed both by Wroc and R. R. However unpleasant then it may be to S. V., I must in candour inform him, to use his own expression, that I remain in "*dubiety*," how far it is true, that he is neither interested in the funded or landed property of America, notwithstanding he should accompany the assertion with the heart-breaking intelligence, "of how "*few* and *meagre* have been the *briefs*, "whose superscription of a fee have been "visited by the initials S. V."—Let us consider what the proposition is which S. V. would persuade us a *love* of *justice* alone prompts him to spend so many hours to establish:—that if the *amor patriæ* should be insufficient to bind the affections of the subject against the lures held out by her ene-

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mies, no duty, no moral, no legal tie of fidelity exists; that the bands of allegiance are loosed; and that the disaffected may expatriate at pleasure. I say such a proposition, if it emanated from the mind spontaneously, indicates a heart unvisited by any of the milder virtues. It stamps the author as a man with whom friendship would be as a rope of sand, which every wind would weaken. If S. V. insist that all this is mere prejudice, let us consider the doctrine first with regard to reason, and next with respect to the law. If expatriation be allowed at all at the will of the subject, it must be allowed without any exception, because S. V. only argues for its existence on the ground of the absence of written authority: the proposition then goes to this extent, that when a subject gets intelligence of an intended invasion of his country, he may at that moment withdraw his allegiance from thence, and give it to the enemy who meditates his country's destruction. I insist, that such a proposition and reason are at variance; that it raises considerable indignation in an honest mind, and conveys no favourable sentiments for the author of it. S. V. may answer, that the King by proclamation can prevent the inconvenience. Admit that; but does that admission lessen ought of the unreasonableness or iniquity of the doctrine. But how can a proclamation remove all the inconvenience and mischief? The disaffected part of the subjects may have emigrated before the proclamation becomes notorious. Ah! says S. V. but common-sense will tell us, that upon the first alarm which government has of a war, it will be expedient *then* to issue the proclamation. What is always expedient to be done in a case that frequently occurs, evidences the necessity of a law; for it argues a very shallow and improvident understanding, to provide by temporary expedients for that which an established rule of law would regulate with more certainty. The reason of the thing, therefore, strongly inculcates the opinion, that the law must have been considered as providing against voluntary alienage. I will now consider the question as affected by law. The indefatigable perseverance of S. V. must have discovered to him before this, that there is a "*lex scripta*," and a "*lex non scripta*," a written, and a common law; and, I am acquainted with no better authority to establish the fact, that the common law restricts a British subject from withdrawing his allegiance, than Lord Coke. If S. V. can inform me of a better, I shall be thankful for his information. Lord Coke then says, (non meus hic sermo) "that no man can divest himself of his allegiance to the country in which he was born." Does S. V. possess the modesty to suppose that he is better acquainted with the written law in my Lord Coke's time, than Lord Coke was himself; if not, Lord Coke knew as well as S. V. that no written law prohibited a subject from withdrawing his allegiance. If Lord Coke was familiar with that fact, does S. V. mean to brand with infamy his character, by stating that he asserted that which he knew to be false: if not, it amounts to this; that Lord Coke, when he uttered the dictum which I have quoted, knew that he was stating no written law. But if he did not state what he knew to be incorrect, he must have believed that he was stating what was warranted by the common law; and the result is, that to doubt whether Lord Coke was correct or not, we must believe that which would strain the credulity of the most credulous; namely, that S. V. can inform us with more accuracy the common law in Lord Coke's time, than that great luminary himself. Really, Mr. Cobbett, if *modesty*, and that *humility* which ever attend conscious merit, could win briefs, S. V. could have little occasion to contend for the liberty of expatriating himself at pleasure. S. V. is a great *stickler* for *consistency*: he says, so long as we permit foreigners in this country, we should consistently permit our own subjects to expatriate. Now, S. V. should remember, that when we make laws, it is for our own benefit, and not for the advantage of other nations; that if those other nations think it expedient to prohibit expatriation they can do so; but, so long as our enemies invite our subjects to apostacy, I cannot discover that either consistency, or policy, calls upon this country to adopt a different course with their subjects. Indeed, I am unable to discover in the observations and arguments of S. V. any other motive than that of weakening the defence of this country, by an attempt to render her as easy a prey as possible to her enemies. His first plan is to get rid of our own subjects; and, secondly, to admit no foreigners; by which means he would persuade us, that we should evince to surrounding powers an incontestible proof of our wisdom, and should offer to our adversaries an impenetrable bulwark of strength. I trust, however, Mr. Cobbett, that experience has taught us better, than to fall at the first decoy, into a snare of this nature.—I am, &c.——CANDIDUS.—*Lincoln's Inn, Oct.* 28.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 19.] LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1807. [PRICE 1Od.

Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen, who survey
The rich man's joys increase, the poor's decay,
'Tis yours to judge, how wide the limits stand
Between a splendid and a happy land.
Proud swells the tide with loads of freighted ore,
And shouting folly hails them from her shore;
Hoards, e'en beyond the miser's wish, abound,
And rich men flock from all the world around.
Yet count our gains. This wealth is but a name,
That leaves our useful products still the same.
Not so the loss. The man of wealth and pride
Takes up a space that many poor supplied;
Space for his lake, his park's extended bounds,
Space for his horses, equipage and hounds;
The robe that wraps his limbs in silken sloth,
Has robb'd the neighb'ring fields of half their growth;
His seat, where solitary sports are seen,
Indignant spurns the cottage from the green;
Around the world each needful product flies,
For all the luxuries the world supplies:
While thus the land, adorn'd for pleasure all,
In barren splendour feebly waits the fall.

GOLDSMITH.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

SPENCE ON COMMERCE.——A pamphlet has been published by a Mr. William Spence, entitled, "Britain Independent "of Commerce," the object of which pamphlet, is, to prove, from an investigation into the true causes of the wealth of nations, that our riches, prosperity, and power are derived from resources inherent in ourselves, and would not be affected, even though our commerce were annihilated. —— This is certainly a very important subject, and, as I find the leisure, I shall notice every part of the pamphlet. At present I shall content myself with noticing what this writer says in support of his opinion as to the real source of national wealth; first adverting, however, to the motives, which induced him to undertake the work, which motives, the reader will perceive, were of the most disinterested and benevolent kind. ——Mr. Spence, after describing how much alarm is experienced, by the nation at large, at the idea of our being ruined by the loss of our commerce says:——"The author of "these pages has long been satisfied, that "the importance of our commerce, has "been greatly overrated; he has long in- "deed been convinced, that the *wealth* "we derive from it is nothing; that the "utility of by far the greater part of it, is "to be resolved into its power of procur- "ing for us certain luxuries, which we "could do very well without, and in ex- "change for which we give much more "valuable necessaries; and consequently, "that our riches, our greatness, and our "happiness, are independent of it. These "convictions, however *singular* and *uncon- "formable to the public voice*, have been "sources of great mental gratification to "him. Whilst his fellow countrymen have "heard the news of the shutting up of a "port against us with terror and dismay; "and have regarded our exclusion from "commerce with Hamburgh, with Holland, "and with Italy, as the almost sure pre- "cursor of national ruin, he, persuaded of "the fallacy of these fears, has looked up- "on these events with indifference; and "has rather been inclined to pity the poor "inhabitants of the countries, who are "prevented from buying our manufactures, "than us that are hindered from selling "them.——Such being his sentiments, he "is desirous of laying the grounds of them "before the public; to the end, that tried "by such a touchstone, their truth, or "their error, may be made apparent; wish- "ing, if the former, that the diffusion of "just ideas, on an important subject, may "lead his countrymen to more manly views "of their independence; and if the latter, "that his own erroneous notions may be "rectified, and that no longer buoyed up, "by the delusions of indifference, he may "sympathize with the hopes and fears of "his fellow men."——Nothing, surely, can be more worthy of praise than such a motive as this. Mr. Spence, though he no where throws out even a hint, that the taxes are too heavy, and does, indeed, seem to think, that the labouring part of the nation are no more useful than the French valets and Italian singers, appears, from the above extract, to be a very compassionate gentleman; and, therefore, it will certainly give him great satisfaction to hear, that the public, properly so called, are not in so much anxiety as he supposes with respect to colonies and commerce; and that, though "ninety nine out of every hundred persons" whom *he* has met with, look upon our greatness as dependent upon our commerce, more than one half of the persons, that *I* meet with, are of a contrary opinion; and

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that, as to *myself*, it would be strange indeed, if I entertained any dread of the effects of a diminished commerce, seeing, that I have frequently, I may say hundreds of times, and in almost the very words of Mr. Spence, expressed my conviction, that this nation derived from commerce neither wealth nor power. Nay, there is scarcely any one sentiment, relating to the main object of his work, which sentiment the readers of the Register have not heard from me; and, as Mr. Spence would hardly have taken such pains to premise that he was the *first* to promulgate these sentiments, if he had read the Register, I cannot help considering it as a high compliment to myself that a person so clever, as he appears to be (notwithstanding he has had the weakness to put F. L. S. at the end of his name), should not only concur with me in sentiments upon this important subject, but should have chosen almost the same form of words, wherein to convey those sentiments to the world.——Being, at this moment, at a distance from my books, I cannot refer to the precise pages, from a comparison between which and the pages of Mr. Spence this striking concurrence would be made apparent; and, therefore, I shall now just quote the passage, wherein he gives his description of the real source of national wealth, which passage I earnestly recommend to the attentive perusal of my readers. ——"That the examination into the truth "of the opinion, that agriculture is the only "source of wealth, may be rendered as simple as possible, let us inquire what would "take place in a country constituted much "in the same way as this country is; where "there should be a class of land proprietors, a class of farmers, and a class of "manufacturers, but where there should exist no money of any kind, no gold, silver, or paper, in fact, no circulating medium whatever. In such a society, the "land proprietor must receive his rent in "kind, in corn, cattle, or whatever may be "the produce of his land; and all transactions between man and man, must be carried on by the medium of barter. However inconvenient such a state of society "might be, it may be very well conceived "to exist, and has, indeed, existed in a great "degree, at one period, even in our own "country. In a nation so circumstanced, "though part of the subsistence of the manufacturing class would be drawn from "the farmer, from the profit which would "remain with him after the maintenance "of his family, and the rent of his landlord were deducted, yet by far the largest "portion of their subsistence, it is evident, "must be drawn from the class of land proprietors; from that surplus produce paid "to them under the denomination of rent. "It will therefore in a still greater degree "simplify our illustration, it we suppose, "what will in no respect influence the accuracy of our reasoning, that the *whole* of "the subsistence of the manufacturing class "must be derived from the class of land "proprietors.——From this system results "such as the following would ensue: the "competition which would necessarily take "place amongst the class of manufacturers, "to dispose of their articles to the land proprietors, would restrict the price of these "articles, as is the case at present, to a "quantity of provisions barely necessary to "replace the subsistence of the manufacturer, whilst he had been employed on "them. This being the case, all the articles which the manufacturer might fabricate in the course of a year, would by the "end of that year, be in possession of "the land proprietors, in exchange for provision. All the food which the class of "land proprietors had to dispose of, would, "by the industry of the class of manufacturers, be transmuted into various articles "of use, or of luxury; and these remaining and accumulating with the former "class, it would in time heap up great "wealth, by this successive and constant "transformation of its riches. None of "this wealth, however, could with truth be "said to have been *brought into existence* "by the manufacturer, for as the land proprietor had given in exchange for the produce of the manufacturer's labour, an "equal value in food, which no longer remained in existence, all the merit which "could justly be conceded to him, would "be his having transmuted wealth of so perishable a nature as food, into the more "durable wealth manufactures.——But it "may be asked, would not the master manufacturer draw from the land proprietor, "as the price of his articles, a greater quantity of food, than he had advanced to his "labouring manufacturers employed in "their fabrication? We may grant, that "this would be the case, still, whatever "might be the amount of this surplus, even "were it considerably more than was necessary for his own subsistence, no wealth "would be *brought into existence* by his "profit. The master manufacturer might "indeed acquire riches, by an accumulation "of such profits, yet the whole of his gains "would be *at the expense of the land proprietors*, and *no addition would be made to*

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" *the national wealth.* An example will " demonstrate this: if a coachmaker were " to employ so many men for half a year in " the building of a coach, as that for their " subsistence during that time, he had ad- " vanced fifty quarters of corn, and if we " suppose he sold this coach to a land pro- " prietor for sixty quarters of corn, it is evi- " dent, that the coachmaker would be ten " quarters of corn richer, than if he had sold " it for fifty quarters, its original cost. But " it is equally clear, that the *land proprietor* " *would be ten quarters of corn poorer*, than " if he had bought his coach at its prime " cost. A *transfer*, then, not a *creation* of " wealth, has taken place, whatever one " gains, the other loses, and the *national* " *wealth is just the same.* This illustrative " example will apply to every imagina- " able case, of the sale of manufactures fa- " bricated and sold in our supposed society, " however complex the operations they " might pass through, or how many soever " the number of hands employed on them. " In every instance, their price would re- " solve itself into the amount of the food " consumed during their fabrication, by the " labouring manufacturer, and into the pro- " fit of the master manufacturer; the for- " mer, we have shewn, is merely a con- " version of one sort of wealth into another " sort of the same value, and the latter is in " every case a transfer of wealth, merely " from the pocket of the buyer to that of " the seller.——It may be inquired, by " those who are so dazzled by the wealth " gained by the manufacturer in this coun- " try, would he, on such a system as we " have imagined, acquire wealth as he does " now? For if he did not, if all the wealth " of the country remained with the land " proprietor, this supposed state of society " would be very different from the one we " witness, where so many manufacturers " are rich, and so many proprietors of land " poor. This query has been in part an- " swered already, as the admission has been " made, that the master manufacturer would " demand a profit on the articles he had " caused to be fabricated, and it is clear, " that by an accumulation of these profits, " he would acquire wealth. At the same " time, it is not difficult to perceive, that " in a society without a circulating medium, " as in a society with one, many of the class " of land proprietors would be always poor. " There would be found there, men, whose " love of grandeur and of pleasure would " lead them to spend every grain of their " income in kind, as there are men found " here, whom the same motives cause to " spend every guinea of their revenue in " money.——If the foregoing observations " have convincingly shewn, that in a state " of society in which every transaction should " be carried on by barter, all the wealth of " such a nation would be created by agri- " culture, none by manufactures, there will " not be need of further argument, to prove " to the phllosophical inquirer, that the very " same results must take place in a society " where a circulating medium is made use " of. Yet, as there is an idea prevalent, " that the employment of a circulating me- " dium materially affects the creation of a " national wealth, it will not be amiss to " examine this subject a little further.—— " The circulating medium of civilised na- " tions is either gold and silver, or paper. " Gold and silver are undoubtedly wealth, " yet they are but a small portion of what " has properly a claim to that title; and a " nation, which has abundance of gold and " silver, is, in fact, not richer than if it had " none. It has paid an equal value of some " other wealth for them, and there is no " good reason why it should be desirous of " having this, rather than any other spe- " cies of wealth: for the only superiority " in value which the precious metals possess " over other products of the labour of man, " is their fitness for being the instruments of " circulation and exchange. But in this " point of view, the necessity of having " gold or silver no longer exists. Experience " has in modern times evinced, that paper, " or the promissory notes of men of un- " doubted property, form a circulating me- " dium, fully as useful, and much less ex- " pensive. No one will pretend to say, that " the wealth of Great Britain consists of " gold and silver, because every one knows, " that these metals do not form a tythe of " her circulating medium; yet multitudes " will maintain, that this circulating me- " dium, composed chiefly of paper, *is a* " *portion of national wealth.* No position, " however, can be more false than this. If " gold and silver be but the representative of " wealth, much more is all the paper in cir- " culation but the representative of wealth, " the shadow, not the substance, nay, in ma- " ny cases, it is the representative of nothing " —the shadow of a shade. When the " Bank of England coins a million of pounds " worth of notes, does it issue them with- " out receiving an equal value for them, or, at " any rate, without having security for the " amount? And when a swindling country " banker, without fortune, has persuaded the " surrounding country to take his notes in " exchange for real property, do not his

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" deluded customers find, to their cost, that " these notes are *not wealth*, but merely " the representative of the *wealth of which* " *they have been duped?* If all these who " have any paper-money in possession, were " to demand to be paid its value, would " they be content to be paid *in other paper?* " would they not say, give us gold or silver, " or if you have not these, divide your pro- " perty, your land, your houses, your mercban- " dize, amongst us?——Thus, then, what- " ever is the circulating medium, whether it " be gold and silver, or paper, or both, being " but the representative of wealth, there " can be no difference, as to the *sources of* " *wealth*, between a nation which has, and " one which has not, a circulating medium: " and consequently wealth can be created " by the same branch of industry only, in " one as in the other. Whether the manu- " facturer receive the price of his manufac- " ture in food, or in money, with which " he purchases food; whether he sell his " articles directly to the land-proprietors, or " to any other class in society; whatever " be the complexity of transactions, re- " sulting from the intricacy consequent " upon a circulating medium; if the whole " be fairly analized, and every thing traced " to its source, it will in every case be " found, in the most refined, as in the " most barbarous, state of society, *that* " *agriculture is the great source, manufac-* " *tures no source at all, of national wealth.*"

——Now, though we have here nothing more than an illustration of principles, which I have, for years, been endeavouring to inculcate; though Mr. Spence (without knowing it, I dare say) is nothing more than the manufacturer, or transmuter, of the wealth (as he, at least, must suppose it) which I have, at different times created, this illustration, or transmutation, call it which we will, is very ably executed, and certainly discovers ingenuity, as well as solidity, rarely to be met with.——I have always regarded taxes as the " *fruit* of the *land* " and the *labour*," that is to say, of agriculture; I have always, since I have reflected upon such matters, insisted, that it was perfect nonsense to talk of the fall of the country, proceeding from what is called " national credit;" I have laughed at the idea of the property, or wealth of the nation being destroyed by the burning of bank-notes and dividend certificates; and, for all this most grossly have I been abused, having, more than once, brought upon myself, by the promulgation of these sentiments, the charge, the heinous charge of being a Jacobin and Leveller.——Though I do not intend to enter, at present, into any further examination of, or commentary upon, Mr. Spence's pamphlet, I cannot help noticing a distinction, which he appears to make between the Bank of England people and the Country Bankers, the latter of whom, when they have not real money, or goods or lands or houses, to answer the amount of their notes, he denominates " *swindlers*," and asks, whether those, who happened to hold any of the paper of these " swindlers," would be " contented, to receive payment in " *other paper*." Now, whether Mr. Spence meant, under this supposed case, to give us his opinion upon the grand transaction of the bank of England, at the time when that famous act, ironically " called the Bank-*Restriction*" act, was passed, I shall not pretend to say; but, certain it is, that the holders of about eleven millions' worth of the paper-money of that bank, were, when they called for real money, or for goods, in lieu of their paper, compelled, by law, to receive " *other paper* " in payment. The ground, then, for this distinction between the Bank of England and a " swindling" Country Banker, I must leave for Mr. Spence, in some future edition of his pamphlet, to explain; but, I beg leave to say before-hand, that, for my part, I shall not be satisfied with any distinction founded upon the funny act of " *restriction*," which, Mr. Spence will have the goodness to remember, was a *law made after the fact*, and was, in its principle, just the same as a law would be, which should be passed today for absolving me from the payment of a debt, which I, for value received, had contracted seven years ago.——I cannot dismiss this subject, even for the present, without a remark or two as to the effects, which would naturally be produced by Mr. Spence's and my principles becoming prevalent. People would re-think their former thoughts, or, rather, re-examine them. The song, which derived " the *roast beef* of Old England" from " our *commerce* and *arts*," would, doubtless, undergo a correction, and the popular parasites of the play-houses would be hissed off, unless they derived the said roast beef from the " *spade* and the *plough*." To introduce an old song into remarks upon so sober a subject may, at first sight, savour of levity; but, the sentiment being found in a popular national song, of long standing, shews in as strong a light, perhaps, as any thing can do, the prevalence of that sentiment; and, I think, it may be safely asserted, that a more absurd sentiment never did prevail in the world; for, where,

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amongst what people, however savage or senseless, was it ever before supposed, that commerce and arts produced the flesh of the ox? To depict credulity in its most despicable degree, we say, that such an one is to be persuaded, that "the moon is made "of green cheese;" but, can such a man be regarded as more credulous than he who believes, that our beef is brought to us in ships, or made in a manufactory? The truth is, that the mass of people of this country, like those of every other country, have looked not beyond *immediate* causes. They saw that commerce and arts produced the means of *purchasing* the "smoaking "hot surloin;" and, without reflecting, as Mr. Spence has done, that purchasing was not *creating*, that, whatever beef was eaten by the commerce and arts, was taken away from the agriculture, and that the commerce and arts made *no addition* to the national wealth, they hastily concluded, that the commerce and arts were the *cause* of the surloin, and that, therefore, while the commerce and arts continued to flourish, we might safely set the French at defiance, leaving them to burst with *envy*, "like the "frog in the fable." Such has been the political philosophy of the nation; and, absurd as it is, it was the political philosophy of Pitt, whose eternal larum always ran upon the vital importance of commerce and manufactures; who pulled out his custom-house accounts as authorities whereon to argue in proof of an increase of national power; seventeen of whose bragging speeches conclude with the words "*our com-*"*mercial greatness*;" and whose opponents, proceeding upon the sentiment of the old roast-beef song, disputed, not his principles, but his custom-house detail; not his political philosophy, but the moral veracity of himself and his underlings. If Mr. Spence, or, which is more probable, if *events*, should teach the people of England to think rightly upon such matters; if they should, no matter from what cause, become convinced, that commerce and arts make no addition to the national means either of defence or of greatness; that the colonies, particularly in the East, so far from adding to the resources of the nation, are a heavy drain upon the fruit of the land and the labour; and, that the great tendency of the commercial system is to draw the real wealth of the whole country towards the metropolis, there, upon the labour of the working classes, to maintain, in idleness and luxury, innumerable swarms of place-men, pensioners, tax-gatherers, jews, jobbers, singers, parasites, and buffoons, while, at the same time, its financial operations render nine men out of ten either directly or indirectly dependant upon the minister of the day, which dependents have, again, their dependents, in the shape of parish paupers, who are daily and hourly increasing, and must continue to increase, in numbers and in misery; if the people in general should become convinced that such is the nature and tendency of the commercial system, then, and not till then, shall we see a prospect of the restoration of our declining, our falling, country.——But, what a terrible revolution would this make! The speeches of Pitt would sink into contempt, cheek by jowl with the old roast-beef song; all Lord Auckland's fine custom-house exhibitions would become matter for profane mirth; the jews would no longer see royal visitants, and their lovely progeny might be destined to resume the orange basket. Ah! Mr. Spence, you are certainly a Jacobin and Leveller! In vain would you, in some parts of your pamphlet, affect to be contented with the present state of things, and even attempt to prove to us, that the idle man is as useful as the labourer. Your principles, your good solid politico-economical principles, are at open war with this Panglosian philosophy; and, if we should, all of us, once imbibe those principles, we shall not listen to your philosophy.

Louis XVIII.——By the sudden, and unexpected appearance of this person, the "present confidential servants of his Ma-"jesty" seem to have been, and yet to be, sadly perplexed; placed, as the saying is, between hawk and buzzard.——It appears, from what has been published, with a half-official air, that Louis XVIII gave no intimation of his intention to come to England; that, being arrived at Yarmouth, he received information from the confidential servants of his Majesty, vulgarly called ministers, that Holyrood House, at Edinburgh, was prepared for his reception; that he declined the honour of a residence there, and informed the ministers, that his visit was of a *political* nature; whence it is inferred, that he is come to propose to the king, our gracious sovereign, openly to espouse his cause, to acknowledge him as King of France, and to make use of some means or other, if possible, to seat him upon the throne of his ancestors. This inference is so absurd, that I cannot believe it; and, I shall be much deceived, if it do not finally appear, that the fugitive prince, well apprized of the sort of life he must lead at Holyrood House, and looking upon the

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choice of that place as a sort of banishment from England and the court, resolved not to go thither.——But, now let us hear the demi-official publication, which, after having said what has been, in substance, stated above, proceeds thus: "If he consent to "reside among us, *in a manner becoming* "*his present circumstances*, every substan- "tial consolation of a secure asylum and "*honourable* support, will be amply pro- "vided for him. But ministers value, we "trust, too highly the *unanimous voice* of "the people in support of this necessary "war, to hazard the *popularity* that has at- "tended its progress, by taking any im- "provident step that might give it a new "character, and disgust the country with "its further continuance. And here we "may be permitted to ask, does the situa- "tion of France, or of the Continent, af- "ford, at present, a more favourable pros- "pect for the restoration of the BOURBONS, "than at any other period since the war of "the revolution? Has this country to ex- "pect more powerful co operation in Eu- "rope, either for that purpose or for over- "throwing the revolutionary government "of France, than upon any former occa- "sion? Has she not, on the contrary, by "repeated acts, *solemnly recognized the* "*existence of a government in France, com-* "*petent to maintain relations of amity and* "*peace, and founded upon the known, ad-* "*mitted, and recognised exclusion of the* "*Bourbons from the throne of that country?* "The voice of almost the whole of Europe "now gives sanction to the present order of "things in France; and is this the moment "for us to depart from that policy, which "we have hitherto wisely acted upon, and "so frequently declared, namely, of not "interfering in the internal concerns of "France? Should we now, when we stand "singly opposed to the accumulated power "of the French ruler, proclaim by desert- "ing the real cause of Britain, and repair- "ing to the standard of the Bourbons, ano- "ther political crusade for the re-establish- "ment of his family on the throne of "France? Are we *so enamoured of the* "*war*, that, rather than leave any open "for its termination, we should, by taking "such a step, *shut out all prospect of ac-* "*commodation*. If the measure could place "*us* in a better situation for prosecuting the "war, or produce any one solid or rational "advantage to the cause of the Bourbons, "there might be *some excuse for resorting* "*to it*. But as it would at best but gratify "idle feelings at the expence of substantial "interests, we, and we trust, every dis- "passionate man in the empire, must ap- "plaud the line of conduct which is un- "derstood to be adopted by ministers on "this delicate occasion.——This subject, "we regret to find, has been brought into "discussion rather inconsiderately. It was "to be wished, that time should have been "allowed to ascertain the accuracy of the "statements which have got into circula- "tion, before they had been made the "foundation of charges of inattention and "illiberality, unbecoming the relative si- "tuations of the respective parties. With- "out pretending to be in full possession "of all the circumstances of the case, "we know enough to warrant us in stat- "ing, that every duty of hospitality has been "performed, and every attention that the "character, in which the head of the house "of Bourbon ought to have presented him- "self on our shores, has been paid to him "by the government. Besides, it must be "remembered, *that the Count de Lisle ne-* "*ver was a king*, and that therefore to re- "cognise him as such, without any human "means of placing him upon a throne, "would only *widen our breach with France,* "*and exasperate the hostility of the two na-* "*tions*. We, too, can feel for the cala- "mities of an illustrious house; but we "must also feel for the *burthens* of our "countrymen, which would be greatly ag- "gravated by any proceeding that would "have the effect of *removing to a greater* "*distance all reasonable prospect of their* "*alleviation*. It is not quite certain either, "that the people of this country would con- "tinue so unanimous as they are at present, "if the setting up of Louis XVIII. should "give a new character to the war.—Would "there not also be just ground for the ene- "mies of government, if they be actuated "by any regular principle, to accuse them "of ingrafting foreign objects on a war of "truly British character? But these men, "in fact, do not seem to be guided by any "fixed or patriotic principle; for we find "those who were formerly so ready to "make every sacrifice to Bonaparte, now "join in the cry which has been attempted "to be raised against ministers, because "they refuse to alter the genuine character "of the contest, and to make it not the "war of Britain, but of the Bourbons, "whose pretensions to the crown of France "they have so long been in the habit of "holding up to public ridicule and scorn. "——We have not space at present to en- "large any further upon this subject; but "its high and vital importance will of "course induce us speedily to return to it.

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" In the mean time we must generally ob-
" serve, that, in whatever point of view
" we consider the subject, whether as af-
" fecting our internal interests or our inter-
" nal unanimity, the immediate question
" of the nature and character of the war, or
" the real dignity of Louis XVIII, *we see*
" *enough to justify us in giving our entire*
" *approbation of the conduct of government,*
" *and expressing our unfeigned satisfaction*
" *that*, whilst they felt sincerely for the
" situation of the illustrious stranger, they
" very prudently governed their feelings by
" a consideration of the paramount duty
" which they owe to the British empire."
——Aye, that you do; quite enough you see in the instructions you have received to insert this article; and, if you were required to insert one of an exactly opposite tendency to-morrow, you would see "quite enough" to justify your approbation of an exactly opposite line of conduct on the part of "his "Majesty's confidential servants." But, my good hireling, you must not slip off so. Have you not, five hundred times, at least, during the last year, called the Emperor Napoleon an "*usurper?*" Have you not reproached and cursed, cruelly cursed, all those who have acknowledged him as the legitimate sovereign of France? And have you not, very recently, commended, in lofty strains, the conduct of the king of Sweden, who refused to give Napoleon any royal title at all? Nay, did you not commend the king of Sweden, for the resolution, which he was said to have taken, *of admitting Louis XVIII. into that country, and of openly recognising him as king of France?* To all these questions you, and all your brethren, the supporters of the ministers, must answer in the affirmative. Tell us, then, ye time-serving scribblers; tell us how Napoleon can be an "*usurper,*" if Louis be not *the king* of France.——You *now* have discovered, that we have, by repeated and solemn acts, recognised the legitimacy of Napoleon's authority. So we have; but, why, then, do you daily call him "a blood-stained usurper," and "a "monster whose life ought to pay the enor-"mous forfeit of his crimes," as you did not more than ten days ago, while, at the same time, you call upon the people of France, to turn from this usurper to "their *lawful* and amiable *monarch?*" So we have, by repeated and solemn acts, recognised Napoleon as the legitimate ruler of France; but, so we had before aid and assistance was afforded to MEHÉ DE LA TOUCHE and his supposed associates; and, when it was made known to the world, that such aid had been given, a public paper, under the hand of Lord Hawkesbury, then as now, a Secretary of State, justified the act upon the express ground, that the government in France was an *usurpation*, and that we had a right to give encouragement and assistance to any part of the people of that country, who might be disposed to rise in arms against it. All this we did, after the "*repeated* "*and solemn acts of recognition*," of which you speak, and which, now again, you have the impudence to make the ground of a refusal to recognize Louis as king of France. ——But, it seems now, that this the other-day *lawful* and amiable monarch "*never* "*was King of France.*" No? What was necessary to make him king? What more than the death of the lineal predecessor? Take care, thou loyal gentleman, or thou wilt call in question the right to reign of every king upon the face of the earth; for, according to your doctrine, upon this occasion, it is only possession that confers right. ——Your compassion, excited by the "*burdens*" of the people, and your anxiety to alleviate those burdens by peace, sound very well, particularly when compared with your language of only the other day, when you treated us with a description of the flourishing state of our finances, and abused the people of Sheffield for *talking of peace.* But, if you really have compassion for the people; if you really wish to lighten their burdens, why do you not propose to *diminish some of the expences of the state?* And, have not you, and all those by whom you are supported, constantly reviled every one who proposed such diminution?——No; the people would not be at all affected by a recognition of Louis XVIII. They now know of no precise object of the war. They know, that their country is in danger of being conquered; and, at present, they wish it not to be conquered; but, as to *objects* of the war, they know of none; nor have they ever known of any.——Not, observe, that I recommend the recognizing of Louis XVIII. now. It is too late. If at all, it should have been done long ago. Nor, do I think, that the oversetting of Napoleon would do any good; while it might do a great deal of harm; for, if the former set of sovereigns were re-instated all over Europe, what, in God's name, would *the people* have to expect! His power, to be sure, is terrible; but, upon *some people*, that power has a salutary influence.——Louis XVIII. is, in my opinion, very right in refusing to live in Scotland. If suffered to come here at all, he ought to remain in England; and the support given him, *if any*, ought to be open

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and liberal. But, unless he be recognized as king of France, I see no good reason for giving him any support at all out of the pockets, that is to say, out of the *labour* of the people of England. His Majesty has, we know, money in the funds; and, there is no one at all acquainted with the liberality and tender-heartedness of both their Majesties, that can, for a moment, doubt of their readiness to support, out of their private means, the charges necessary to maintain in comfort, and even in dignity, an unfortunate monarch, whose subjects have driven him to take refuge in their dominions. This is, in my humble opinion, the way in which all the unfortunate princes, and princesses, who take refuge here, should be supported. It would be the most dignified way; and, who will not believe, that it would be the way by far most agreeable to their Majesties? It is a compliment due to them, and one that ought by no means to be withheld; and, indeed, now that his Majesty has a set of confidential servants after his own heart, I think we may hope, that he will be gratified in what all must suppose to be his wish.——The Morning Post, from whom I have taken the above extract, observes, that our own royal family is so numerous, that we have, in England, no palace to spare for Louis XVIII. That is very true, or, at least, I believe so; and, there is no loyal subject who would wish to see either of his Majesty's illustrious sons put to any shifts or inconveniences for the sake of a stranger, and a Frenchman too. But, then, I really can see no objection to that stranger's going to London, though the Morning Post hopes "he will not be so *in-discreet*." What does he mean by this? What indiscretion is there in going to London? London appears to me to be the place, to which he would naturally wish to go. The truth, is, when men are at a loss to know what to say, they must, and they will, talk nonsense. Of one thing there is, however, an end now; and that is, the calling Napoleon an *usurper*; for, if there be no legitimate sovereign in existence, out of France, the person who reigns there must be regarded as the legitimate sovereign. Our news-papers have, till now, it is true, called Louis XVIII "*king of France*;" but, now that he is come amongst us, they give him completely up; they say, that we have, by repeated and solemn acts, recognized the legitimacy of the authority of Napoleon, and that to recognize Louis as king of France, would be to perpetuate the war between the two nations, to no manner of purpose, except that of gratifying [illegible] of Louis and his few [illegible]. Here, then, we come to a point, to a settled rule of action; and, therefore, I say, let us hear no more of *usurpers*.——If any thing, from the pen of a party slave, could, at this day astonish us, it certainly would be, to see the *Morning Chronicle* recommending the recognition of Louis XVIII. as king of France. This is not ignorance; it is not a want of capacity to perceive, that such a step, at this time, would be downright raving madness; it is sheer party perverseness. The ministers, if they have done any thing in the matter, have, in my opinion, done too much; for, as to supporting the unfortunate prince here, out of the public money, when, if it begin, is it to *cease?* And, upon what principle is it, that the people of this country are to be obliged to support, every prince, friend or foe, who happens to be driven from his country? No. The whole matter ought to have been left to the king and the royal family. That would have been by far the most delicate mode of proceeding; and, as I said before, there can be no doubt, that it would have been the mode most agreeable to the feelings of the royal personages themselves. It appears to me, that a grant from the parliament would amount to little less than the recognition, which has been described to be replete with danger; and, therefore, again and again I express my hope, that his Majesty will take the matter into his own hands.

AMERICAN STATES.——The following article, in the form of a letter, addressed to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle, relative to our ministers in America, would have passed unnoticed by me; it would have been left to gratify the vanity, which it was intended to gratify, exciting in me merely a shrug of compassion, though not entirely unmixed with contempt; but, containing, as it does, a contrast between Mr. Erskine and our *former* ministers in America, greatly disadvantageous to those former ministers; and, what is more, containing a direct censure upon those former ministers, without any exception, I cannot let it pass, without that observation or two, which it loudly calls for. ——"Sir," says this pretended uninterested correspondent, "It affords me great pleasure that I have it in my power to send you the enclosed extract of a pamphlet in my possession, which I have received from New York, entitled, "*The Voice of Truth*; or, Thoughts on the Affair between the Leopard and the Chesapeake." ——The great respect I entertain for my Lord Erskine, induces me to afford you the means of gratifying the noble lord's friends and the British public with the

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" sentiments of respect and esteem which " are entertained in America for his son.— " " To demonstrate the sincere wish for " " harmony which influenced their minds, " " her ministers selected as their messen- " " ger a gentleman *calculated in every re-* " " *spect to win the regards*, and to extin- " " guish the prejudices, of all who were " " not wholly French. The son of the " " *Lord Chancellor of Britain*, of temper " " mild, in manner gentlemanly and con- " " ciliating—frank, *yet firm*, unassuming " " and *unostentatious*, though liberally " " maintaining the splendour of his rank; " " and though sufficiently dignified, whol- " " ly unsullied with official arrogance, and " " untainted with that *hauteur* which, in a " " great measure, shut *those who preceded* " " *him out of the hearts of the people*, and " " of course from an intimate knowledge " " of the country. The appointment of " " such a person ought to have been re- " " ceived by the American administration, " " as most *probably it was intended*, as a " " *compliment*, and as a proof, not a little " " satisfactory, that they wished to cultivate " " the friendship of America in sincerity." ——First, I should like to know, how much this article, this puff as rank as ever was inserted by pay-grinder or by medical quack; I should like to know, how much this article *cost* in fee to the Morning Chronicle. And, then I should like to know how much it cost in America. What a scandalous attempt at imposture, to give us this as an extract from an *American* pamphlet! as taken from a work, expressing *the sentiments of the people of America!* " Gratifying the British public with " the sentiments of respect and esteem, " which are entertained *in America* for Lord " Erskine's son!" Aye, in America, but, by *whom* there? By every body, as far as I *know* to the contrary. I have no positive *proof*, that all the people there are not enamoured of this late Lord Chancellor's son; but, *this pamphlet* is no proof at all of it. I know how pamphlets are written there. I know the sort of motives from which they are generally published: and, I have no scruple to say, that the passage above quoted, was written to produce effect in England, and not in America; in short, that it was made for the very purpose, to which it has now been so expeditiously applied.——Of Mr. Erskine's *fitness* for his post I will say nothing; because, perhaps, if I should "pain his feelings," either in the way of commission or of omission, he might "take the law of me," for which I have by no means any stomach. But, I will say, that, as far as the sentiments of the real Americans have reached me, they looked upon his appointment as *no compliment at all* paid to their country. It is fine talking of the "Honourable Mr. Erskine, " son of the Lord High Chancellor of Bri- " tain," but, only a few months before, the Americans saw him in their country, in a very different capacity; they were well acquainted with the circumstances of his marriage, and of his taking to *the bar* after he returned to England; and, stupid as some persons may suppose them, they know all about the making of Lords and Lord Chancellors, and about appointing ambassadors, in England.——Of his fitness for the post he is in we shall be able to judge, when we come to see his official papers; but, I venture to say, that, in no one respect, would his *father*, if he had been in the son's place, have shown greater talent and address than were by Mr. Hammond in one way, and by Mr. Liston in another. They did not, to be sure, herd with mercantile agents and land-jobbers, without discrimination. They were not speculators, either in lands or funds themselves, and, therefore, had little temptation to associate and smoke segars and get drunk with that description of persons, which, in America, is the most vile upon earth. But, to accuse them of *haughtiness* is false and malignant. There is not the slightest foundation for the charge. Both of them are modest, unassuming men; both of them easy of access, affable and kind; both of them men of great talents, and not less zeal in the service of their country: and, the day will yet come when we shall be able to ascertain, from sources more authentic than a New York pamphlet, how Mr. Erskine stands in comparison with them.

Everley, 5th Nov. 1807.

EDINBURGH REVIEWERS.

Southampton, Oct. 27, 1807.

SIR,——I was directed by your Register of last week, to a perusal of the critique of your writings by the Edinburgh Reviewers; and, as I have seen no attempt to vindicate the good sense of our ancestors from their calumnies, or to protect the admirable construction of our constitution from their *improvements*; I shall, with many conscious apprehensions of insufficiency, attempt it myself.—I lightly pass over their exordium, (an attack altogether personal upon you,) both because your own apology for your change of opinions is in the hands of the public, and, because I hold such imputed change in your opinions to be wholly irrelevant to

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the great questions, which you have brought before the country. Had you changed your opinions ninety-nine times, those changes would leave the questions of the violation of the provisions of the Bill of Rights, and of the Act of Settlement, in regard to triennial parliaments—to Placemen sitting in the House of Commons—misapplication of public Money—undue influence at elections, bribery, &c. the appreciation of Mr. Pitt's administration, &c. exactly, as these matters would have stood without the imputed changes in your opinions; QUESTIONS OF FACT, in which, the government and the people are at issue; questions no more to be altered by the alledged alterations in Mr. Cobbett's opinions, than to be answered by the metaphysical theorems of the Edinburgh Reviewers.—Upon the grounds of their personal attack, I will only observe, before I dismiss it, that the man, who imposes on himself the weekly task of discussing all public questions as they arise, is more obnoxious to the formation of a hasty opinion, than other men; that, there appears no satisfactory cause, why a person should be debarred of the benefit of second thoughts in politics, more than in other affairs; and, that I can see no reason, when the subjects of our political contemplation completely revolve, why human opinion upon them should stand still; lastly, a change *for the better*, (which is Mr. Cobbett's case), can on no occasion fail to be a good thing. There is one species of change, indeed, for which nothing ever can, or ought to be said. I mean a change attended by a selfish remuneration of any kind. But as this is not imputed to Mr. Cobbett, it forms no part of the present discussion.—I proceed to the sentiments of the Reviewers themselves, (page 407, vol. 20) which, however, cannot be properly followed *seriatim*; inasmuch as some of their positions are controverted by their own subsequent remarks; and to bring these together, the order of their argument may require to be interrupted. In the outset I must seriously on my most solemn veracity assure such of my readers as may not have access to the volume, that in a critical work of celebrated wit and great authority, patronized by some of the leaders of the Whig party in the 19th century, the following positions, however incredible it may appear, are distinctly laid down; their expressions being merely by me divested of their verbiage. (page 407, vol. 20. Edinb. Review) 1st. That it is for the good of the people of England, [and of course more good for the people of Scotland] that *placemen* should sit in the House of Commons!—2d. That the exerted influence of peers, and other great patrons, in the election of members of parliament is also good!—Lastly, that the *rotten boroughs* induce no hazard to the constitution, and do not require *reform*. In short, are good also. In a word, they saw it all, and it was good!—The Spaniards have a popular proverb in describing a man, who is very very good; and of such a one they say, "*é tanto buon, che val niente*;" being in vulgar English, "he is so good, that he is "good for nothing." Whether our critics had this in their eye or not, I will not vouch; but, it is certain, that *in the same paragraph* they do admit, "that the sale of bo- "roughs is dishonourable to both the par- "ties concerned in it," and in page 421 of the same critique, they do admit, that "there is a very general spirit of discon- "tent, distrust, and contempt for public "characters" (by which must be meant members of the legislature) "amongst the "more intelligent, &c. &c. of the people" "That they see the seeds of a *revolution* in "the present aspect and temper of the na- "tion." That they "are afraid in the "event of any great emergency or disaster, "no reasonings and no motives of prudence "will be sufficient to uphold the established "forms of the constitution, unless some ef- "fort be made on the part of *public men*" [certainly members of parliament!!] "to "wipe off the imputations which are now "thrown upon their characters."!!! This is their own character of our *excellent* legislature. Observe, it is not of *individuals*, that these portraits are, or can be drawn; for it is not to the evil influence of the political misconduct of individuals, or even of a mere minority of the legislature, that such results—that such prognostics can apply. If, "there is a very general spirit of *discontent*, "distrust, and contempt of public charac- "ters, amongst the more intelligent part of "the nation," what has excited "*gene- "ral discontent*," but BAD GOVERNMENT? What has excited the spirit of "general dis- "trust of public characters," unless, that after experiment upon all factions in the legislature, all have proved unworthy of trust? And, what can have excited "general *con- "tempt* for public characters," but their universal baseness? Again, if "they descry "the seeds of *revolution* in the present as- "pect and temper of the nation," to what does the nation owe its actual temper and aspect? Is it to its GOOD *government!* Or is it the satisfaction of the people in the conduct of its representatives, which has sown "these *seeds*?" Lastly, "if the imputa- "tions thrown upon the characters of pub-

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" lic men, will in any disaster or emergency " compromise the safety of the constitu- " tion," to what are " these *imputations*" to be ascribed, but to the examples exhibited by these " public men!!"—If the public characters, who are capable of doing, who do and *will do*, all this national mischief, are *not* members of parliament, will the Edinburgh Reviewers tell us, who they are, whom they allude to? If they *are* members of parliament, will they tell us how such men as they (not I) represent them to be, became entrusted with the interests of the community? And, if " *places*," " *undue* " *influence*," and " *rotten boroughs*" did not introduce such personages into our legislature, will the Edinburgh Reviewers have the goodness to tell us who, or what did introduce them? In the mean time, I will tell the Reviewers, that had Mr. Cobbett written, with " his usual scurrility," that our late representatives had one day voted, *that white was white*, and the next day (in order to serve their mercenary ends) had voted, *that it was black*, he would not have held their proceedings and their characters up to so much execration, as they have been by the Edinburgh Reviewers in their defence; exemplifying the truth of a remark of Junius, although itself a solecism, " that a " man may be the bitterest enemy of his " friend."—I next proceed to their elementary consideration of the persons, of whom a parliament, *in their opinion*, ought to be composed, with a view to the functions, which it has to perform. (page 407) And herein, entirely departing from the liberal theory of our constitution, in vain illustrated by Blackstone, and eulogized by De Lolme, these Reviewers or Libellers lay down, that the most " *perfect representation of the* " *people*" must be " that which reunites " in itself the greatest proportion of the " *effective aristocracy* of the country."— " That the nation is ultimately governed by " the same individuals, who in their sepa- " rate capacities, would have directed the " sentiments of a very large majority" of the people, " and it being evident that rank, " fortune, and official situation being " amongst the most powerful of the means " by which men are enabled individually to " influence the opinions and conduct of " those around them," " therefore, rank, " wealth, and office should make the great- " est number (that is, a *decided majority*) of " its legislators," (meaning its members of the House of Commons; no other branch of the legislature being in question). In other words, that the people should not be represented *effectively* at all. For, of what good to the people can be the representatives of the people convoked in an assembly with the representatives of rank, wealth, and office, which have (by the supposition) a decided majority over them? In the rationale of these Reviewers however, as in the order of Providence, *good* arises out of *evil*, (at least what Blackstone would have anathematized as such, though they regard it *as good*) for they having discovered that " the constitu- " tional use of a House of Commons was to " preserve the freedom of the people," (page 408) and, it moreover, appearing from their oracles, that this is best to be done by making speeches, whereby the attention of the people is called perpetually to their public rights and interests, their intelligence sharpened, and their spirit exercised and excited; and, it being moreover discovered, that a House of Commons principally composed of the proxies of peers and of representatives of the aristocracy, and of placemen, can make speeches of adequate length upon any given subject, which can interest the people; *ergo*, the people's rights will be as well secured to them by representatives, who *do not* represent them, as by representatives who *do!* " Since, after all, it is on the spi- " rit and intelligence of the people them- " selves, that their liberties must always ul- " timately depend;" and these it has been already clearly proved " *depend ultimately*" upon the speeches, which are to be made in the House of Commons *(chosen as above)* and by no means, as has been vulgarly supposed, upon the honour, courage, good sense and identity in interests of the persons, whom, in a free and popular choice, they might send to represent them. Their next assumption, and which I beg by no means to dispute, is, that our House of Commons is actually composed of such persons, as, agreeably to their ingenious hypothesis, it ought to be composed. How provoking then must be the obstinacy and stupidity of the people to these good Reviewers, who, having selected for their confidence, and for the preservation of their rights and liberties, such materials for a House of Commons out of the aristocracy and placemen, as ought to be selected; and in such proportion, with the scanty and profane materials sent by the people, as ought to be observed; having moreover enriched them with the attributes of making speeches, such as ought to be made; speeches, which would have driven Verres despairing out of Rome, or have excited Athens to a man to rise and march against Philip: how provoking, I say, after this banquet of liberty given by the Reviewers, must be the obstinacy and stupidity of the

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people! Who, in the very teeth of "rank, "wealth, and office," which fill the House of Commons, and which, it is proved by the Reviewers, ought to fill it; which "rank, "wealth, and office," "enable men indivi- "dually to influence the opinions and con- "duct of those around them:" How provoking, I repeat, must it be to the Edinburgh Reviewers, who have shewn "that it" naturally "follows that these qualifications, "rank, wealth, and office," should have "their due share in returning members of "the legislature; and that the government "could not otherwise (page 406) be either "stable, or respectable." I say, how extremely provoking must it be to these Edinburgh Reviewers, to be obliged themselves to admit in this very same critique "that the "sale of Boroughs is *dishonourable* to both "the parties concerned in it;" and, what in their estimation, is probably a great deal worse than dishonour, as it is a great deal worse for their argument, "that there is a "very *general* spirit of *discontent*, *distrust*, "and *contempt* for public characters amongst "the MORE INTELLIGENT, &c. &c. of the "people;" "that *they see* the seeds of a "*revolution* in the present aspect and tem- "per of the nation; that they are afraid "in the event of any great emergency or "disaster, NO REASONINGS, (I presume they "mean such as *their own*) and *no motives* "*of prudence will be sufficient to uphold the* "*established forms* of the constitution," (this is what every body thinks) "unless "some effort be made on the part of public "men to wipe off the imputations which are "now thrown upon their characters!!!" I ask you, Mr. Cobbett, how this could have happened? For, it is in vain to ask the Edinburgh Reviewers; who have, in one and the same sheet of paper, *admitted*, both that *it has* happened, and *proved*, that it *cannot happen!* But, I pause, Sir—an apology is due to your readers for an attempt, however brief and playful, at refuting, what refutes itself. But as, whatever may be the patience of the reader, the Reviewer's critique is not yet half exhausted, and as the whole of *their developement* of the rationale of our constitution is a gross libel upon its genius, as well as an insult upon those, who venerate its genuine spirit, and who wish to restore it to that spirit, I will devote another day in one of your next Registers *to the duty* of further exploding the doctrine of the promulgators of A NEW CONSTITUTION, which admits by its very principles "DISHONOUR" in its origin, and in its operation, is a practical abandonment on the part of the people of their own most valuable property—their hereditary rights and liberties.——I am, Sir, yours,——JOHN COTTON WORTHINGTON.

EAST-INDIES.

SIR;——I have observed it is seldom you advert to the affairs of the East-Indies, and that when you do so, it is with an apparent reluctance, as to a subject painful to you. Yet, if you could sometimes bring yourself to bestow a few hours and a page or two on that quarter of the world, it presents a field in which your exertions might not be without avail for the honor, if not the interests, of our country, and in the cause of humanity. This without entering into the depths of its motley policies, but only occasionally striking at some of the most glaring features of its management under the British rule. At present it is my hope, through your means, to obtain the timely attention of the Directors of the Company to what, from obvious reasons, may not have been very fully officially detailed to them; the alarming Desertions, that since the unfortunate catastrophe at Vellore, have extended themselves throughout the whole Madras Native Army; threatening its speedy annihilation, if some more effectual measures are not adopted, towards doing away the present discontents, than any yet resorted to by the local government. —The impossibility of the subjection and defence of a territory equal in extent to the half of Europe, and of a population exceeding fifty millions, by any military force from England, must be self-evident. It would be a waste of the patience of every one acquainted with India, to attempt to shew, at any length, how our dominion over it is dependant on the arms and loyalty of its native troops; or to dwell on the like eventual fatal result to our power, whether we drive them to a state of general open mutiny, or they have recourse, in disgust, to the more quiet, but not less destructive operation of desertion. Nor can it be necessary to expatiate on the policy of a consideration of their national and religious habits, that by avoiding what may disgust them, and attending to what may please them, we may render them satisfied with their situations in the British service, and attach them to the British interests.—The public are already acquainted, that the late lamentable occurrence at Vellore arose out of an endeavour to expunge from the forehead of the Pagan soldier the distinguishing mark of his faith, to clip the Mahomedan's whiskers, and to force upon the heads of the whole some fancy cap, in the room of the turban. But this has been by no means the first mark of dissatisfaction from similar measures. Twen-

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ty years since, a regiment of cavalry mutinied at Arnee, rather than receive the helmet. About ten years since a Rajpoot destroyed himself upon the parade of Tiagar, in consequence of pollution at drill. But the detail of mutinies and executions or other punishments is a painful task, and unnecessary to my purpose. The experience of every Madras officer will sufficiently confirm one general statement, that for some time back, scarcely any year has passed, in which, in some corps or other, strong discontent has not been evinced, in consequence of an interference with their habits and customs; and this often in points enjoined by their religious persuasions. Intimately so, are the painted forehead denoting at once the sect of the individual and the performance of his morning ablutions; and the whiskers and manner of shaving marking religious fasts and private mournings. Such also is the Asiatic predilection for the turban in opposition to the European hat or cap, that it is impossible to pass along the streets of any town without hearing the very children, in their terms of abuse to each other, use that of Hat-fellow, as one of the most stigmatizing.—The investigation of the cause of evil is commonly the first step towards its remedy, and in this view, I have been led to the present endeavor to trace out the sources of the great change that has taken place, in the sentiments of the Sepoys towards the English service, with deference, however, to my brother officers, from whom I hope support, by giving publicity to their opinions. In the days of Sir Eyre Coote, although the European troops were regularly paid, the whole native army was from six months to three years in arrears, in distress borrowing at usury, and some even selling their children into slavery, for a subsistence; yet was every proffer from Hyder indignantly repelled by them; and under every hardship of warfare desertion almost unknown. It may not be credited, but so it was, and I appeal to Sir Hippesly Cox, then one of the paymasters, to verify the fact. On the making peace, a considerable reduction of the army took place, and these men were paid their arrears in paper, which when they presented at the pay offices, they were told there was no money: the pay-master's clerks and servants, however, offering to buy this paper of them, at 75 per cent. discount, or, perhaps, the amount of a month or six weeks pay, for that of the whole three years. The poor fellows had no alternative, but to take what was tendered to them. Stung by such rank injustice, and to escape their debts, the greater part of them resorted to Tippoo's dominions, and to his service for their future bread. It was neither renegado Frenchmen, ever mistrusted; nor the idler tale of Hyder's own acquired experience in a French camp: it was these brave faithful ill-treated soldiers, who carried with them into the ranks of the Mysore army that discipline and knowledge of war, to repress which ultimately compelled the Company to double their military establishment at Madras; and has called forth those arduous and repeated exertions, for the expenses of which they are actually so many millions in debt; and what is worse, has cost the lives of so many thousands of British soldiers, and of so many tens of thousands of Sepoys.—In the face of experience are we to imagine these veterans, driven to desertion by our persecutions, are not at the present day anxiously sought by every power of the country; and that the warmth of reception shewed to the forerunners will not create such a general excitement, that every day's delay in the application of the sufficient remedy must be an extinguisher to the very hope of any arrest to this disastrous turn, which our own follies have set in motion? To what quarters are these veterans now transporting their arms and their experience? In the camps of Scindia and Holkar, will they not be received with open arms? Among the numerous Jageerdars by whom our territories are surrounded, may no new Hyder appear? What additional strength to the disaffected Poligars of the western hills, through an exposed extent of coast reaching from Cochin to Mangalore! What follows for the service of our most inveterate enemy, whenever he shall be able to obtain a footing in these distant regions!—The unfortunate regulations, which created so sad a resistance, are now explained to have been drawn up by an officer of the Company's European Regiment, and who never served in any native battalion; but, being on the staff of head quarters, had access to the commander-in-chief; and vaguely sanctioned by two other staff officers, long since removed by their situation from immediate intercourse with only native troops, were hastily adopted, not only without consulting any of the officers commanding the battalions, but even in opposition to the remonstrances of some of them, when ordered to carry the code into effect.—By late accounts from Madras we learn that this spirit of desertion is no longer confined to the infantry, but that since the appointment of Lieut. Col. Gillespie, of His Majesty's Nineteenth Dragoons,

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to superintend the discipline of the native cavalry, it has also extended itself to this branch of the army.—When we consider the whole affair of Vellore, the circumstances in which it originated, and the part which it fell to the lot of Lieut. Col. Gillespie to have to perform, I think it might have been apprehended, that he would not prove the officer, whose interference would be the most acceptable to any branch of the native army, in the regulations of their details; and to whose opinions they might be most cheerfully brought to yield any peculiar usages, if necessary to be exacted from them. And it appears further strange, when we call to mind the hitherto pre-eminent discipline of the Madras Native Cavalry, and the acknowledged professional skill of its proper officers, that there should have existed any necessity to pass by them; and to call in an officer from another service, junior in rank to some, and in practical professional experience to many of them.—Let me now ask on what grounds it can be inferred, that an officer fresh from Europe, without a knowledge of the language of the country; or if any time resident in India, his attention absorbed by the duties of his European Regiment, or staff employ; and consequently without the equal opportunity of observing, should equally understand with their own officers, whose lives are passed in the midst of them, those religious tenets by which the constant demeanor of the natives, Mahomedan and Pagan, is influenced; and be in the same manner aware of the variety of their sects, the difference of their superstitious forms and ceremonies, and the intricate amities and hostilities by which they are actuated towards each other: or may it not be more rationally expected, that with European hauteur looking down contemptuously on prejudices and principles he does not comprehend, he should convert to grounds of dissatisfaction, what constitutes in the hands of their own officers, the best assurance of the fidelity of the Indian soldiery?—I have now candidly exposed what, as well from my own observations, as from communications with some of its oldest and most resspectable officers, I do conscientiously believe to be the genuine sources of the present state of the Madras Native Army, inspiring such just apprehension. If the voice of an individual should reach those who rule over the affairs of India, it earnestly calls on them to weigh the policy of confiding the superintendency of the native troops to their own officers, practised in their usages; with the responsibility, vesting also an authority, under the commander-in-chief, in the respective senior officers of infantry and cavalry, each in his own branch, in all matters of its internal economy; and restricting, by so precise an arrangement as shall admit no pretence from commanding forts or detachments, or in any other way, for an interference in the subordinate degrees of either of its departments by the officers of the other, or by the officers of his Majesty's service: whether in respect to the detail of discipline or the personal appearance of the men; or the delicate attentions necessary to their peculiar habits and family arrangements, religious ceremonies, feasts and fasts, holidays and processions and other private occurrences.—In this manner not refusing the influence of that personal love and confidence, began in youth and strengthened by years, from the Sepoys towards their own officers, under a long participation of the same toils; nor slackening the bonds of their authority, by degrading and lowering them to a secondary class; but giving to the proper officers of the native troops a reasonable chance, if not too late, that under the control and guidance of their seniors, and by such a course as their discernment and judgment, formed on a long local experience, shall suggest, they may avert from the Company and themseves the threatfining dangers of the present awful period, and save a fine army to the services of their country.——A MADRAS OFFICER.——*Oct.* 11, 1807.

EXPATRIATION.

SIR,——My attention having been principally directed to the remarks of Candidus, and to your observations upon the subject of my communication, the animadversions of your correspondent R. R. (569) had escaped my notice until this day, which I had devoted to a perusal of the favours of your other correspondents. While I with R. R. condemn "personalities and invectives," I cannot with him agree, that "vice to be despised and abhorred is necessary only to be seen;" that superabundant portion of self denial, that more than usual share of reason which R. R. may possess, may cause him to controul his passions, and detest not only the sight of vice, but forcibly condemn it in others; while, however, he happily possesses the rigid stoicism of men who never have been in the way of temptation, he should not condemn an unfortunate wretch as he represents me, who possibly may be as free from vice actually, as R. R. may pretend to be, but who have also withstood the temptation never perhaps thrown

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in his way. I arrogate not to myself a stoicism superior to R. R. I advocate not the cause of vice; but, I think R. R. did not act with his wonted profundity, when he declined commenting upon the doctrine I have advanced, howsoever 'indignant' his feelings and strong his "personal invectives" may be. But should R. R.'s "indignant" feelings continue, and he should be as well able as he probably may be disposed to enlarge upon the 'extravagant and ridiculous' doctrine I have broached. I now furnish him with a further observation, on which he may employ a portion of his invaluable time. But, I must request R. R. before he hastily and inconsiderately replies to the absurdity of my doctrine, and howsoever 'extravagant and ridiculous' he may at present deem it to be, to consult the authorities I have referred to, as well as duly consider my observations; although the latter may not lead him on to conviction, they may possibly induce him in future to suspend a hasty and inconsiderate decision, and teach him not to condemn as 'ridiculous and extravagant' a doctrine countenanced, and ably maintained by writers much more able than either R. R. or S. V., and possibly, not comprehended by either of them.——The Proclamation, Mr. Cobbett, (and to this and to my observations upon it, R. R. may attend, if his inclination and ability enable him to animadvert again by way of episode) which appeared in the Gazette of 17th October, fully accords with my ideas expressed in my last letter, with respect to the right of the executive to prevent expatriation on an emergency. It is not for me, Sir, as a subject of this kingdom, to doubt the power of the executive to declare, or the legislature to legislate on this or other subjects; but, I may without a liability to the charge of inconsistency shew, that while foreign states are labouring to weaken our maritime power, by enticing our seamen to desert their country's cause, we do really adopt the self same thing we so much condemn in others. I have before declared that I advocate the cause of consistency, and I will continue so to do as long as you permit me, notwithstanding I may have the 'full sealed quart measure of reprobation' from Candidus, 'for publicly asserting my principles,' and, although R. R. despises and abhors' my doctrine. When we advance stubborn facts, Mr. Cobbett, we need not the aid of violent expression; and Candidus and R. R. should know, that though their strength of nerve, entrenched as they may both be with the lusty sinews of draymen, may qualify them for the gymnastic line, that when they chuse to enter into disputation, something more is necessary than the powers of muscular strength and Stentorian violence; some little shew of argument should accompany mere assertion; for, though I might perhaps, from my diminutive stature, a mere sesquipedalian as I am, succumb under their Herculean fist, yet neither their Stentorian voices nor Ciceronian expression, without argument tending to conviction can stifle me. I am not to be dragooned into conviction; if your correspondents will adopt rather more of the argumentative than the dogmatical stile, it will be more beneficial to them, as it may to me, for I shall not pay much attention to a man's doctrine, whether diametrically opposite to mine or in favour of it, unless he chuses to assign a stronger ground in support of it, than because it may suit him to say such is my doctrine, because so it is—*ita lex scripta est*, may do in the mouths of men of authority, but when adopted by anonymous correspondents it must be accompanied by argument, for from argument conviction must result.—The first section of the proclamation "for recalling and prohibiting seamen from "serving foreign princes and states," sets out with stating, that "seafaring men, na- "tural born subjects, have been enticed to "enter into foreign states;" and, the 5th section declares, that "they have been in- "duced to accept letters of naturalization, "or certificates of citizenship from foreign "states, and have been taught to believe, "that by such letters or certificates, they "are discharged from that duty of alle- "giance which, as our natural born subjects "they owe to us;" and then it *declares*, that "no such letters or certificates can di- "vest our natural born subjects of alle- "giance."—I do not find fault with this proclamation; it accords with my ideas; the right to restrain the subjects of this country being founded on a state of necessity; but, I condemn the want of consistency, as it appears to me there is, between this proclamation and the statute law of the country.——By the 13 George 2. chap. 3. sec. 2, "for the better encouraging of *foreign* ma- "riners and *seamen*, to come and serve on "board ships belonging to this Kingdom of "Great Britain, be it further enacted, by the "authority aforesaid, that every such fo- "reign mariner or seaman who shall from "and after the 1st day of January, 1739, "have faithfully served during the time of "war, on board any of his Majesty's ships "of war, or any merchant or other trading "ship or ships, vessel or vessels, or priva- "teers (which at the time of such service "shall belong to any of his Majesty's sub- "jects of Great Britain) for the space of "*two years*, shall to all intents and purposes

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" be deemed and taken to be *a natural born* " *subject* of his Majesty's Kingdom of Great " Britain, and have and enjoy all the privi- " leges, powers, rights, and capacities, " which such foreign mariner or seaman " could, should, or ought to have had and " enjoyed, in case he had been a natural " born subject of his Majesty, and actually " a native within the Kingdom of Great " Britain."—Now, what I have heretofore contended for, and do now contend is, that we ought not to permit and invite foreigners to become naturalized, unless we allow other powers from whom we take their subjects, to decoy our subjects from us in a similar way to that which under the above statute we have the power of doing. Would it not be well to repeal on the first meeting of parliament, the above-mentioned section 2d?—We then can properly insist upon the propriety of recalling our subjects who may have attempted to depart from their allegiance; but, so long as this section remains in force in our written code, I do hold it to be inconsistent and impolitic, that we should condemn a foreign state for doing that which we sanction with respect to his subjects.—— S. V.——*Oct.* 20, 1807.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

Authentic Copy of the Letter addressed by Lieut. Gen. Lord Cathcart, to Major Gen. Peymann, the Commandant of Copenhagen, previous to the commencement of the siege of that City, dated Head Quarters, Aug. 20, 1807.

Sir,——Your letter of the 18th, did not come into my hands till late last night. The passport for Prince Frederick Ferdinand, with his retinue, is given on the same principle with those which have already been sent, but it must be strictly limited to the persons described. An irregularity is reported to me to have occurred on the part of the bearer of your letter. It will be of reciprocal convenience that such circumstances should not occur. Every mark of respectful attention having been paid to the illustrious persons related to the Blood Royal of Denmark, and due regard having been shewn to the household and equipage of his Danish Majesty, circumstances imperiously demand that a stop must now be put to the departure of any person whatever from the metropolis. In making this communication, I cannot refrain from availing myself of this opportunity of representing, in my own name, as well as in that of the admiral commanding his Majesty's fleet, to the most serious consideration of your Excellency, the existing state of affairs at Copenhagen, which are drawing to an awful crisis. If this city, the capital of Denmark, the residence of the King, and of his royal court and government, the seat of learning, and the rendezvous of commerce, full of inhabitants of all ranks, ages, and sexes, will put itself on the footing of a fortress besieged, it must be attacked by all the means which may appear best calculated for its reduction, as soon as orders are given to that purpose; and, when such is the case, the officers employed have no choice but to use every effort to take the place. The attack of a city so rich and populous, cannot fail to be attended by consequences most destructive in preparation, as well as in final execution, to the persons and property of individuals. Impelled by the necessity of the case, our government has at the same time supplied positive orders and ample means to attack by sea and land, in case of refusal on the part of Denmark to treat in an amicable manner.—The preparations are perhaps in a more forward state than you imagine. For God's sake, Sir, let it be calmly considered, whether resistance may not lead to the destruction of the very treasure you wish to preserve, and whether under the circumstances of the present dispute the praise of displaying the valour for which every body is prepared to give you credit, will compensate the ruin and destruction inseparable from the siege of a capital city; and the ultimate loss or destruction of your fleet and arsenal, which might be avoided.——Property of every kind without the walls has been respected; you must know likewise that other objects, and of the greatest national importance to the power of Denmark are within my grasp, and have remained hitherto unremoved. This is a state of things which cannot continue. I mean not to offend you by any thing like a menace, but I exhort your Excellency and your Council to think seriously of the irreparable loss which the operation of a few days may occasion, but which might still be averted.—I have the honour to be, with the greatest personal consideration, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) Cathcart, Lieut. Gen.

The Ninth Volume of Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, comprising the period from the 5th of March to the close of the First Session of the Fourth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to the 14th of August, 1807, is ready for delivery.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 20.] LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1807. [PRICE 1OD.

At the parsons, Tom, halloo, boy,
Worthy off-spring of a shoe-boy.——SWIFT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

IRISH TYTHES. ——The reader will, perhaps, remember, that I have frequently spoken of the tythes in Ireland as one great source of discontent; and, it would seem, from an article, which appeared in the Morning Chronicle of the 9th instant, and which I am now about to insert, that the *protestant gentlemen* in that country have been taking some measures, preparatory to an application to parliament for an act to *enforce* a *commutation* of the tythes. "Of the several duties which the constitu- "tion occasionally imposes upon different "classes of society, there is no one of "greater magnitude than that which the "country gentlemen have, in particular "emergencies of the state, to discharge, "of giving their advice to parliament. The "resident gentlemen of Ireland have wisely "considered the present aspect of public "affairs required from them the exercise "of this duty; because the continuance "of silence on their part, would be to give "countenance to a system of measures, of "which they disapprove, and because it is "very manifest to all impartial observers, "that the safety of Ireland depends upon "a speedy termination to this system. Be- "sides, after the late Administration and "Parliament having both of them been "extinguished for their conduct in respect "to Ireland; and after the addresses of "numerous public bodies in England, exhi- "biting their disapprobation of the intended "measures of favour towards Ireland; "what event can be more natural than de- "clarations on the part of the Irish public, "on a subject so completely embracing "every thing interesting and dear to Ireland? "It is clearly one thing to decide the great "question of concession or coercion in "managing Ireland in England, and another "thing to decide it in Ireland. For though "a great cry may be raised in England "against *concession*, still concession must "be made, if the *men of property of Ire- "land, who form the Protestant interest, "join with the Catholics of Ireland in re- "quiring it.* This we consider they have "done in a great degree, and we know "they wish yet to do so in a still more ex- "tensive manner; for though the Protes- "tant Grand Juries of the counties of Kil- "kenny and Galway have alone declared "the necessity of Emancipation several "other counties have come to unanimous "resolutions, expressive of their opinion, "that the measure of A COMMUTATION "OF TYTHES *is absolutely indispensible "to secure internal tranquillity, and ought "to be conceded to the people of Ireland.* "——What is the fair construction to put "upon this national exertion? It is this. "That the Protestant Gentlemen of Ireland, "feeling that the present period is not ripe "for urging the complete emancipation of "their Catholic fellow subjects, but being "anxious to contradict and counteract the "bigotry of many in this country, and to "shew their disapprobation of coercive "measures, *adopt a recommendation to Par- "liament of a commutation of tythes,* as "that measure which, next to emancipa- "tion, will be the most effectual conces- "sion that can be made to the Catholics of "Ireland. The resolutions of the several "counties prove that these are the princi- "ples which have actuated the conduct of "the *Protestant Gentlemen.* For in these "they declared, *that tythes are so great a "grievance to the poor, that no measure "would be more effectual in preventing in- "surrections,* than a commutation, and all "this in direct opposition to every thing "that we have of late heard of "no more "concessions," and acts of Parliament "to prevent insurrections in Ireland. *No- "thing can possibly be more illustrative of "the liberality and good sense of the Pro- "testant Gentlemen of Ireland, than such "language as this.* An evil is complained "of, insurrection: they proclaim the cause "of it to be the grievance, tythes, and ad- "vise the remedy, commutation. They "do not convene county meetings to return "thanks to ministers for their insurrection "act and arms act, or for granting addi- "tional bulwarks to the Protestant ascen- "dancy; but, at these meetings, they una- "nimously condemn the principle on "which the present administration has been "formed, and prove themselves capable of "judging of the best mode of governing

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" their own country, by recommending " measures that will attach the great bulk " of the people in fervent loyalty to the " throne and constitution. Our information has led us to suppose that a great " change had taken place in the sentiments " of the well-informed Protestants of Ireland, with regard to their Catholic fellow-subjects. These county meetings " place it beyond a doubt that they are " most liberally inclined towards them; an " event that augurs most favourably of the " future success of the leading advocates " for complete emancipation."——It will be perceived, that this article has a mere party purpose in view; but, it announces to us the fact, that the *protestant gentlemen* of Ireland are for *a commutation of the tythes*. Let us now see, then, how such a measure would operate with respect to the people of Ireland, and how far it ought to be considered as a " *concession*" to them. ——Tythes have been represented as a great " grievance," and the manner of collecting them in Ireland has been, and is, very vexatious. But, what will be the effect of a commutation? Will the poor man, who cultivates five acres of ground in potatoes, yield less in tythe than he does now? Will he give less to the parson than he now gives? If he does not, it is evident, that he can derive no substantial benefits from the proposed change; and, if he does give less to the parson, it is, to me at least, quite certain, that he will give more to the land-owner, or the land jobber; so that, this commutation, whatever may be the effect of it with regard to the land owner and the parson, will, in no degree whatever, lighten the burdens of the potatoe planter. The manner of collection will, indeed, in case of a commutation, be less vexatious; but, when land is let to the potatoe-planter, this vexation is not forgotten by either party; and, an allowance, though not expressly, is actually made for vexation as well as for tythe, especially in a country where the vexation is general, and, of course, notorious.——I admire, therefore, the " *patriotism*," which the sage of the Morning Chronicle has discovered in the " Irish *protestant gentlemen*," who, as he would have us believe, and as he really believes himself, perhaps, are endeavouring thus to obtain a *concession* to the people of Ireland, but who, if they know what they are about, are endeavouring to take some part of the amount of the tythes out of the pockets of the parsons, in order to put that amount into their own pockets; a most just and suitable return to the clergy for that hypocritical no-popery clamour, in which, to their everlasting shame, so many of them had the folly, or the wickedness to join.——Oh, yes! I always like to hear of the " patriotism" of the " protestant gentlemen" of Ireland! Perhaps so keen a set are not to be met with upon the face of the whole earth. They clamoured without ceasing for the safety of the *Church*; but, we now find, that they care little about the safety of its ministers, when that safety is opposed to their own interests.——This proposed commutation will take exceedingly. The deception lies, like that of Pitt's sinking fund, just beneath the surface, and that is quite enough to insure success with ninety-nine hundredths of the mass of mankind, especially when apparent self-interest comes in to its aid. The parson is the man, to whom the farmer immediately yields his tythes. Take away the parson, and, of course, the tythes remain with the farmer, and he gains a tenth of the whole produce of his farm! But, at the end of the year, if he be a yearly tenant, or, at the end of his lease, when he comes to take his farm again, will not the landlord make an addition to the rent equal to the former amount of the tythes? Aye, but the vexation of having tythes taken up in kind, and having straw carried off the farm. Well, and will not the landlord be apprized of this; and will he not make the farmer pay for a cessation of this vexation, and this imaginary injury? I remember making some inquiries upon this subject in France, in the year 1792, and the information I received from, I dare say, not less than a hundred farmers, was this, that, in lieu of a tenth of their produce yielded to the church, they yielded, after the abolition of the tythes, a fifth of their produce to the landlord. That this would be the natural effect is pretty evident; for, the parson collects his tythes under numerous, and, some of them, great disadvantages. If he take them in kind, all the labour of gathering them is, upon a general scale, so much labour thrown away, because the farmer could gather them, along with his own, with no additional expence. Then he is subjected to such strict rules in the gathering; they are scattered about so widely; they must necessarily be so mingled in the mow; that, take every thing into consideration, the tythe of any farm, except in very singular cases, is not worth to the parson much more than half what it is worth to the farmer. This the landlord knows; and, therefore, take away the tythe, and he will make the farmer pay him for it twice as much as he has been used to pay the parson. Thus, as sure as we are born, would it be in

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Ireland; and, therefore, this sudden and unexpected effusion of "patriotism," on the part of the "protestant gentlemen" of Ireland, appears to be a scheme for tricking both the parsons and the farmers.——But, did I myself not propose to do something respecting the tythes in Ireland? I did; but, my proposition was not intended to throw more gains into the pockets of the landowners and land-jobbers. I would still have saddled the land with the expence of maintaining a Clergy of one sort or the other; and, in proportion to the Catholic population, I would have diverted that expence to their ministers, making the Protestant church a compensation in England, by purchasing up the lay impropriations, upon the unalterable condition, that *benefice* and *residence* should, in all cases, be inseparable. This was my scheme. I had no intention to cheat both the clergy and the laity, and call it "patriotism."——Yet, I am half afraid, that this patriotic scheme was the very one which Lords Howick and Henry Petty had upon the anvil, when no-popery turned them out. A brilliant scheme, truly, and well worthy of such heads! They had consulted the "protestant gentlemen" upon it, who had, doubtless, perceived what the wise ministers had overlooked. And this is a "*concession*" to Ireland! This is "a great step towards *emancipation*." This is to be a beginning of that good, which is to conciliate the people of Ireland, and to eradicate the French faction, which Mr. Grattan told us was existing there, and to keep down which faction he himself had, it is said, *drawn up, with his own hand, the very bill, which afterwards passed into a law*, and to which bill, he, to the astonishment of all those who were not acquainted with the fact, gave his unqualified support.——No; it is not a sharper-like trick that will produce harmony in Ireland, and a general disposition to defend, against the enemy, both Ireland and England. There requires something great to be done. There requires a change in the treatment of Ireland. There requires a diminution of the burdens of the people. There requires a share of the good things of the country to be given to those ministers of religion, to whom the people in general are attached. Lords Howick and Grenville were for "drawing off the *superabundant population*," while, at the very same time, they were granting large sums of money for the express purpose of making work and purchasing food for the people of Scotland, in order *to prevent them from emigrating*. What wild work was this! What a total want of all fixed principle in governing was here displayed! Just as if to be a ruler of millions of men, no capacity of thinking were required, all the talents necessary being that of making long, dull, lawyer-like harangues. ——In another part of this Register, there are two letters from a correspondent, under the name of MENTOR. These letters I beg leave to recommend to the serious perusal of the reader; and, I am much deceived, that, if they could be read by every man in England, they would not produce a very sensible effect. The importance of Ireland to England is here shown in a most clear and striking light; and, I think, it would be madness to suppose that England could long resist the conqueror, supposing him to make a landing in Ireland, with any considerable number of troops, finding the people to be what they were described to be by Mr. Grattan. When great alterations and concessions are proposed, people seem alarmed; but, if great alterations of some sort are necessary to produce that disposition in the people of Ireland which is essential to the safety of the kingdom, why should we flinch? Why should we not make them at once? We are not now in a state that allows us time to wait for a more favourable opportunity. We have not an hour to lose; for, it is impossible so to guard the sea, at all times, as to prevent a French force from sailing to Ireland; and, when it is once safely arrived there, the consequences are too evident to need detailing.——But, it is no pitiful trick, such as the one proposed, that will answer any good purpose. It would be seen through before the bill were well got into the House; yet, while it would produce no good effect with respect to Ireland, it would produce a most mischievous effect with respect to England, where the agricultural politicians have long been at work to accomplish an abolition of tythes. The example of Ireland would give them new life, and Lord Carrington's schemes would become the fashion of the day. There are many men, who would, perhaps, see the fall of the church establishment, or, at least, of the means of the maintenance of its ministers, with pleasure; and, I must confess, that the extent to which non-residence is carried, together with the manner in which benefices are conferred, are enough to disgust any man. But, there is one short observation, which I would beg leave to address to those, who, not being aristocratically inclined, would wish to see the fall of the church, and that is this: by destroying the Church establishment, you destroy about twelve thousand small proprietors of land, and transfer their property to the great proprietors already existing.——Such also, as far as it

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would go in diminishing the revenues of the clergy, would be the effect of the commutation proposed by the "*patriotic* protestant gentlemen" in Ireland.

Louis XVIII.——Before I proceed to remark upon the circumstances, connected with the arrival of this prince, let me say a word or two in justification of what was contained in the last Register, by way of animadversion upon the conduct of the Morning Chronicle, whom I charged with having blamed the ministers for not having acknowledged him as king of France. There is, indeed, a good deal of verbosity, in the article, to which I alluded; but I found the following passage, which the Morning Chronicle had quoted for the truth and justice of its remarks; which it had inserted, as expressing its own sentiments; and which, if it does not, in so many words, blame the ministers for not acknowledging Louis XVIII, as king of France, certainly leaves such blame to be inferred.——"We "wish ministers had sent down some distinguished nobleman to have received *his* "*Majesty*, and that the *honours due to royalty* had been paid him upon his arrival. "There is something in the manner in "which we have behaved to the illustrious "family of the Bourbons, not quite satisfactory to our feelings. We have afforded "them an asylum and an establishment, "but we seem to have done it in too measured a manner; we seem always to have "acted as if we would avoid giving offence "to *the usurper* of their throne. Our protection of them has had a degree of prudence, and our generosity a principle of "caution in it which ill accords with the "noble frankness of the British character. "We would have had the members of the "family received at court; we would have "the fallen Majesty of Louis XVIII, "cheered and consoled by the gracious "regards of our good and patriot king. "What! are we to pay honours and homage to royalty only when it is posses e! of "power? Are we to let a people see that "the moment they *rebel* against a *lawful* "*sovereign*, and suffer an upstart *to usurp* "*his throne*, England is ready to *withdraw* "*from that sovereign* all homage and consideration, and deference, and bestow "them upon the usurper?——It is now "451 years since we had *a King of France* "in this country, John, who was taken "prisoner at the battle of Poictiers, by Edward the Black Prince."——Now, is there not *blame* bestowed here upon the ministers? Are they not blamed for having been too measured in their conduct, with respect to the prince? Are they not blamed for not having done *enough*; and, what more were we to conclude was meant by this writer? What more, unless to acknowledge him king of France? Nay, does not the Morning Chronicle say, that a distinguished nobleman ought to have been sent to the coast to receive "*His Majesty*," and that the "honours due to *Royalty*" should have been paid upon his arrival? What is this short of the acknowledgement, which the Morning Chronicle is now so anxious to deny having recommended? For, if that acknowledgement was not to be understood, why is the attribute of *Majesty* conferred? And, what a mockery would it have been to pay the "honours due to *Royalty*?" Why, too, is Napoleon, in this same article, called an "*usurper*," and the people of France "*rebels*?" Why this? How inconsistent, foolish, not to say base, are this language and these sentiments in the mouth of a person, who is not for the acknowledging of Louis XVIII as "king of France." And, was I to blame, then, for saying that this writer blamed the ministers for not making that acknowledgement? He blamed them for not sending a nobleman of distinction to receive "his *Majesty*;" he blamed them for not paying, upon this occasion, the "honours due to *Royalty*;" and yet he is shame-faced, when we infer from this, that he would have had them to acknowledge the prince as *king* of France. He would have had them to *receive* Louis as king, but not to *acknowledge* him as *king*: amusing distinction enough; but it was, I confess, much too nice for me readily to comprehend.——Let us now revert a little to what has been said and done in other quarters. ——The Morning Post, which has now become rather the satirist of Louis XVIII, began very warmly in his favour. "When," said he, "the magnanimous emperor of the "North was induced to thrust forth the "houseless stranger upon the wide world, "Britain, with the *generous* hospitality of "a great and loyal nation, *held forth her* "*arms to receive him*. Here at least he "may rest assured of finding a safe and "*splendid* retreat, undisturbed by the access of external force, or the apprehension "of internal treason. *Kensington Palace*, "report says, is to be appropriated *to the* "*reception of the royal guest* and his illustrious relatives."——The very next day, however, the writer having discovered, that it had been resolved to send the French prince to *Scotland*, happily discovered, at the same time, some most excellent reasons for not letting him have Kensington, or any

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other palace, in England. Observe, that it was the very next day. He had the advantage of only one night's sleep upon it. Pray let us hear him: "the public will "readily perceive, that every thing which "hospitality, loyalty, and prudence could "suggest or render expedient, has been "done on our part to afford to the Royal "Stranger that reception which alone it "could in reason be supposed his *High-*"*ness*," (*Majesty* is dropped, observe,) "had been led to expect. *Holyrood House* "is a royal palace, with all the *privileges* "appertaining to a court annexed to it; and "*when it is considered*, that owing to the "numerous residences which are necessary "for the accommodation *of our own royal* "*family*, the duchess of Brunswick, his "Majesty's sister, is in a manner, obliged to "live in lodgings, a Prince of the House of "Bourbon cannot pretend that due respect "is not paid to him, in the friendly tender "of a *spacious royal palace in Scotland*." ——Aye, sure! What, come to turn our own family out of their houses! What a shame! An Englishman's house is his *castle*, as we all daily experience; and, if this applies to each individual of us, in common life, how sacred ought to be the houses of the family? As for *voluntarily* giving up their houses, and that, too, to an utter stranger, and a foreigner, no man, in his senses, would expect it. Who is there, I ask, that does such things? Do any of us give up our houses for strangers to live in? Do we give them up even to our blood kindred? No: why, then, are we to suppose, that any of the royal dukes, for instance, would be disposed to do it? Let any one set out upon his travels, and, except he happen to get amongst some of the old-fashioned settlers in America, he may travel to the world's end without finding any one to give him bed or board for nothing. Nay, is there a scrubby public-house, wherein to sleep is impossible and to lie down is worse than to sit up, the landlord, or, rather, the keeper, of which will not make you pay even for a sight of his fire. And, are there, nevertheless, persons, who would expect our royal family to turn out of their dwellings to make room for Louis XVIII. a man to whom they are not at all related, and who, as far as I am able to conjecture, is not likely to be in a condition to repay them, either in money or in kind? ——But, though I heartily agree with the Morning Post in scouting the idea of any of our family giving up their houses to a stranger, I must ask him, how he came, only the day before, to tell us, that *Kensington Palace* was destined to receive that stranger? "He was *misinformed*." Very true; but, he did not speak of the thing as absurd or incredible. He saw no impropriety in it; and related the fact with great apparent satisfaction. It was not until the next day, that he discovered the want of room in our English palaces, owing to the populousness of our own royal family. Now, for my part, the moment I heard of the thing, I said, that I was certain there would be no room for him in any of those palaces. I laughed at the idea, and I cannot help thinking, that I was heartily joined by the persons who would have been most interested in such an arrangement. "The *uncertainty of human* "*affairs*," says this writer, "by exposing "*every individual* to the possibility of *a re-*"*verse* in the *changes and chances of this* "*mortal life*, generates an impulse in the "human breast, that excites a lively sympa-"thy in the sufferings of our fellow crea-"tures. What we should expect, or de-"sire from others, in the hour of calamity, "we are prompt to afford at the moment of "their distress. This feeling is so essential "to social beings, so interwoven in our na-"ture, and so inseparable from any idea of "relative existence, that the man who is "devoid of it, though he may *wear the* "*human form*, must be an alien in the "great scheme of society."——Who would suppose, that this was the exordium to an essay, intended to convince the public, that it was perfectly right to refuse Louis XVIII an apartment in one of our English palaces? Mind, I do not say, that it was not right; but, why, then, this exordium? Why, then, these very intelligible hints? The fact is, I verily believe, that the essay was begun under the preceding day's persuasion, that the French prince was to be lodged at Kensington Palace; and, when the contrary became known to the writer, he could not, for the life of him, sacrifice an inch of writing, containing, too, reflections so philosophical, and, withal, so very new; so on he fixed it as the head to an essay, the object of which was to convince us, that Louis XVIII. was, by no means, an object of our compassion, or our sympathy.——After this, however, at the end of five days, this writer, who had treated the idea of acknowledging Louis as king of France, with great contempt, appears to be a little startled at a report of his being disposed to *abdicate* his title and its appertaining claims. 'A supposition," says, he, "has gone forth, that Louis XVIII "has arrived in this country for the pur-"pose of consulting our government

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" about the propriety of *abdicating* his " claims *to the throne of France*, and ac- " cepting of some *indemnification*, which " the present ruler of that country may have " proposed to him through the medium of " the Emperor of Russia; we have no doubt " that such a supposition is altogether un- " founded, that it will be considered as " *cruel* and *injurious* to the *character* of " every member of that illustrious house; " that the claims which Louis XVIIIth has " *inherited from a long line of ancestors*, " cannot, and will not be abdicated, and " that he would *spurn the idea of accept- " ing any indemnification from the usurper " of his throne*, and the murderer of one " of the relatives of his family. He may " continue banished from his native coun- " try; he may be forced to become a wan- " derer upon the face of the earth: he may " be in misery and penury for the remain- " der of his life, but there is one treasure, " of which neither usurpers nor cold calcu- " lating politicians are able to deprive him— " *his honour*. Under any situation he will " be able to exclaim with his illustrious an- " cestor, Francis I., that " our honour re- " mains, though every thing else is lost." ——If Louis XVIII be a man of any turn for gaiety, he must be highly amused with the inconsistency of the blundering block-heads, whom his arrival has thrown into such anxiety.—First he is a king, and ought to be received with royal honours; next he is no king, " his *Majesty* " is changed into " his *Highness*," and, as he never has been a king, we are under no obligations to ac- knowledge him as such, nay, it would be a violation of the compacts, wherein we have, repeatedly and solemnly, acknowledg- ed Napoleon. But, now, when there is a talk of his *abdicating*, of his giving up his title and his claims, as the successor of the former king of France; now he is a king again; and, it would be " a cruel injury to his *character* " to suppose him so base as to give up that title, which title we will not acknowledge to be his due. Now, he ought " to *spurn* at the idea of accepting any in- " demnification from the usurper of his " throne," whose legitimate authority, be it observed, we have solemnly acknowledg- ed; and, he is to " become a wanderer upon " the face of the earth; to live in penury " and misery for the remainder of his life," rather than accept of a comfortable mainte- nance from the hands of Napoleon. This doctrine may suit *our* purposes; but, if Lou- is XVIII has not lost his senses with his crown, this doctrine will be matter of high diversion for him. " *Honour!*" It is ho- nour which is to prevent him from accept- ing of the means of existence; though, ob- serve, honour does not induce us to acknow- ledge him as king. Oh! that is quite ano- ther thing. That might be injurious to us. It might expose us to a prolongation of the miseries of war. Well, and is not the case similar? We do not acknowledge him, be- cause it might prove a source of misery to us; but, he is not to acknowledge Napoleon, though it would procure him a security against misery. Who does not see, that this shameful inconsistency arises from a mo- tive as shameful; that is to say, from the fear, that the abdication of Louis would tend to confirm the power of Napoleon, and *to make him more formidable to us.*——I commend the French king for having, if the fact be so, put our good people to the test in this way. It is like the device of the girl, who asked one lover, whether he would advise her to marry another lover. " No," said he," to be sure I would not."—" Well, then," replied she, " do marry me yourself, if you " please." Nothing could be more rea- sonable or fair. Louis XVIII comes, and says: " I am, by right, king of France; " but, as I cannot assert this right, to any " effect, without your hearty concurrence, " and as I have no establishment in the " world at present, and may, finally, want " bread, though I wear this splendid title, I " intend, unless you will support me in my " claims, to resign them to Napoleon, who " offers me a certain settlement in conse- " quence of such resignation." And, what do we say: " We cannot support you in " your claims; for we have, by re- " peated and solemn acts, acknowledged " that you are not king of France; but, " if you give up those claims (which " we will not acknowledge you to have), " you are the basest man upon the face of " the earth." In one short sentence, this is our language. " To acknowledge you as " king of France would be injurious to us, " and, therefore, you may call yourself " what you will; yet, as it is convenient " to us, that Napoleon should have a rival " living, we would rather that you should " live in misery, with the title of king of " France, than obtain a comfortable " settlement by the resigning of that " title."——This is the language of the hearts of those, who have been concerned in this transaction; and, we may be assur- ed, that Louis XVIII is well acquainted with the fact, and will be at no loss what to do.——I think, for my part, that the ra- tional thing would be to accept of a settle- ment from Napoleon. Some men, indeed,

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in the place of the Bourbons, would stake their lives against that of their rival. The family is numerous; and, somehow or other, they would, one or more at a time, find their way to the metropolis of France, to the palaces of the Emperor, or to his tents, and would cease not, until either they had destroyed him, or he had destroyed them. But, this is not their turn. They have, almost to a man, given the world convincing proofs, that they prefer safety to danger, and luxury to hardship. I remember a gallant Vandean saying to me: "Why do not "some of the Bourbons stir? I have lost "seven brothers in the war for royalty; "and, numerous as the royal family is, not "one of that family has yet ventured his "life. Nothing is more easy than for any "one of them to get to Paris, there to assemble twenty followers, ready to fall by "his side; and with these he might sally "out upon Buonaparté, at a moment when "no such thing was apprehended. Suppose them to be cut to pieces. That is "better than living like beggars; but, the "possibility is, that they would triumph. "Yet if they prefer the life they now lead, "as I fear they do, I have nothing to say "against it, only that they should candidly "say so, and not suffer their loyal adherents to expose their lives for nothing." ——Many are the princes and royal families that we have seen assailed and overturned; and, what instances have we witnessed of bravery on their part? Have we seen one, nay only one, who has ventured his life for the preservation of his title or his dominions? Have they not all, without a single exception, run away at the approach of the French generals? And, is there a man amongst them whose desperate circumstances, have produced acts of bravery? Ah! we may revile Napoleon and his generals; we may call them by all sorts of degrading names; we may remind the world of their having been serjeants, corporals, and drumboys, while at the same time, we bestow the epithet "*illustrious*" upon the princes who have fallen before them; but, there is a sort of natural reason in the mind of man, which renders this language of ours of no effect. This reason asks how it has happened, that so many *illustrious* persons, having all the powers, civil and military, of Europe at their command, and in their possession, should have been defeated by a set of *despicable* persons, having, when they started, no power, civil or military? "The people "of the several countries were traitors to "the former, and friends to the latter." But, here, again, how came it to happen, that the people of so many countries should hate *illustrious* persons, and love *despicable* persons? "The people were seduced by the "principles of the revolutionists." But, how came it to happen, that *illustrious* rulers were not able to prevent their people from being seduced by *despicable* teachers? This is the way, in which the natural reason of man, proceeds in examining all the alledged causes of the triumphs of the French; and, say what we will, the general impression, at last, is, that those triumphs are due to superior wisdom and superior valour. It is evident that the fall of the princes of the continent might have been prevented by their cordially uniting together against France; and, for their not doing so, we are, by such writers as Mr. Gentz, referred to divers petty jealousies and intrigues. But, after all, we are compelled to deduce those jealousies and intrigues from the grand cause, a want of wisdom joined in most cases to a want of valour. We may continue, therefore, to call the conquerors despicable persons, and the conquered illustrious persons: but, it will avail us nothing, either at present or in the future; and, I am convinced, that those who are the most forward in holding this language now, would, in case of a reversed state of things here, be the most forward in holding an opposite language.——The devil certainly has a grudge against the "Learned Lan"guages," and has availed himself of this opportunity of indulging it. Louis XVIII. is, it seems, amongst other things, an excellent "*classical*" scholar. "On his ar"rival," says the Morning Chronicle, "at "Gottenburgh, the magistracy of that town "waited on him, and read him an in"teresting address in Latin, which had been "previously prepared. The Count de Lille, "who is a *profound scholar*, immediately "made an appropriate and extemporaneous "reply in the same language, which was "remarkable for its *classical* elegance." The reader will recollect, that sometime ago, the editors of some of the London papers treated us with an intercepted letter of Buonaparté, from which it was evident, that the poor little fellow was not only not a classical scholar, but that he was deficient even in that part of the art of grammar, which the "learned" call orthography, and which the "ignorant" call *spelling*. This letter was the subject of a good deal of merriment, which lasted for several days, and would, probably, have lasted much longer, had not the attention of the learned and the witty been called off by the news of the battle of Austerlitz, which served, too, as a sort of practical il-

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lustration of the inutility of Latin and Greek in the performance of great actions in the world. Every one can draw a comparison between the atchievements and the present situation of Louis XVIII and Buonaparté; nor does it require the spirit of prophecy to foretell how they will stand upon the page of history. Yet, according to the notion of the "learned," Buonaparté is an ignorant fellow. I shall be told, perhaps, that the atchievements of Buonaparté are not to be cited in support of my opinion respecting the inutility of what are called the "learned languages;" but, *why* not? The conqueror of Europe has been reproached for not knowing how to spell, and the person of whose throne he has got possession is now held up to our admiration as a "profound sholar;" as speaking Latin with "classical elegance." This, then, is an instance for me to cite, and a striking instance too. Here is a man, so "ignorant" (to use the epithet of the learned), that he did not, a little while ago, know how to spell; and he has not only placed himself at the head of a great nation; but, has subdued many other nations, and has made a new distribution of almost all the territory of Europe, not forgetting to cause to be issued laws, or decrees, relating to government in all its branches and departments. In short, the greatest conqueror and the greatest lawgiver that Europe ever saw. And yet he hardly knows how to spell; and is, according to the notion of my correspondent, Scoto-Britancus, but one remove from a savage. But, do I pretend, that, if Buonaparté had what is called a classical education, he would have been less likely to arrive at his present greatness? Yes, I do; and, I think, it is very reasonable to suppose, that, if, from his infancy, he had had Latin and Greek sounds dinned into his head; if he had passed the flower of his youth in counting syllables upon his fingers, in writing nonsense verses, and in reading Latin and Greek books; if, in short, he had, almost necessarily, contracted the habit of regarding a knowledge of *words* as the greatest of human endowments, he never would have attained to so complete a mastery in that science, which, more than any other, perhaps, demands an extensive acquaintance with *men* and *things*.—— "But, Buonaparté has men "under him who are learned." Here again, the devil shows his spite against the Doctors; for, it is notorious, that the chief of his generals and ambassadors have risen from the ranks of the army; and, if I mistake not, the very general who negociated and concluded the famous *capitulation* at the *Helder*, with his Royal Highness the Duke of York (who, by-the-bye, is also a *Doctor of Laws*), was, but a few years before, a grenadier serjeant. Whether the learned Doctors of St. John's College, Oxford, admitted his Royal Highness as one of their learned body before, or after, the capitulation of the Helder, I am not certain; but, it is pretty evident, that the learning, which entitled him to the dignity, must have been acquired previous to that epoch; and, yet it did not appear, that he was, in any great degree, an over-match for the "ignorant" grenadier serjeant.——There remains one topic, not sufficiently dwelt upon in my last, namely, the granting of sums out of the taxes for the support of Louis XVIII, which grant is strongly recommended by *all* the news-writers, as far as my observation has gone. So, as a correspondent observes, because the superior genius and valour of Buonaparte and the will of the French people elevate a new dynasty in France, we are to support the wants of the exiled family; we are to oppose the effect of genius, the consequences of imbecillity, or the caprices of fortune, with resources drawn from the exertion of our industry, the labour of our nation, and the sweat of the poor. Where, again, I ask, is this to *end*? With numerous place-men and pensioners of our own, are we also to support every exiled stem of royalty and aristocracy. Who can tell what exiled monarchs and princes and nobles are yet to come? The business of exiling does not appear to be half completed; and, if we are to give support in one case, why not in another? Thus, in a few years, we may have to maintain half the former monarchs of the world. I am quite at a loss to conceive, not only how such grants (out of the earnings of the people) could be attributed to *generosity*, but how they could be reconciled to justice, or to prudence. Should peace be wanted, and peace must be made in time, how are we to get rid of the person, who, under whatever title we may support him, has claims to the throne of France? But, setting aside all consideration connected with peace, I object to the *expense*, which is already great, and which, if we be consistent, may, and probably will, become enormous. Let it be recollected, too, that the whole of the expenses, on this and similar accounts, will be ascribed to *royalty*. The consequence may easily be foreseen, and, if there be any wisdom left, it will be avoided. With what *justice* can the people of these kingdoms be called upon to support any exiled family? Is there any one from whom they have ever received any benefit?

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There appears to be no reason in the thing. If, indeed, it was resolved to support Louis XVIII. as king of France, and to make war with a view of placing him upon the throne of that country, the matter would be different. The grant, if made, would then be a national measure, for an avowed national purpose, and there was a time when such a measure might have been proper. But, now, there is neither justice nor common sense in it; and, one would suppose, that it would be rendered unnecessary by the choice of the prince himself, who, if not acknowledged king of France, would, if he be a wise man, prefer a perfect obscurity, in which a man may be very happy, to that splendid misery, in which a parliamentary grant would support him.

PORTUGAL.——Nothing decisive seems, as yet, to have taken place, with respect to the fate of this country. It appears unaccountable that the French should have so long delayed to take actual possession of it; but, hearing nothing except through partial channels, we must leave the reason for this delay to future developement.——In the meanwhile, we are told, that our traders there have packed up, and are ready to sail away, except, indeed, those who seem to think, that they shall make a shift to live and get money under Napoleon's government.——The breaking up of this branch of trade will not do England any harm at all, in my opinion, though it may produce great individual loss and distress; and, I think, I can safely defy any one to shew, how it can possibly diminish our resources for war, or our means of comfort in peace; while, on the contrary, I can easily shew, how those resources and those means have been diminished by this branch of trade, which produced us nothing but luxuries in exchange for the useful productions of our land and our labour.——Another view to take of this coming revolution in Portugal, is, as it affects royal governments in general. We are now told, flatly and plainly, that there are designs formed, by the people of Lisbon, upon the life of the Prince Regent; and, that, by way of defence, troops have been called in from the country places. Troops! Good heavens! are there troops, then? It is not yet a month ago, since we were assured, that the Prince Regent was adored by the people, who were ready, to a man, to follow him to the Brazils.—— But, it seems, that it is *the French* who have fomented discontents amongst the people. "French emissaries!" This is always the case. But, how happens it that French emissaries became possessed of more influence than the government? How came the people to be so much disposed to listen to French emissaries? The French no longer preach liberty and equality. They come, and they tell you they are coming, for the sole purpose of conquering, of overturning your government, and taking possession of the country. And yet, from the moment they get upon the frontiers, not a man of the country can be made to stir hand or foot against them; nay, the only hope, that seems to be entertained, is, that the people will not actually rise in arms against their own government.——There must be some *cause* for this, very different from the intrigues and instigations of French emissaries; and, it well behoves every government, which is, as yet, unassailed, to examine, by times, whether, if the hour of trial should come, it will have reason to apprehend the natural effects of such a cause.

I have received no *second* letter from Scoto Britannus; and I must defer, till my next, what I have further to say upon the subject of the *poor laws*.

Botley, Nov. 12, 1807.

ON THE DEFENCE OF IRELAND.

(Being Mentor's Second Letter.)

SIR;——I address you for the second time, again grounding my claims to your attention, on the proposition that if "Ireland is conquered by Buonapartè, England will also be conquered by him." A proposition which still appears to be incontrovertible, notwithstanding the pains which your correspondent M. H. has taken to prove the contrary. He argues from the successful resistance of the people of France, in opposing the enemies of their new system of government; I argue from the failure of all the princes of the continent, in endeavouring to rouse their subjects in defence of their old regimes; and, when I do so, I certainly have the best of the argument, and maintain my position as far as this mode of arguing bears upon the question. But, I shall not permit this most important proposition to remain explained on such shallow reasonings as that, which may be collected from the history of other nations. I shall examine what Ireland would be if she was a province of France, and what danger England would have to encounter if such an event ever came to pass. Three weeks possession of Ireland would enable Buonaparté to form an army of from one to two hundred thousand Irishmen; these he would provide with the arms taken from the yeomanry, and the militia, and out of the several depots. The private soldiers of the Irish militia, who would join his standard,

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and those of his own troops would afford a sufficient number of drill serjeants; whilst the French subaltern officers, and serjeants, would be perfectly competent to supply the place of officers to this immense army. To any one in the least degree conversant with the numbers of the Irish people; with the great proportion which the poor bear to the rich; with their inclination to join the French if successful in conquering the country; and with their natural love of fighting, this statement will appear to be a most faithful one. With such an army once established, liable as England will be to be herself momentarily invaded, any attempt to reconquer Ireland must be wholly out of the question; and Buonaparté therefore, will have full opportunity to arrange his military preparations in Ireland for an invasion of England.—From Ireland an attempt of invasion must be more formidable than from any other quarter of Europe; because, the British navy cannot keep at sea in the Irish channel. From Milford Haven to Liverpool, there is no harbour in which any thing larger than a frigate can enter; to the northward of Liverpool there is no harbour even for a frigate. If a gale of wind comes on in the Channel, the custom is for every vessel to make the nearest port in order to avoid shipwreck; and, therefore, if Buonaparté was in possession of Ireland, and wished to send his troops to any part of the Welch or English coast, it would be necessary for him only to wait for the termination of a gale of wind, to be sure of having the channel to himself. Let us then suppose the whole population of Ireland at his command, and formed by his officers into large armies; let us suppose his French troops, and those of his allies, ready to embark from all the ports of Denmark, Holland, France, Spain and Italy, can any man be vain enough to flatter himself, that the people of England would be able to save their country from conquest? Can we look with confidence to such a result in the talents of the commander-in-chief? Or in those of the numerous generals whom he has selected to lead our gallant forces? Or in the counsels of our ministers, or in the zeal and patriotism of our people? The people of England once certainly lived under a constitution of government, which they would have defended against all foreign invaders; but, can it be supposed that the present race would be fired with the same zeal, which stimulated their forefathers in their virtuous exertions to defend it; now, that it exists, more as a shadow of what it once was, than as a possession of transcendant value and importance? On the whole, Sir, may I not then safely conclude, that if Ireland is conquered by Buonaparté, England must also be conquered by him? It seems as if he was waiting to put his threat of invasion into execution, until he shall have completely invested England by a successful invasion of Ireland. He already covers the North East coast with Denmark, Holland, and the northern parts of France; and he covers the southern coast with Normandy and Brittany, and had he but possession of Ireland the investment would be complete. Seeing then of what advantage Ireland would be to him, to enable him to carry into effect his favourite project of invading England, can any man doubt of his whole mind being devoted to the arrangement of measures for securing the conquest of Ireland? And having such a certainty before us of what his interests are, and of what the most constant occupation of his mind must be, is it not downright madness to withhold from the people of Ireland any boon which may secure their attachment to the connection with this country? If, Sir, I was to write for ever, or, if the House of Commons were to debate night after night on the state of Ireland, the truth is, that every thing that can be said about Ireland may be resolved into this short statement: Buonaparté must have Ireland in order to make sure of success, whenever he invades England; whilst England must secure the possession of Ireland in order to be safe from conquest. The way Buonaparté has to obtain Ireland is by the aid of fleets and armies; the way that England has to secure it, is by acting with honesty and justice towards the people of Ireland. The question then for the people of England to decide upon is this, whether or not they will secure their own safety by permitting their conduct towards Ireland to be governed by principles of honesty and justice. If they are honourable and just towards Ireland, they may depend upon it, that they will have nothing to fear from Buonaparté; but, if they are not, they had better begin to count the months and days for which they will be able to boast of their freedom and independence. For, rely upon it, that the period is not very distant, when a trial will be given to the security of England's possession of Ireland; and when it will be proved whether the act of Union, the Irish army, and the hearts of the people of Ireland, are all or any of them such bulwarks as they are commonly considered to be. I must make the continuation of this discussionn, the subject of another letter.——MENTOR.

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ON THE DEFENCE OF IRELAND.

(Being Mentor's Third Letter.)

SIR;——In my last letter, I in part proved the proposition, by explaining the effects of a successful invasion of Ireland, that "if Ireland is conquered by Buonaparté, "England will also be conquered by him." I reserved for this letter the explanation of the dangers to which England would be exposed in consequence of the capture of Ireland. But, before I proceed upon it, I feel that it is necessary to state a few more facts respecting Ireland, in order that the capability of that country to promote the views of Buonaparté may be clearly understood. It is a common error among the people of this country to think, that Ireland is not larger than Yorkshire; and that the people of it are not more numerous than the inhabitants of Manchester or Birmingham; and under this false conception of the extent and population of Ireland, a notion is too generally indulged in, that let what will happen in Ireland, an English army is all that can ever be necessary to put down rebellion, or successfully to resist invasion. Now, Sir, if you will take the trouble of looking into the appendix to Mr. Young's Tour in Ireland, the English edition, you will find that England and Wales contain 42 millions of acres, statute measure, and that Ireland contains 25 millions of acres of the same measure, and with this information you will be able to form a tolerably accurate idea of the extent of Ireland, if you take a map of England, and draw a line through Holyhead and London; for the portion of England and Wales lying to the southward of such a line, will be nearly equal in extent to that of Ireland. You will also be assisted in acquiring a correct notion of the length and breadth of Ireland if you will measure the distance from the Land's-end to York, which will give you the distance from the Giants' Causeway to Cape Clear; and if you will measure the distance from Yarmouth to Liverpool, which will give you the breadth of Ireland, between the Hill of Howth and Slince Head, in the county of Galway. As to the population of Ireland, it is computed, by Mr. Chalmers, to have been greater than 4 millions in 1788, and by Mr. Newenham to be greater than 5 millions in 1803. Many very intelligent persons consider it to be, at the present time, beyond 6 millions, grounding their opinions upon the cheapness and salubrity of potatoe diet, and the great facility with which every man in Ireland obtains a lease of a few acres of land. Now, Sir, the population of England and Wales being little more than 9 millions, it will appear then that Ireland is not only larger than one half of England and Wales, but has a population exceeding, in number, one half of the population of England and Wales. Conceive, then, a country of so large an extent, and so populous, and the people of it so much attached to France, and distant only a few miles from our shores, once under the rule of Buonaparté, and contemplate the consequences!!! This is the true way of considering what Ireland now is; what Ireland would be if justly treated by England; and what Ireland will be if once possessed by France: A country in extent, population, trade and revenue, far beyond several independant kingdoms and principalities of Europe; not incapable of being herself an independent nation from want of any attribute that an independent nation ought to possess; but, preferring a state of dependance on England, with a view to secure her protection, and to obtain the benefits of her constitution: A country ready to go all lengths in supporting the struggles in which England is involved; but feeling that England has no claim upon the exertions of her sons, in consequence of the policy with which for centuries, but, more particularly, during the last 6 months, she has acted towards them: A country anxious only to have an opportunity of feeling sentiments of gratitude for favours, which ought to be conferred, and to afford all the advantages of her population in warding off the imminent dangers which now threaten England; but alive to injury and insult, and not averse to a connection with France, if her connection with England should prove merely a nominal and barren boon.——If this country was but a few weeks under the government of Buonaparté's marshalls, depend upon it, Sir, the fate of England would be decided. England would have at once to be prepared against invasions from the coast of Denmark, Holland, France, Portugal, Spain, and Ireland. The numbers of troops that might be collected in either country would be so great, that it would be impracticable for the fleets and armies of England to prevent them from making good a landing; and even a landing of a small portion of troops would go a great way in securing conquest, notwithstanding the numbers and valour of the volunteers, and the inestimable blessings of the modern British constitution in church and state; for, what would become of the trade of England without a circulating medium, and of the revenue of England without trade? And what would England be if her revenue failed, but a bankrupt ruined and conquered. But if

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these events were not immediately to follow an invasion, what hopes can be entertained that the contest would terminate in favour of England? The points of the coast which would be exposed to attack would be so numerous, and the opportunities of attacking so frequent, that the army and spirit of England must in the end be worn out and overcome. Peace with France would be the only resource, and that upon Buonaparté's own terms. It would be made, and when time would have afforded an opportunity for reflection, it would then be deplored, that the value of Ireland had not been better understood, and the dictates of justice and sound policy listened to in time.——It is really lamentable to reflect upon that blind policy which leaves Ireland exposed to conquest, when the operation by which she could be secured, and England placed in a state to defy France, is so simple and obvious. What do we want but the hearts of the people of Ireland to be with us, or on what can Buonaparté build his hopes of conquest, but upon our own folly in alienating them?—— But, Sir, the peculiar danger to which this country would be exposed in consequence of Ireland being conquered, does not consist in the additions which Buonaparté would be able to make to his armies, but in the opportunity which he would acquire of sending his armies through Ireland into England and Wales. That he would be able to send his troops to Ireland in defiance of the fleets of England, is proved by the numerous instances which have occurred of late years, of his ships having been able to go to the West Indies, to Egypt, and to Ireland without molestation. That he would be able to transport his troops with safety from Ireland to England is evident, from the short distance between the respective coasts, and from the known fact, that no ships can keep at sea in St. George's Channel in tempestuous weather; much less men of war and frigates, for which there is no port between Milford Haven and Scotland. The passage from Dublin to Holyhead has been frequently made in row boats. The fishing boats on the eastern coast of Ireland are alone sufficient in number to convey a very large body troops; but if these were not sufficient for his purpose, the fishing boats and small craft on the west, and some shore, boats might easily be collected in the several harbours between Cork and Waterford, and would afford the means of transporting an immense army. Yet, notwithstanding all this, are we doing every thing that lies in our power to promote Buonaparté's views in obtaining possession of Ireland. Bigoted and infatuated nation, to see more dangers in the crucifix of an old man, called the Pope, than in the sword of Buonaparté: To be occupied in dreaming about your church being attacked by visionary armies of monks and friars; whilst your very existence as a nation is tottering before the threatened assault of your known and inveterate enemy! "Quem deus vult perdere prius dementat." But, God grant that the darkness which has obscured your intellects may yet fleet away, before more is done towards the completion of the decline and fall of the British empire! ——I am, &c.—MENTOR.—*Oct.* 30.

SPENCE ON COMMERCE.

SIR;——The extract from Mr. Spence's pamphlet on Commerce, inserted in the last number of your Register, and there earnestly recommended to the attention of your readers, I have reflected upon with all that consideration which I am always disposed to bestow upon every work that has obtained the applause of one possessing so sound a judgment as yourself. It is impossible for me, however, to acquiesce in the proposition which it is the object of that extract to substantiate; that "all the wealth of a nation is created by agriculture, none by manufactures;" and, I shall, therefore, take the liberty of offering a few observations upon the subject. In order to be as brief as possible, I proceed at once to the example which Mr. Spence has adduced in the way of demonstration. "If a coachmaker were to employ so many men for half a year in the "building of a coach, as that for their subsistence during that time he had advanced "50 quarters of corn; and if we suppose "he sold this coach to a land proprietor for "60 quarters of corn, it is evident, that the "coachmaker would be ten quarters of "corn richer, than if he had sold it for 50 "quarters, its original cost. But it is equally clear, that the land proprietor would be "ten quarters of corn poorer than if he had "bought his coach at its prime cost." That a land proprietor who purchases for 60 quarters of corn a coach, the prime cost of which was 50 quarters only, would after such purchase be ten quarters of corn poorer, than if he had bought it at the prime cost; and that the coachmaker would be ten quarters of corn richer, than if he had sold the coach at such original cost, are propositions too grossly plain and self-evident, to be in any danger of being controverted! But, it is not quite so apparent, that they afford the slightest countenance to the doctrine, that "manufactures are no source at all of na"tional wealth." The deduction however,

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which Mr. Spence draws from them is, that "a *transfer*, not a *creation* of wealth, has "taken place; whatever one gains the "other loses, and *the national wealth is* "*just the same.*" Now, most certainly no creation of wealth hath arisen from *the mere exchange* or act of bartering the corn for the coach; for the best of all possible reasons, that *the coach as well as the corn* formed a part of that wealth, *previously* to any such exchange or transfer having taken place. Most certainly also, the coachmaker would gain the corn and lose the coach; whilst, on the other hand, the land proprietor would gain the coach and lose the corn by such a barter! But the misfortune is, that this deduction of Mr. Spence's does not, as it seems to me, comprehend the only point at issue, the only true question being whether BY THE MANUFACTURE *of such a coach, no greater addition was made to the stock of wealth, than if it had not been manufactured at all?* Mr. Spence's supposition seems to be, that inasmuch as the coachmaker receives for that coach an equal value in corn, by which he remburses himself for the food advanced to the journeymen manufacturers and consumed by himself and family, during the period that the coach was building; therefore, it would be a mere transmutation of food, a wealth of a perishable nature, into a manufacture which constitutes a wealth more durable. And, that in consequence, "no wealth could "with truth be said to have been *brought* "*into existence* by the manufacturer." But, how happened it that Mr. Spence overlooked the consideration, that the master and journeymen manufacturers, if they had not been employed in building the coach, must notwithstanding *have eaten*, and would, in point of fact, have consumed the same quantity of food? Had not the coachmaker by the industry of himself and servants, erected the coach for the land proprietor, one of these two events would have taken place—either the land proprietor's 60 quarters of corn would have passed into the bellies of those persons without his receiving any equivalent in return, or otherwise would have remained in his granaries to perish. But, the coach having been built, the land proprietor finds at the end of the year, that he has not only the land to produce him a crop in the succeeding year, but that his wealth is increased by the addition of the coach. Why, then, is it not most plain that the coach which *constitutes that additional wealth*, was BROUGHT INTO EXISTENCE by the manufacturer?—It will be in vain to say, that if those artificers had not been so employed the land proprietor would, instead of the coach, have an addition to his wealth in the 60 quarters of corn, because, however plausible such an argument as between two individuals may to some persons appear, it will, I think, be seen from what I shall presently submit, that upon the more enlarged scale of the dealings of a nation, such an argument will not be thought by any person to hold good. Let me assume (for argument's sake) the population of a country to comprise one hundred thousand persons, consisting in part of persons employed in agriculture, and in part of persons not so employed. Either the produce of the land would be more than sufficient to supply with food the whole of such population; or, would fall short of yielding an adequate supply; or, the produce of the land and the consumption of that population would be nearly equal. In the case first supposed—if there were a yearly superabundance—it is manifest, that it had better be exported in exchange for specie, or some foreign articles of use or convenience, than that it should remain in the country to perish; and it is equally manifest, that by such an accession of specie or foreign articles, the wealth of the country would be increased.—In the second case supposed—if there should be a yearly *deficiency* in the supply of corn at home—then it would obviously be good policy to promote as much as possible the fabrication of manufactures, and the importation of grain, or of specie wherewith to buy grain of other nations, in exchange for such manufactures. In the third case supposed, that is, taking the produce of the land to be just sufficient for the consumption of the people, without any deficiency or redundance—then, inasmuch as there would be a considerable portion of the community *not occupied* in agricultural concerns, but who nevertheless, must *subsist upon the produce of the land*, it can surely require no arguments to prove, that it is more fitting that they should be employed in the manufacture of useful articles, than live like so many idle drones. And to me it does seem obvious, that by such their manufactures they make an addition to the stock of individual, and consequently of national wealth, seeing that but for such manufactures the yearly produce of the land would be totally consumed, without any thing of wealth remaining to represent that yearly produce. But, in truth, there always would be manufactured by the class of artificers, a much greater number of articles than would be necessary to procure for themselves subsistence, by exchanging with the land proprietor for corn: who, then, will be bold enough to contend, that the manufacture of such *supernumerary* articles, and the

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sale of them to foreign nations for gold (which gold, Mr. Spence assures us, is undoubtedly WEALTH), or in exchange for necessaries, as tallow and barilla, for example, wherewith to make soap,—who, I ask, will be bold enough to assert, that no addition would, by such manufacturer, be made to national wealth? Aye, will Mr. S. perhaps exclaim, but in the case of the tallow and barilla, at least,—as, when the soap comes to be sold to the land proprietor, there will be given its value in corn for it, there is only a little more complexity in the case, and it will eventually turn out to be the same thing, as far as national wealth is concerned, as if the manufactures so exported had been sold to the proprietor of land for corn in the first instance. Now, Sir, I deny that the consequences would be the same; for, let it be remembered, that we are now speaking of articles of manufacture, for which, the land proprietor being already supplied, he has not the least occasion; and he would not have the useful article of soap at all, in exchange for a part of his corn, but for the industry and enterprize of the manufacturer, who exported his manufactures in exchange for the tallow and barilla.—Then, Sir, as to the point, whether any addition would be made by such manufacture and traffic to the wealth of the nation:—and it does appear to me to be indisputable, that the national wealth would thereby be increased to the *full amount of the value of the tallow and barilla*; for the owner of those raw articles is the manufacturer, who has already obtained from the land proprietor, in exchange for certain articles sold to him, sufficient grain for the subsistence of himself and journeymen; so that, the produce of the land, in exchange for those raw materials, would be to him of no service: and such manufacturer would therefore receive from the soapmaker, for his tallow and barilla, either gold or silver, or some other kind of durable wealth; thereby adding to his own individual wealth, and, by consequence, to the wealth of that nation, of whose population he makes one.—It may be admitted, that the soapmaker will receive from the land proprietor corn in exchange for his soap, but then there will not be required, for the subsistence of the soap-maker and his servants, *so much* corn as will amount in value to the full value of the soap; for, even supposing him to make no profit by the sale of the soap, yet he must at least reimburse himself the price paid for the raw material, in order to reinstate his capital by taking in exchange for some part of his soap something very different from food.——Mr. Spence then comes to the consideration of the subject—*Whether the employment of a circulating medium affects the creation of national wealth.* "The circulating medium of "civilised nations," he observes, "is either "gold and silver, or paper. GOLD AND SILVER ARE UNDOUBTEDLY WEALTH, yet they "are but a small portion of what has properly "a claim to that title; and *a nation which* "*has* ABUNDANCE OF GOLD AND SILVER, *is* "*in fact not richer than if it had* NONE." —Really, Mr. Cobbett, it would be doing your readers a great kindness to explain this (to me inexplicable) paradox! You see, Sir, the gentleman tells us, that "gold and "silver are *undoubtedly* WEALTH;" but, only two lines below, asserts, that "a na- "tion which has abundance of this *same* "*gold and silver* is NOT RICHER than if it "had none!" That is to say: "a nation "which is wealthy is not richer than if it "had no wealth at all!" I would not complain of this most palpable contradiction, did it not prevent me from understanding what *the meaning* of Mr. Spence is, and thereby deprive me of the pleasure I should otherwise feel in grappling with his reasoning. "The nation has," Mr. Spence says, "paid an equal value of some other wealth "for this gold and silver;" and therefore it is, I suppose, that Mr. Spence concludes, that from the presence of such gold and silver the nation is not richer. Why, yes, Mr. Spence, there is certainly something in your observation. Thus, in the case which I supposed above, the manufacturers received for the *supernumerary* articles which they exported, gold and silver; but yet, perhaps, the nation was not richer after the exchange than it was after such articles were made, and before they were exported. But pray, Mr. Spence, recollect, that your argument against manufactures and commerce goes *this* length:—that neither *by* the manufactures exported, *nor* by the specie taken in exchange for them, was *any addition made to the national wealth!*—You, Mr. Spence, tell us, that "there is no good reason why "the nation should be desirous of having "gold and silver, rather than any other "species of wealth: for (say you) the only "*superiority* in value which the precious "metals possess over other products of "the labour of man, is their fitness for be- "ing the instruments of circulation and "exchange." But, Sir, give me leave to ask you, does not *that very superiority* consitute A GOOD REASON why the nation should give the *preference* to gold and silver? The land, we will suppose, owing to an unfavourable harvest, has not yielded its usual,

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and the expected quantity of good grain, but, if we possess an abundance of that universal medium, gold and silver, we shall be enabled to provide against the scarcity, by purchasing and importing corn from foreign countries. Is there not then, good Mr. Spence, a *good reason* WHY we should give preference to gold and silver? But, according to that gentleman, the necessity of having gold or silver as instruments of circulation and exchange, no longer exists. "Experience," he observes, "has in modern "times, evinced that paper or the promissory notes of men of undoubted property, "form a circulating medium fully as useful "and much less expensive." Now, there is no doubt but that the paper of individuals answers the purpose of specie within the limited circle, where the responsibility and the probity of those individuals are known; but who, besides Mr. Spence, would rank such paper as equal in convenience to gold and silver, which is current not solely within a limited circle, nor throughout the nation at large merely, but which constitutes the *universal circulating medium* of all civilized nations?—I now take my leave of Mr. Spence's observations on Commerce; at least for the present, still retaining the same opinion which I entertained before I perused those observations; that is, that the inherent wealth of every nation consists in *the land*, THE TRADE, and *the industry of the people*. Were the *system*, for which Mr. Spence is so strenuous an advocate to be adopted, the land-proprietors would be rendered complete bashaws, and the population of the country absolutely dependant upon them. Then, should we in our days, see what our ancestors of old saw—*the main body of the people were vassals to the great land-holders*, and our country again over run and devastated by hordes from the more populous nations.—Only destroy the commerce of the country, which is *the nursery for our seamen*, and you at the same time DESTROY THE NAVY OF THE COUNTRY. Then will you see the country sacked by Bonaparte and his hosts of Myrmidons! Then would the old Roast Beef song not *alone* sink into contempt; but you might with equal justice jeer at and deride the national song of Rule Britannia!!—This Mr. Spence is, I warrant him, a staunch stickler for "the Dominion of the Seas," and with most admirable consistency no doubt inveighs at the same time against commerce, although it is *to that very commerce* that we are indebted for THE MEANS OF SECURING THAT DOMINION: I too (as I believe you know Mr. Cobbett), am a zealous friend to our supporting the DOMINION OF THE SEAS; but I should deem myself guilty of the most glaring contradiction, if I were not at the same time a friend to our manufactures and commerce, for, if I ever thought that, abstractedly considered, those manufactures and that commerce were rather prejudicial than of benefit to the country, still should I think it wise to cultivate rather than check their growth, being firmly convinced, that *our naval greatness is inseparable from our commerce*, and consequently, that *that commerce is* OF VITAL IMPORTANCE *to the country*.—I am, Sir, yours,—W. H. WROC. — *New-Square, Lincoln's-Inn, Nov. 10th, 1807.*

SINKING FUND.

SIR;——Although your correspondent C. S. has proved to your satisfaction, that payment of the nation's debts by means of the sinking fund, must increase the taxes, *depreciate money*, raise the price current, and ruin us all, sevenfold; I venture to suggest a doubt, that C. S's conclusions are not quite certain. C. S. (see Pol. Reg. Vol. xii. p. 445) states as the grounds of his argument, "1st. That agriculture and manu-"factures have found their limit, or are in-"capable of extension. 2d. That the pre-"sent capital in trade amounts to 100 mil-"lions. 3d. That the funded debt amounts "to 600 millions." These three premises granted, he concludes that, "if the said "funded debt of 600 millions be discharged "by means of the sinking fund, then the "capital in trade will be *increased* to 700 "millions; the depreciation of money will "be in the proportion of seven to one "of its present value, and the effects "will be, &c. &c."——Sir, for the present I only venture to doubt, because, if *one* million be *drawn out* of the circulating capital of 100 millions, that capital is thereby *reduced* to 99; and if the sinking fund applies the said *one* million in discharge of so much of the *debt* of 600 millions, then is the debt reduced to 599, and the one million *returned* into the *circulating capital* which had been reduced by means of the tax to 99. Of course, it (the circulating capital) is *restored* to its previous total of 100 millions; but, I doubt if it be thereby *encreased*, or money thereby depreciated. Repeat the operation, draw *one* again *out of* the circulating capital so restored to its total, with that one so drawn out, pay off one more of the debt of 599 millions, then is the debt reduced to 598; the one million returned again to circulation, the circulating capital again complete, but *not encreased*. Had I the advantages of a Scotch education, I could

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explain these doubts of mine better, but a mere Irisher must be content to support them by repetition. If the debt be 600 millions: If the capital be 100: If part of that capital be taken up and applied to the payment of part of the debt, then is the debt *less*, but the capital not *more*, although the operation be repeated to infinity, or the whole debt paid. As the oceans and rivers are always flowing, why are we not fearful that *water* must at last be too abundant? Because we think that a certain quantity is destined to the uses of this world, that *all* which flows is gradually taken up at the line in vapour, and restored by the winds to its first sources, that they may continue to flow and to be supplied for ever; but one drop of increase or decrease, in the whole system is impossible. Pray, Mr. Cobbett, shew how such an operation can make the certain quantity *more*; but, if you cannot prove that, if the constant and regular depreciation of money *cannot* be the effect of such a cause as C. S. has stated, then all his terrible anticipations of the sinking fund bubble vanish; and then you will seek a better foundation for the boldest of all your speculations. —I am, &c.—Osgur, of Leinster.

POOR LAWS.

Sir;—Having observed, in several of your late publications, several severe animadversions on the conductors of the Edinburgh Review. Although I am by no means a partisan of theirs, or do not for the most part coincide with them in political sentiment; yet, when I see them thus undeservedly attacked on the score of nationality alone; merely on account of the country which has given them birth: I feel myself impelled to step forth and expose the unworthy motive by which you would appear to be actuated. You seem thereby exceedingly inclined to rekindle that spirit of reciprocal jarring between the two countries, which have happily for a long time been totally hushed —— Your own confession as to your never having been an inmate of Scotland, renders you completely disqualified from giving any just opinion as to the internal circumstances of her situation, and more especially from indulging in invidious comparisons, which are predetermined to resolve to her disadvantage. Yet even with the trifling intelligence which you possess on the subject, which has served to excite in your breast such a heated animosity toward the natives of Scotland, and that not from any fault on their part, but merely on account of a well merited compliment, intended to have been passed toward them; I can scarcely conceive you totally serious in your assertion, that if a man be thoroughly acquainted with the various objects which constitute his more immediate avocation in life, he is not to be termed ignorant, although utterly unable either to read or to write At least, if such are your sentiments, I will enter my ready protest against them; as I conceive the term ignorant, is very properly applied to any man even in that situation Surely it is not your intention to argue, that man's views should be merely circumscribed to the present transitory scene; that his attention should be wholly engrossed by his worldly concerns; and that any attention to his everlasting situation should be quite disregarded. If this, then, is not the case, you must readily admit that; in order that a man may successfully obviate the appellation of ignorant, it is not merely sufficient that he hearken to a short discourse from his pastor on Sunday, but that he must likewise search the scriptures and judge for himself, as many discourses (without intending any insinuation against pastors in general) may be merely considered as the theoretic declamations of the individuals themselves, to judge of which it is necessary to search into the scriptures. We are indeed, enjoined in these sacred writings "to try the spirits whether they be of God, to search diligently into the scriptures as they contain the words of eternal life," and how is it possible that a man can do so who is unable to read? I think enough has already been stated to expose the fallacy of the foundation upon which your former speculations are founded; but should you yet obstinately persevere in the promulgation of them; all that I shall say in addition is this that they will thus serve to place your principles in their genuine light.—Yours, &c. Scotus.—*Edinburgh, November 7*, 1807.

DOMINION OF THE SEA.

Sir;—An absence from London has prevented me till this morning from perusing the letter of your correspondent R. R; in answer to the objections raised by Wroc and myself against the positions he laid down in a former letter; in order to shew that we had no right to the Dominion of the Sea. R. R's. conclusion to his letter, I confess, made a singular impression upon my mind; he says he never undertook a more painful task in his life, than by endeavouring to shew that we are unjustifiable in exercising the Dominion of the Sea. Now, the gentleman is certainly doubly unfortunate; first, to have been the victim of a conspiracy of wild fallacies which have produced the pain; and secondly, to labour under a most calamitous pertinacity which occasions its continuation. The observations that occurred to

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me were extremely general, but the ingenious and elaborate detail of Wroc might have cured a more diseased mind, (I should have thought) than even the painful one of R. R's. As the defence of the arguments of Wroc can fall into no hands more able than his own, I shall merely consider the observations thrown out by myself which R. R. has opposed. The question of the Dominion of the Sea turned upon the point of right, or rather it was made to turn upon it, as I imagined, unnecessarily. You had insisted, Mr. Cobbett, that "force conferred "right," and R. R. had advanced an opinion that "occupancy or first possession "conferred it;" and I, with more boldness probably than wisdom or prudence, ventured to dissent from both doctrines, and contended that neither the one nor the other established a right. Perhaps upon this as upon many other occasions, it may remove some obstacles in the field of contest, if I were to state what appeared to me the definition of right as applicable to the argument in question. It seemed pretty well agreed that whatever the law of nations might be; whether it could subsist or not without a tribunal to enforce obedience, it certainly was dissolved from the instant that any one nation could infringe the law (as France is perpetually doing) with impunity. The right therefore in question, derives no part of its definition from any human compact or law, but is simply a natural or moral right, affecting equally all the inhabitants of the earth: It implies a rule of conduct which the Chinese, the African, and the European, are alike called upon to observe. I notice my interpretation of the word right as used in this argument, because R. R. evidently adheres to no definite meaning; he mingles indiscriminately the interpretation of right, as applicable to an arbitrary compact, with that of the law of nature as divested of all arbitrary compact; when therefore I said, that in the case of a few emigrants seizing upon some uninhabited territory which produced a subsistence for numbers exceeding themselves, such emigrants could not of *right* resist the claims of an half-starved traveller, either to satisfy his hunger with the surplus produce, or to adopt a part of the soil for his local habitation, your correspondent R. R. answers, that upon such principle, "Frenchmen, Germans, and "every other nation, have a right to come "among us and enjoy all the privileges in "common with us which we possess." Now, in this instance R. R. confuses himself by confounding the two distinct and different meanings of right which I have before noticed. With respect to *our* laws it would be wrong for Germans and other nations to insist on a communion with us of enjoyments on our own soil; but how is it with respect to the law of nature?—I know that we defend by *force* our exclusive enjoyment of the cultivated and uncultivated parts of this soil against the inroads of every foreigner, whether he come from civilized Europe or the deserts of Arabia; but, by that same law of nature, I am at a loss to discover the exclusive *right:* I am bewildered to find out the punishment that either conscience or religion denounces against the shivering Icelander who should wander from the inclemency of his own country to shelter and solace himself in our milder hemisphere. Here however, upon this very ground, R. R. brands his spear, and bids defiance: his armour indeed seems weak and unavailing. I must give his own words. He says, "the Almighty when he created the world gave to man dominion over the sea, and endowed him with *reason; and that reason shews* that those gifts which were intended for all mankind, belong to *him who first* has the good fortune to possess himself of them, or such a portion of them as is necessary for his use and enjoyment; and it further shews, that it is unjust to molest him in that possession or to deprive him of it." How far the *intuitive* judgment of R. R. may afford *him* the indisputable conclusion he has laid down, it is impossible for me to venture a conjecture; but that *reason* flowing from a consideration of the admitted fact, that "God gave man dominion over the sea" can attain to the same conclusion I must be permitted very much to question. Because the Deity gave man dominion over the whole habitable globe, does it follow as a consequence, that the man who precedes me in his nativity half-a-dozen years, should be stamped by Providence with the prerogative of monopolizing those means of subsistence which shall *satiate him* and *leave me in squalid wretchedness?* Reason and such an argument surely pursue different ways. I can't catch even a faint glimpse of reason in the adoption of such a position. R. R. however stumbles through this rugged path, which he has too precipitately consecrated to reason, and rests himself on a support which shakes to its very base: R. R. introduces that useful companion of wavering judgments,

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" OR," and intimates that if God did not intend the first occupier to possess ALL the gifts of the earth, he at least intended he should possess such a portion of them as are necessary to his use and enjoyment: but how miserably is the *first* part of the argument frittered away in the *latter*. Take this latter part alone to be true, and let the advocate for first occupancy defend my possession, if he can, to the mansion I inhabit. If my right only extends to what is *necessary* to *my* use and *enjoyment*, upon what *tenure* do I hold a capacious house, my gardens, and my pleasure grounds; are the WHOLE necessary to my use and enjoyment, or will R. R. tell me *what portion* I can of right preserve? I think I may leave my opponent here just to rouse himself amid the cloudy maze of right in which he has enveloped himself, and proceed to the only other objection he has taken. R. R. observes, that I have asserted (what I still contend is true) that neither occupancy nor force confer right; and he argues from thence that " as we have undeniably acquired the dominion of the sea by force," and as there occurs to him " only two ways in which that could be done, namely, rightfully and wrongfully; if it has *not* been effected rightfully" as he insists *I* have contended, " it must," he says, " have been effected wrongfully, and therefore that we are according to *my* confession *wrongfully* in the possession of the dominion of the sea: and that in fact we agree in the same conclusion." Now, R. R. is convinced, I have no doubt, that he has placed me in a strange dilemma, but he must excuse me when I inform him, that a perverted judgment has led him throughout into erroneous conclusions: that he travels from fallacy to sophism until he arrives at the acmé of misapprehension, of which I think in this instance I shall satisfy him. I asserted it is true that neither force nor occupancy conferred right; *abstractedly* I contend they do not; and I am still inclined to hold that opinion, which I believe to be correct; but I no where asserted that neither force nor occupancy accompanied with other collateral circumstances did not create a right, which it would evince the want of wisdom to abandon; on the contrary, I thought the peculiar situation of this country did justify that coercion by which we should acquire the dominion of the sea; and I insisted therefore that we were " urged by every ray of reason and policy to maintain such dominion." R. R. will pardon me if I have been plain and explicit with him; and he must not attribute the warmth of argument to intentional personality. If the former be an offence I must plead guilty, but the latter I disclaim. Feeling therefore I trust, as much for the honour of my country as R. R., and anxious equally with him for its preservation, I am solicitous that the dominion of the sea should be sustained upon *fair* and *honourable* grounds; that it can be so sustained, I have myself a full and clear conviction; and though our dominion of the sea may fret the sceptic sensibility of the CASUIST, it will not I think offer much violence to the feelings of an HONEST MAN; and as in the latter class I have every reason for placing our friend R. R. I entertain a hope that in a future letter, I shall find his conscience upon this subject in perfect coincidence with my own. —— CANDIDUS.— *Lincoln's Inn October 26, 1807.*

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

SIR;——Two of your correspondents entered into a discussion of, and attempted to controvert the doctrine advanced by me relative to the dominion of the seas; and, in your Register of the 18th inst. I inserted an answer to their arguments, which has had the effect to silence one, and would, I think, have produced a similar effect on the other, if he had possessed equal good sense.—It is my intention now to confine myself to the remarks of your correspondent Wroc, which appeared in your last number; and, in doing this, I will also be as brief as possible; but, before I come to the consideration of the subject of occupancy, a proper acknowledgment is due for the *kindness* which has been expressed for me. Having in my first letter stated, that occupancy or *first* possession confers right, Wroc states, that he kindly agreed to accept my real meaning to be occupancy or *present* possession. Now, in what does this kindness consist? It is imagined that I give a wrong meaning to the word occupancy, when I state it to be first possession; (on which I shall make an observation or two hereafter) your correspondent Wroc, therefore *kindly* agrees to give it a different interpretation, which has this effect: he raises a gross charge of inconsistency, and makes my own arguments demolish my doctrine of occupancy, thereby committing suicide. This is the kindness for which I am indebted, and which, I certainly feel, has laid me under vast obligations. No, Wroc! No more of your kindness; as much open, honourable, and manly contention as you please, but no more kindness, " for you are kind only to be cruel." I come now to consider the meaning of the word occupancy; and, I certainly did think at the time I wrote my first letter, that oc-

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cupancy *technically* (if I may be allowed the expression) did mean first possession; although I knew that in strictness and in common parlance, it meant possession *generally*. This impression on my mind was made by a perusal of that chapter which treats on the subject in Blackstone's Commentaries, about ten years ago. But, I was not positively of that opinion, and certainly entertained some doubts respecting it. And not having it in my power, immediately to have recourse to Blackstone to satisfy myself; I therefore added "first possession;" explaining my meaning of the term occupancy to be first possession; but it is rather ludicrous, that Wroc, who in such a triumphant manner exposed the error I had fallen into, (if it be one, for I yet have not referred to the learned judge's work) should have committed one fully as absurd, and in him perfectly unjustifiable, for he defines occupancy to be *present* possession. Now, if the term has not the meaning which I attributed to it, it unquestionably can only mean possession generally. Wroc having stated, that when there are two claimants, the first possessor and present possessor, they would find themselves puzzled to determine to which of them the right belonged, by referring to my rule for a guide; to this I replied, "that "there could not be any puzzle, for if a "ship occupy a certain station, and is dis-"possessed by force by another ship, my "rule being that first possession confers "right, the first occupant has the right." This I thought was a satisfactory answer; and notwithstanding the sneer of your correspondent at Mr. Whitbread and myself, I still entertain the same opinion. But why introduce the name of Mr. Whitbread? What has he to do with the question? Or, if he have, why ill naturedly sneer at him for his profession? I see no reason why a brewer is not as fit a person to be a legislator as any other man. If, indeed, Mr. Whitbread drank his own porter, there might be some reason for it; for I have heard that this beverage possesses a stupifying property. But, Mr. Whitbread, you may rely on it, drinks generous and costly wines, and other liquors. With regard to the charge of having "dropped half the rule," by omitting the word occupancy, this was merely a casual omission, nor do I consider it to be of the smallest importance, for either of the expressions occupancy or first possession, (they being according to my definition synonymous) will without the other make the rule complete. I further observed, "if the first ship had "left the station, and the other had taken "possession of it, and the first had returned "and claimed it, the present occupier would "clearly be entitled to retain it; because, "in abandoning the station, the first pos-"sessor relinquished his right to it, and it "again became common." Wroc observes on this part of my answer, that when he asserted in opposition to my doctrine, that a first possessor could not transmit the right which he acquired by such possession, I did positively assert, "that it was never "stated by me that the right ceased with "the possession." This is perfectly correct, and there is not that inconsistency in the position which your correspondent Wroc seems to infer. Does it follow, because I stated in general terms, "that I never said "that right ceases with possession;" that I meant to say that cases might not arise in which the right would so cease? This obviously could not have been the case, for I have more than once taken notice of such cases. And I have stated with regard to the principal question, that vessels acquire a temporary right to that part of the sea which they occupy, but the moment they abandon the possession the right ceases. My meaning obviously was, that it was never stated by me that the right *always* ceased with the possession. I trust that I have once more removed the rubbish which Wroc has thrown in the way of a fair investigation of the subject. The charges of inconsistency, rage, absurdity, subterfuge, and dunghill cock, which he has brought against me, are of a serious and startling nature, and might prove fatal to the cause of a person less acquainted than myself with the finesse of many gentlemen learned in the law, who conscious of the weakness of their own cause, endeavour to find defects in that of their adversaries, and not succeeding in the attempt, adopt bold assertion, though utterly unsupported by the fact, following the advice of the Scotch advocate mentioned in your last number, "hoot away mon, admit the fact for "the sake of the argument." But, I take the liberty of informing your correspondent, that such conduct is utterly harmless, as it affects myself; and that I am not thus to be turned aside from my pursuit after truth. I stated in my last communication, that the sea *from its nature*, was incapable of occupancy. Wroc inquires in what this consists, and intimates that the sea is as capable of occupancy as the land. The reason that I did not state why the sea was not capable of being occupied was, that I conceived it to be sufficiently obvious. But, it is this, and the best way to explain it is, to show how the *land* is capable of occupancy. This may be done by inclosing it, sowing,

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planting, or stocking it with cattle, &c. &c. But none of those methods can be adopted with regard to the sea. Land, too, let me observe, is permanent and fixed; and, therefore, when taken possession of it is capable of being retained; but this is not the case with water, which is only temporary and fugitive. The water which constitutes this or that sea, is not the water which did constitute it a twelvemonth ago, nor which will constitute it a twelvemonth hence; and, therefore, if the act were not ridiculous in itself, should Denmark, Sweden, or Russia, for instance, take possession of the Baltic sea, how could it be retained? But, let us grant for the sake of the argument, that the sea is capable of occupancy; I would ask, if any such act of occupancy has ever been committed by this country? It unquestionably never has. Every nation has always, if I may be allowed the expression, stocked in common. With regard to my observation, that a certain portion of the sea may belong exclusively to nations, as far as may be necessary for navigating their vessels, I have to remark, that the construction Wroc has put on it is nearly correct; namely, "that so "much of the sea as any particular vessel "covers for the time being, belongs exclu- "sively not to the nation to which the ves- "sel belongs, but to the owner of the ves- "sel." If the vessel is a national one, the part of the sea which it occupies belongs for the time being to the nation which is the owner of the vessel; but, if it be a private one, the right belongs to the owner of it or to the captain. I only mentioned the above instance to shew that the sea was capable of being occupied partially, and in what manner; but, I did not mean to intimate that there are not other cases of a similar nature, as fisheries, &c.; for such there undoubtedly are.—I have been charged with subterfuge, in not noticing a case put by Wroc. My reason for not doing it was, because I considered it to be virtually demolished by the answer, which I had attempted to give to other arguments, and not from the dirty motive ascribed to me. The case is this, "sup- "pose, that when all things were in com- "mon, two individuals, or two tribes, were "equally desirous of possessing any parti- "cular unoccupied spot of territory, natural "reason would not dictate that it belonged "to one of them rather than to the other; "and there would be no established law in "such a state to be appealed to, or to which "either would be bound to submit, what is "to determine the point but force?" Why, occupancy. If two persons or two clans, or any other bodies of persons be desirous of enjoying a particular spot of land, let them run a race for it, and let the person or persons who first arrive there enjoy it; for they are entitled to it by occupancy. This I stated *virtually* in my last communication; and, therefore, virtually answered this case which has brought down upon me the unmerited censure of Wroc. Besides, even granting to that gentleman all the benefit which he expected from this case, as far as respects the question being determinable by force, I deny that it would establish the principle that force confers right. It does not follow that if a case arises to which the general principle of occupancy is inapplicable, force must be had recourse to, that in those cases to which it does apply, force must likewise be used. That case would be supported and determined by its own particular circumstances. A case has just occurred to me, which though I conceive to be unnecessary, and rather out of method, I cannot forbear inserting on account of its analogy. When Mrs. Siddons, Mr. Kemble, or any other of our most excellent actors and actresses, are announced to perform some part at the theatre, in which they excel, crowds assemble at the doors before they are opened, all anxious to get commodious seats. The doors fly open, the crowd rushes in, then what ensues? They who are fortunate to take the *first possession* of the most convenient placed keep them uninterruptedly during all the time of the performance, if they think proper to do so. And this would be the case with the particular spot of land, or in justice ought to be so. I have now gone through all the arguments advanced by Wroc, which I conceive are applicable to the point in dispute, but there are some expressions contained in the latter part of his last communications which I mean to make an observation or two on. It is stated, "it shall be conceded "to him" (to me) "that the sea was like "the earth, originally in common, and (for "arguments sake) that the sea unlike the "earth did not from its nature, admit of a "sovereignty being acquired in it by occu- "pancy merely, would it follow, that this "nation cannot have acquired a right to "such a sovereignty by any other means, "or upon any other ground? Is the writer "ignorant that other nations have fought and "struggled hard with us in order that they "might themselves possess that very sove- "reignty which we have conquered. Is he "indeed ignorant, that after such a contest "right to the object contended for is with "the conqueror." I have no quarrel with the sovereignty we possess at sea; I hope it will always remain as decisive as it is at pre-

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sent, for this sovereignty is the principal bulwark of the country. No, I have no objection to the sovereignty of the sea by us, but I object to the *exercise of it* in the manner we do, on neutral nations. I do not object that "we enjoy the strength of a "giant, it is glorious to do so; but, I object "that we exercise it like a giant, because "that is tyrannous and unjust."—R. R.

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

SIR;——The distance of my present residence from town has prevented me from sooner expressing my obligations to Mr. W. Burdon, of No. 7, Somerset Street, Portman Square, for the information which I have derived from his most acute and profoundly learned lucubrations upon the subject of the Rights and Laws of Nations, inserted in the last Number but one of your Political Register (p. 661.) When in his opening period he observed: "the subject "of the laws and rights of nations being in "my opinion, much misconceived, permit "me to use my endeavours to place it in its "proper light," I confess, that my mind was, in some measure, prepared for the appearance of those grand and sublime conceptions with which Mr. W. Burdon, of No. 7, Somerset Street, Portman Square, has irradiated the subject. Anticipating what would be the substance of those lucubrations; "here," said I to myself, "shall "we see the misconceived notions of such "weak reasoners as Mr. Cobbett, who has "argued against the existence of any such "thing as a *law* (properly so called) *of na-"tions* completely exposed, and the thing "'placed in its proper light.'" Nor, Sir, was I disappointed; for, the very next passage which ensued was so pregnant with sound reasoning, that it was quite impossible that it should fail of producing that effect. Pray let it adorn your pages once more: "that nations have rights as well as "individuals, and *laws too*, cannot for a "moment be doubted!" Now, could any thing, in the shape of argument, be more satisfactory and convincing than the passage last quoted, which you see, Sir, *takes for granted* the only thing, which, with respect to the laws of nations, stood in need of proof?! But, Sir, this is not all, for the sage follows up his logical argument with a prophetic denunciation, calculated to make you, Mr. Cobbett, and all who agree with you upon this subject, quake with terror! Steel your nerves, then, to meet the shock a second time! "To deny," he observes, "the rights and the laws of nations would "be to realize that savage state of nature, "which has hardly ever existed but in the warm region of a poetical fancy!!" Say no more, Mr. Cobbett, for Heaven's sake, against the existence of any law of nations, seeing that Mr. W. Burdon hath clearly demonstrated, "that in proportion to the suc-"cess with which your arguments are at-"tended, will the civilized nations of the "earth approximate to a savage state!!" Thanks, unfeigned thanks, to Mr. W. Burdon for his exertions in the cause of nations!! Grotius, Vattel, Puffendorf, ye are outdone!!—So much for Mr. W. Burdon's reasoning in proof of the actual existence of the rights and laws of nations. Now for Mr. W. Burdon's new invented code of *maxims*, as he calls them, with respect to those Rights and those Laws. First, for the Rights, and here again the new light of Mr. W. Burdon has shone forth with so much effulgence, that all those old fashioned notions, as to the rights of nations, which I had once entertained, fled at its approach like the flimsy vapours of the night before the great orb of day.—"The rights of na-"tions," says Mr. W. Burdon, "like those "of individuals, arise from their acquisi-"tions in society." Precious discovery!!! Whatever any particular nation does, then, in point of fact acquire, it also acquires *a right to*, no matter whether the means employed be iniquitous or just! However, Mr. W. Burdon gives a most satisfactory reason which cannot fail to reconcile us to this new doctrine of his, for he adds, that, "*such is the nature of man* that it is not "always requisite to scrutinize too severely "into the origin of those acquisitions, "though it is at all times justifiable to resist "the encroachments of power whether "public or private." In saying thus much, Mr. W. Burdon, has, doubtless, given the reason why such a scrutiny, being requisite or not, depends upon *the nature of man*, although I cannot, for my life and soul, discover it. This inference, however, is sufficiently apparent—that in Mr. W. Burdon's opinion it is *sometimes* requisite to scrutinize *too severely*, and, as it will presently appear more clearly, requisite sometimes not to scrutinize at all, even in those cases where resistance to the power exerted would have been justifiable: for Mr. W. Burdon assures us: "though time may legalize the "acquisitions of conquest or fraud, no-"thing can diminish their original injus-"tice!!" And, Sir, Mr. W. Burdon is right, for time is to be sure a worker of wonders, and it is in that way easily to be accounted for, that what has its root in iniquity becomes sanctified; and that an act origi-

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nally unjust, and the *injustice* of which (mark ye!) is *not*, in any degree, *diminished*, does, notwithstanding, become *legalized!!!* This, Sir, is, I take it, Mr. W. Burdon's mode of placing before us the equity of the thing, "in its proper light." Unfortunately for yourself, Mr. Cobbett, as well as your readers, this Mr. W. Burdon, of No. 7, Somerset Street, Portman Square, does not define the laws of nations, but in a most patriotic manner asserts, that we have departed from the general principles of those laws "in asserting the Dominion of the Seas and *violating* the rights of neutral nations," but yet trusts (kind gentleman!) that those "maxims," (maxims!!) which he has stated, and upon which I have commented above, will justify us. How grateful, Sir, ought not the country at large to be to the author of such a justification! But, whatever the tenor of the laws o nations may be, those laws are not, it seems, "capable of being considered in any other "light than a compact among a few individuals which cease to be binding upon "the rest when they are so far violated by "one as to affect their common or individual safety." He had told us before, that "the laws of nations are for ever liable to "the unjust control of any individual." In that period of darkness which preceded the luminous appearance in print of Mr. W. Burdon, I erroneously supposed, that nothing could, with any propriety, be called a law which did not come within the definition of *a rule of action prescribed by some superior to an inferior power, which rule such inferior was bound, and might by the superior, be compelled to obey.* But, now, after Mr. W. Burdon's learned exposition, my sentiments have, of course, been revolutionized, and I have found it impossible not to imbibe an opinion, that the stipulations entered into is a mere league between nations—a league "existing in practical con-"venience only," which admits of being totally dissolved at the will of any particular nation inclined to violate those stipulations—a violation, too, which does not draw down upon the aggressor the vengeance or resentment of the other nations lately in league with it.—I say, Mr. Cobbett, that it would be a most unpardonable perverseness not to agree with Mr. W. Burdon, of No. 7, Somerset Street, Portman Square, that such *stipulations* are, with strict propriety, denominated by him, LAWS.—Have a care, Mr. Cobbett, how you enter the lists with this champion, for as it is impossible to make any impresssion upon a shadow, however keen may be the edge of your weapon, so will you find his reasoning to be invulnerable. Your's &c. —GEORGE DAVEY.—*Allstock Cattage, near Charmouth.*

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

SIR;——Since late, we, your readers, have been entertained with your dissertations respecting the dominion of the seas; but, I for one, doubt much whether you and your correspondents who have favoured us with their productions upon this head, are quite correct respecting our right to that dominion having *at all times*, or even *ever* been *universally* admitted.—I shall not now discuss that point, but wish to call your attention to the *use* which we have made, and now make, of the power we hold, and by which we have so much exasperated all the continental seafaring nations. I am inclined to believe, Mr. Cobbett, that neither you, nor seven-eights of the nation; no, nor even the judge of the Honourable Court of Admiralty himself, is aware of the abuse of our maritime power, and of the injustice that is committed, not by the brave tars who so gallantly fight the battles of the nation, but by a few (perhaps a dozen) cowardly privateers, fitted out by some unprincipled owners, who by detaining every neutral vessel, however little reason there may be for suspicion, cause great depredation upon the neutral trade and property, and bring disgrace, hatred, and vengeance down upon the unoffending, and not participating nation.——Far be it from me to reflect upon the decisions of the learned judge of that most honourable court. I merely allude to the practices out of court. I wish the country at large to be made acquainted with them, and it will be found that those privateers have contrived matters so ingeniously, that it becomes nearly a matter of indifference to them, whether the judge restores or condemns the property in question, and strange as it may appear, it is frequently the case, that the former is more profitable to them than the latter, because they almost always have their expences decreed to them. Suppose that a vessel and cargo is by them detained, the vessel is generally immediately released, but the cargo it is pretended must be brought before the court, which from the long list of cases pending in that court, is not likely to get a hearing in less than 18 months, or two years, and affords them an opportunity of unloading and warehousing the cargo.—The next step is to inveigle some brokers by the expectation of a commission, or otherwise, to declare that the goods are in a perishable state, and that *in their opinion*, it would be for the interest of those concerned, if an im-

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mediate sale were made, and by means of this broker's certificate, a commission of appraisement and sale is obtained. Then the captor's agents proceed with alacrity to sell, and as no attention is paid to the circumstance of the goods being at an out of the way port, instead of being at the proper market for which they were intended and prepared, it will be evident that they do not frequently sell for one-fourth of their cost; and never otherwise than at a great loss instead of a profit, to which every trader naturally looks. The miserable proceeds are then, after remaining some time in the hands of the captor's agent brought into court, and upon restitution being decreed, the neutral claimant may receive them upon a *further payment* of poundage to the registrar; and fortunate is the neutral trader, if after payment of the heavy law expences, any proceeds remain to be remitted abroad. —I have now, Mr. Cobbett, explained how the neutral trader loses, but you would not comprehend how the captors make their profits, if I were not to add, that besides being owners of privateers, they are lightermen, wharfingers, warehouse-keepers, brokers, agents, &c. &c. And you will now be enabled to guess that the goods on being landed, housed, and sold pay, and are wasted so unmercifully, that the captors on having their expences paid, *are no great losers.*—The board of trade many months ago made some investigation into these nefarious practices, and, I doubt not, that as redress is long a coming, it will be the more effectual. If you should deem this subject worth an introduction into the Register, it will lead to the exposure of many more iniquitous practices attending the privateering system; and I remain, Sir, &c.——R.

EXPATRIATION.

SIR;——I am somewhat at a loss to refer to that part of my letter to you, in which it seems, from your observation (p. 646), I have relinquished my "former construction of the *Law of England.*"—There is one passage in my 2d. letter (the last sentence p. 609) which possibly *may* haveinduced your animadversion: if this be so, it is necessary that I undeceive you, and more clearly explain myself. In that passage, I referred merely to the weakness of Candidus's remark resting on no better authority than "his mere assertion," and to shew the slender thread on which that observation hung, I meant to convey, which perhaps my expression did not sufficiently do, that *my assertion* was equally good, and carried as much weight, though I should adopt a contrary system, not thereby meaning to convey the idea, that "capacity" of expatriation was not laid down, but that if I chose to assert this, without better authority than an ipse dixit, my remark, opposed to his, was of equal weight. This, and no more, did I intend; and I trust I shall be acquitted of sophistry in this explanation, especially when it is recollected, that my following remarks (612) in support of my construction of the *Law of England*, contain further *authorities*, viz. Bracton, Fleta, and Stamford, which, although you object to Vattel on the law of nations, and Wicquefort's book on Ambassadors, I presume you cannot dissent from. They convey to us what was the common law, and with respect to my ideas upon the statute law they remain as they were. I certainly do, Mr. Cobbett, insist upon my former construction of the Law of England, and as to the doctrines of Vattel and Wicquefort as my ideas perfectly coincide with them, I deemed it more proper to refer to them than adopt their opinions as part of my argument. Candidus's charge of adopting, "revolutionary principles," would have been well founded, if I had in conformity to the doctrine of the French Emperor overturned Vattel's exposition of the Law of Nations, which has been long acted upon, and I do not see why I should attempt to dispute Vattel's authority, because it may suit *his* purpose to dispute it, or the propriety of that which Vattel lays down to be the Law of Nations. Vattel does not give us a mere dictum, but he furnishes us with what I deem to be solid argument. Your argument—but which however you have not favoured me with, opposing his, I should wish to have considered; the only reason I did not furnish you with Vattel's arguments, was an apprehension of occupying a greater space in your Register than strictly allowable, and in consequence I referred you to the passages on which I relied. I rest under a serious charge of sophistry, and am stigmatized with the adoption of the *ridicule:* nothing, be assured, was further from my thoughts; and if my language does convey those ideas to you, it has arisen currente calamo. Thou shalt "do no murder," I hold to be applicable as well to Nations as to Individuals; one *cannot*, but to avoid ambiguity, let me comment as I proceed; and observe, that I intend this *unfortunate* word, as used in common parlance, commit murder without being stigmatized, with as much criminality as the other; although Nations are not amenable to human punishment as individuals are: but they are liable to severe censure beyond the power of mortals; we

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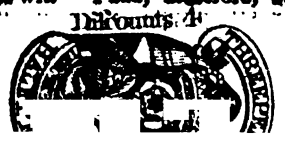
have but to look at the visitations with which nearly the whole Continent of Europe has been afflicted for their misdeeds. A Nation is bound to protect helpless infancy, and not authorised to suffer an infant to perish with hunger or cold, or from want of care. It is *compelled*, as you observe, to "nurse and defend him," until he is capable of defending himself; but although I admit these things. I see not that deficiency of Justice, "when he is grown up to mankind," should he carry his talents and strength elsewhere. The talents of man are bestowed upon him for his own benefit, and he may use them as to him they prove most profitable, but it should be recollected that the man of talents will not forget "gratitude" as the splendid orb illuminating those talents, which his Creator has bestowed upon him, and the Country which "reared him up to manhood." *Gratitude* will for ever remain, although I contend *allegiance* may pass away. I have it seems been unfortunate in my simile, though you will hardly allow that term to my companion; so much so have I been that I am apprehensive if I travel one step higher my attempt at elucidation may be abortive. A father of a family has more than once been compared to the head of a Government, and you will perhaps agree with me that there is *more* resemblance between the Nation and the private family, than the dependant in a family to whom in my former letter I alluded. "We naturally owe to those who gave us existence," says Blackstone, Vol. I. Chap. 16, page 453, "subjection and obedience during our minority and honour and reverence ever after;" but I do not find that this "subjection and obedience" continue after minority has ceased. When we arrive at manhood there is an end of subjection; and I consider as I have heretofore done, that as between the nation and the individual it is similar, and that nothing remains but the extension of "gratitude". Indeed, Blackstone, page 369, says, "Natural allegiance is therefore a debt of *gratitude which cannot be forfeited*;" this I have contended too and still maintain. I have insisted upon the debt of *gratitude* remaining, but not allegiance when a man by cession of minority becomes capable of electing his place of residence and adopting a new country if he thinks fit. I am apprehensive, that, should I adduce various other comparisons, the observations of Crousaz, in his Treatise on the Art of Thinking, Vol. I. part 1. sec. 2 page 387, would fit me, viz: "that a great quantity of comparisons is frequently a sign of a *superficial* wit." I had, therefore, best leave further comparisons and rest my arguments and observations here, together with the authorities of our common lawyers quoted heretofore by me, from which it has not been my intention to depart, however inexpressive and ambiguous I may have been, and with whatsoever injustice I may have communicated their sentiments, and superadded mine, satisfied with that little wit I possess, be it superficial or solid.—The Proclamation (upon which I addressed a letter to you on the 20th instant), so far as it extends is proper as I have before said; but it does not extend in my estimation as it seems to you *to all British subjects*. The word "others" bears relation to "*such* letters of naturalization," which again refers to the beginning of the sentence making mention of "mariners and seafaring men," to whom letters have been granted and to men employed on board of a ship whether as mariners and seafaring men or *otherwise*, and not to merchants, manufacturers, or fund-holders, or to his Majesty's subjects in general. I do think, Mr. Cobbett, that it would be well for this highly favoured country, if an act of parliament were passed, prohibiting lawyers from drawing up acts of parliament on pain of death, and to prevent them from expounding laws. From the extreme caution of lawyers arises all the confusion in our courts of law and the doubts upon acts of parliament; and very frequently constructions are put upon statute laws, which never entered into the imagination of the legislature.—Nations, Mr. Cobbett, have not, de jure or de facto, the power of bargaining with their infant subjects, or to become infanticides. In the one case they would act with uncontroulable injustice, in the other with turpitude Nations are bound to extend acts of humanity and not to look to the quid pro quo; to say I have nurtured you, and I therefore claim perpetual subjection from you. It might as well be said that the common offices of humanity due to indigent foreigners lay claim to their future services in perpetuity;—the humane tendency of our laws is such that they do not suffer any person of whatever country he may be to perish through want; but yet we do not, therefore, enlist such perpetually under our banners. Acts of humanity are twice blessed, first in the adoption, and secondly in the disinterested motive. This virtue I deem the divine attribute humanised.—You know well, Mr. Cobbett, that it has been heretofore not unusual for one of two partners, British subjects, to reside in America, and the other here. The man who resided in America accepted letters of natu-



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ralisation, and made America his domicil. It has been not unusual for courts of law, common as well as civil, to hold, that although such a man is a natural born subject, yet having become domiciliated in America, America is his country.—Now let us see the consequence; the partner in America under cover of this construction ships to France, and, perhaps, touches here for orders, as it is termed; should such ship be brought in by our cruizers, and is libelled in the admiralty, she is released, because, although the partner in America is a natural born subject of Great Britain, yet as he is "domiciliated" there he is held to be a neutral, and the ship and cargo also neutral, notwithstanding, that the resident partner here is a British subject, and may participate in the profits of the adventure. We pay here a very liberal credit to a man's oath, so much so, that if the British subject here *swears* he has no concern in the ship and cargo, that alone would tend to acquit the ship. A door is, however, open to perjury, and the facility with which this species of evidence, if evidence it can be called, has been received by no means tends to close the aperture. Such have been the mischievous effects of partial expatriation. I say *partial*, because should the resident partner in America chuse to return here and altogether quit his domicil abroad, he is received here again as a British subject. I think, therefore, that something more explicit and definite is requested than the language of the proclamation heretofore noticed by me. And now, Mr. Cobbett, for a short time farewell. Should you or your correspondents Candidus and R. R. incline to remark upon this and my former letters, you and they may depend upon a proper attention, on my part, as soon after the approaching "saturnalia" as possible. ——S. V.—*Oct.* 28, 1807.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA.——*Official Note delivered by the British Plenipotentiaries to the American Commissioners, dated December* 31, 1806.

The undersigned Henry Richard Vassall, Lord Holland, and William, Lord Auckland, Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty, have the honour to inform James Monroe and William Pinkney, Commissioners Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries of the United States of America, that they are now ready to proceed to the signature of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, on the articles of which they have mutually agreed.—But at the same time they have it in command from his Majesty, to call the attention of the Commissioners of the United States, to some extraordinary proceedings which have lately taken place on the Continent of Europe, and to communicate to them officially the sentiments of his Majesty's government thereupon.—The proceedings alluded to are certain declarations and orders of the French government, issued at Berlin, on the 21st of November last.——In those orders the French government seeks to justify or palliate its own unjust pretensions, by imputing to Great Britain principles which she never professed, and practices which never existed. His Majesty is accused of a systematic and general disregard of the law of nations, recognized by civilised states, and more particularly of an unwarrantable extension of the right of blockade; whereas his Majesty may confidently appeal to the world, on his uniform respect for neutral rights, and his general and scrupulous adherence to the law of nations, without condescending to contrast his conduct in these particulars, with that of his enemy; and with regard to the only specific charge, it is notorious, that he has never declared any ports to be in a state of blockade, without allotting to that object a force sufficient to make the entrance into them manifestly dangerous.—By such allegations, unfounded as they are, the enemy attempts to justify his pretensions of confiscating, as lawful prize, all produce of English industry or manufacture, though it be the property of neutrals; of excluding from his harbours every neutral vessel which has touched at any port of his Majesty's dominions, though employed in an innocent commerce: and of declaring Great Britain to be in a state of blockade, though his own ports and arsenals are actually blockaded, and he is unable to station any naval force whatever before any port of the United Kingdom.—Such principles are in themselves extravagant, and repugnant to the law of nations; and the pretensions founded on them, though professedly directed solely against Great Britain, tend to alter the practice of war among civilised nations, and utterly to subvert the rights and independence of neutral powers. The undersigned cannot, therefore, believe, that the enemy will ever seriously attempt to enforce such a system. If he should, they are confident that the good sense of the American government will perceive the fatal consequences of such pretensions to neutral commerce, and that its spirit and regard to national honour, will prevent its acquiescence in such palpable violations of its rights, and injurious encroachments on its interests.——If, however, the enemy should carry these threats

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into execution, and if neutral nations should, contrary to all expectation, acquiesce in such usurpations, his Majesty might probably be compelled, however reluctantly, to retaliate in his just defence, and to issue orders to his cruisers to adopt towards neutrals any hostile system to which those neutrals shall have submitted from his enemies. The commissioners of the United States will therefore feel, that at a moment when his Majesty, and all the neutral nations are threatened with such an extension of the belligerent pretensions of his enemies, he cannot enter into the stipulations of the present treaty without an explanation from the United States of their intentions, or a reservation on the part of his Majesty in the case above-mentioned, if it should ever occur.—The undersigned, considering that the distance of the American government, renders any immediate explanation on the subject impossible, and animated by a desire of forwarding the beneficial work in which they are engaged, are authorised by his Majesty to conclude the treaty without delay.—They proceed to the signature under the full persuasion that before the treaty shall be returned from America, with the ratification of the United States, the enemy will either have formally abandoned, or tacitly relinquished, his unjust pretensions, or that the government of the United States, by its conduct or assurances, will have given security to his Majesty, that it will not submit to such innovations in the established system of maritime law; and the undersigned have presented this note from an anxious wish, that it should be clearly understood on both sides, that without such abandonment of his pretensions, on the part of the enemy, or such assurances or such conduct on the part of the United States, his Majesty will not consider himself bound by the present signature of his commissioners to ratify the treaty, or precluded from adopting such measures as may seem necessary for counteracting the designs of his enemy whenever they shall occur, and be of such an extraordinary nature as to require extraordinary remedies —The undersigned cannot conclude, without expressing their satisfaction at the prospect of accomplishing an object so important to the interests and friendly connection of both nations, and their just sense of the conciliatory disposition manifested by the commissioners of the United States, during the whole course of the negociation.

(Signed) VASSAL HOLLAND.
AUCKLAND.

RUSSIA AND TURKEY.—*Treaty of Armistice between Russia and the Ottoman Porte; August* 24, 1807.

Art. 1. From the date of the signature of the treaty, all hostilities shall cease between the two belligerent powers.——2. As the Sublime Porte and Russia equally wish, with the most amicable intention, the establishment of peace and harmony, the high contracting parties will appoint, after the signature of the present armistice, plenipotentiaries to negociate and conclude a peace as soon as possible, to meet in the most convenient situation for both. If in the course of the negociation for a definitive peace, difficulties should unfortunately arise, so as to obstruct a definitive arrangement, hostilities shall not re-commence before next spring, that is to say, before the 21st of March, 1808, new stile of the christian æra.——3. As soon as the present armistice is signed, the Russian troops shall begin to evacuate Wallachia and Moldavia, and all the provinces, fortresses, and other territory which they have occupied during the war; and to retire within their ancient frontiers, so that the said evacuation shall be completed in the space of thirty-five days from the date of the signature of the present armistice.—The Russian troops shall leave, in the territory and fortresses which they shall evacuate all the effects, cannon, and ammunition, which they found on taking possession of them. The Sublime Porte shall appoint commissaries to receive the aforesaid fortresses from Russian officers appointed for the aforesaid purpose. The Ottoman troops shall, in like manner, retire from Moldavia and Wallachia, and repass the Danube. They will only leave in the fortresses of Ismail, Brailow, and Giurgion, garrisons sufficient to keep them. The Russian troops shall correspond with the Ottomans, so that the two armies shall begin to retire at the same time from Wallachia and Moldavia. The two contracting parties shall in no way meddle with the administration of the two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia till the arrival of the plenipotentiaries charged with the office of negociating for a definitive peace. Till peace is concluded, the Ottoman troops shall not enter any of the fortresses evacuated by the Russians. The inhabitants alone shall be at liberty to enter them.——4. Conformably to the preceding article, the island of Tenedos, as well as every other place in the Archipelago, which, before the intelligence of the armistice shall have arrived, shall be occupied by the Russian troops, shall be evacuated. The Rus-

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sian troops which are stationed before Tenedos, or any other place in the Archipelago, shall return to their ports, in order that the Dardanelles shall be at once open and free. If the Russian ships in proceeding to their ports shall be obliged to stop at any port in the Archipelago, in consequence of tempestuous weather, or any other unavoidable accident, the Turkish officers shall not oppose any obstacle, but on the contrary, shall afford them the necessary aid. All the ships of war, or other Ottoman vessels, which, during the war shall have fallen into the hands of the Russians, shall be restored, with their crews, as well as the Russian vessels which shall have fallen into the hands of the Ottomans. The Russian ships in proceeding to their ports shall not take on board any subject of the Sublime Porte.——5. All the vessels of the Russian flotilla stationed at the mouth of the Sunne or elsewhere, shall go out and proceed to their ports, in order that the Ottoman vessels may go out and come in with perfect safety. The Sublime Porte will give orders that the Russian vessels proceeding to their ports shall be respected, and that they shall be permitted to enter into any Ottoman port in case they shall be obliged to do so by tempestuous weather or any other inevitable accident ——6. All the prisoners of war and other slaves of both sexes, of whatever quality or rank, shall be immediately liberated and restored on both sides, without any ransom, with the exception, however, of mussulmen who shall have voluntarily embraced the christian religion in the Russian empire, and the christian subjects of Russia who shall have voluntarily embraced the mahometan religion in the Ottoman empire. Immediately after the conclusion of the present armistice, all the commanders, officers and inhabitants of the fortresses of Turkey, who are at present in Russia, shall be restored and sent to Turkey, with all their property and baggage.——7. The present treaty of armistice, written in Turkish and in French, has been signed by the two plenipotentiaries, and by the Adjutant Commandant Guilleminot, and has been exchanged, in order that it may be ratified by the Grand Vizier, and by his excellency the General in Chief Michelson.—The two plenipotentiaries shall take care that the said ratifications shall be exchanged within one week, or sooner, if possible.—Done and decreed at the castle of Slobosia, near Giurgion, the 20th of the month of Dgemaziul-Ahir, the year of the Hegira 1222, and the 12th of August (old style), or the 24th of August, 1807, (new style) of the Christian æra.—— (Signed)—Galib Effendi, Sergio Laskaroff, Guilleminot.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

Russia.——*Proclamation issued by the Emperor of Russia, on the conclusion of Peace with France. Given at St. Petersburgh, August* 9, 1807.

We, Alexander the First, by God's grace, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias.—The war between Russia and France, through the powerful assistance of the Most High, and the distinguished valour of our troops, has ended. Peace is happily restored.—In the course of this war, Russia has experienced the magnitude of her resources in the love and devotion of her sons, and which she may reckon upon finding on all occasions.—The troops in general have exhibited an unexampled valour, the firmest intrepidity, and heroic action; wherever they were called by the voice of honour, the sense of danger disappeared: their glorious deeds will rmain beyond the power of oblivion in the annals of national honour, and a grateful country will consider them as standing examples for posterity.—The nobles of the civil class, treading in the footsteps of their predecessors, have not only distinguished themselves by the sacrifices they have made of their property, but also by their perfect readiness to hazard their lives for the honour of their country.—The merchants, and all the other classes, neither sparing of their endeavours nor their property, have cheerfully borne the burden of the war, and have shewn themselves ready to make any sacrifice whatever.—With such a general and intimate union of valour and patriotism, it has pleased the Most High, defending and strengthening our armies in the severest conflicts, finally to reward their intrepidity by putting a happy period to a sanguinary war, and presenting us with a propitious peace, by a treaty, between France and Russia, which was concluded and ratified on the 27th of June, in our presence, at Tilsit.—According to the basis of this treaty, we have rejected all the plans for the enlargement of our frontiers at the expense of our allies, as inconsistent with justice and Russian dignity.—Not wishing to extend our spacious empire, we only made use of our arms to restore the violated tranquillity of the Continent, and to avert the danger which threatened our own, and the states that were in alliance with us.—Through the establishment of the present peace, Russia's ancient limits are not only secured in their

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complete inviolability, but rendered more complete by the addition of a natural and advantageous line of frontier.—Several countries and provinces have been given up to our allies, which had been lost by the fortune of war, and subjected by force of arms.—Peace being concluded upon these principles, we are convinced that all our faithful subjects will join with us in offering their prayers to the throne of the King of Kings, that Russia may long enjoy its advantages, defended by the blessings of the Supreme, and the unshaken and tried valour of her armies — Given at St. Petersburgh, Aug. 9, 1807, and the seventh year of our reign.——(L. S.) ALEXANDER. ANDREI BUDBERG.

PORTUGAL.—*Proclamation of the Prince Regent of Portugal: given at the Palace of Mafra, Oct.* 20, 1807.

It having been my greatest desire to preserve within my dominions the most perfect neutrality during the present war, upon the good account of the acknowledged good effects that result from it to the subjects of this Crown; but it being impossible to preserve it any longer, and reflecting at the same time how beneficial a general peace will be to humanity, I have judged it proper to accede to the cause of the Continent, by uniting myself to His Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and to His Catholic Majesty, in order to contribute, as far as may be in my power, to the acceleration of a maritime peace, wherefore I am pleased to order, that the ports of this kingdom may be shut against the entry of all ships of war and merchant vessels belonging to Great Britain; and thus it is to be understood.—Given at the Palace of Mafra, the 20th of October, 1807. By order of the Prince Regent, our Sovereign.—That all persons may have due notice, it is directed that this Edict be publicly affixed.—— J. F. LUDOVIC. Lisbon, Oct 22, 1807.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

MASSACRE AT VELLORE.——*Proclamation relative to the Massacre at Vellore: published by Order of the Governor in Council, and dated Fort St. George, December* 3, 1806.

The right hon. the Governor in Council, having observed that in some late instances an extraordinary degree of agitation has prevailed among several corps of the Native Army of this coast, it has been his lordship's particular endeavour to ascertain the motives which may have led to conduct so different from that which formerly distinguished the Native Army. From this inquiry, it has appeared, that many persons of evil intention have endeavoured, for malicious purposes, to impress upon the native troops a belief that it is the wish of the British government to convert them by forcible means to Christianity; and his lordship in Council has observed with concern that such malicious reports have been believed by many of the native troops —The right hon. the Governor in Council therefore deems it proper in this public manner to repeat to the native troops his assurance, that the same respect which has been invariably shewn by the British government for their religion and for their customs, will be always continued; and that no interruption will be given to any native, whether Hindoo or Mussulman, in the practice of his religious ceremonies.—His lordship in Council desires that the native troops will not give belief to the idle rumours which are circulated by enemies of their happiness, who endeavour, with the basest designs, to weaken the confidence of the troops in the British government. His lordship in Council desires that the native troops will remember the constant attention and humanity which have been shewn by the British government, in providing for their comfort, by augmenting the pay of the native officers and Sepoys; by allowing liberal pensions to those who have done their duty faithfully; by making ample provision for the families of those who may have died in battle; and by receiving their children into the service of the hon. Company, to be treated with the same care and bounty as their fathers had experienced. —The right hon. the Governor in Council trusts that the native troops, remembering these circumstances, will be sensible of the happiness of their situation, which is greater than what the troops of any other part of the world enjoy, and that they will continue to observe the same good conduct for which they were distinguished in the days of General Lawrence, of Sir Eyre Coote, and of other renowned heroes.—The native troops must, at the same time, be sensible, that if they should fail in the duties of their allegiance, and should shew themselves disobedient to their officers, their conduct will not fail to receive merited punishment, as the British government is not less prepared to punish the guilty, than to protect and distinguish those who are deserving of its favour. —It is directed that this paper be translated with care into the Tamul, Telinga, and Hindoostany languages; and that copies of it be circulated to each native battalion, of which the European officers are enjoined and ordered to be careful in making it known

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to every native officer and Sepoy under his command.—It is also directed that copies of the paper be circulated to all the magistrates and collectors under this government, for the purpose of being fully understood in all parts of the country.—Published by order of the right hon. the Governor in Council. G. BUCHAN, Chief Sec. to Government.

GIBRALTAR.—*Order relative to Foreigners; residing in Gibraltar, dated Head Quarters, October 8, 1807.*

Notice having been received from the officers commanding the Spanish lines, that in consequence of orders from the Court, the communication is closed between Spain and the Fortress; it is hereby ordered and directed, that all subjects of His Most Catholic Majesty, and of all countries under the dominion of France, residing within this place, leave the same with the least possible delay.—It is further ordered, that all Aliens, or Foreigners, not actually in the employ of some one or other of the departments of Government, or in that of British merchants, or long-established inhabitants of this place, do also quit the town and territory within 20 days from the present date, unless they shall have obtained, previous to that period, Permits of Residence of a date subsequent to the present. And it is to be clearly understood, in future, that all persons by whose application, or under whose responsibility, strangers are suffered to reside in this garrison, are to be responsible for their maintenance, as well as for their good conduct.—All persons whatsoever in the several departments of Government, to whom the same may appertain, shalld do their utmost to put these orders in force.—By Command.—(Signed) R. WRIGHT, Secretary.

EVACUATION OF ZEALAND.——*From the Supplement to the London Gazette of Saturday, October 31. Dated Downing street, Oct. 31, 1807.*

A Dispatch, of which the following is an Extract, has been received from Lieut. Gen. the Right Hon. Lord Cathcart, K. T. addressed to Lord Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, dated on board his Majesty's ship Africaine, the 21st Oct. 1807.

As no sort of infraction of the Capitulation had been made by the Danes, who, on the contrary, acted most honourably in the strict and literal fulfilment of their engagement; with a view to the fulfilment of the Articles of the Capitulation on our part, it was decided to commence the embarkation of the army on Tuesday, the 13th instant.—Accordingly, on that day, the 8 battalions of the line of the King's German Legion, were embarked in the arsenal; and, on the 14th, the 2 light battalions of the King's German Legion, together with Brigadier Gen. Macfarlane's brigade, viz. the 7th and 8th regiments of British, which embarked in the same ships which brought them from Hull. These corps, with the depot and garrison company of the legion, and the sick and wounded of the army, completely occupied all the troop ships, whether for home or foreign service, which had not been appropriated to the conveyance of naval stores.—These ships having been removed to the road, were replaced by the horse ships.—On the same day the advanced posts were withdrawn from Kolhaven, Werdenberg, Corsoer, Kallenberg, Fredericksberg, Hersholm, and adjacents, and proceeding through a chain of cavalry posts, reached the environs of Copenhagen in three marches.—The embarkation of the royal artillery, with the field and battering ordnance, having been gradually carried on from the Kalk Brauderie, that of the cavalry and foreign artillery in the dock-yard, and that of the British regiments from the citadel, to the men of war, the 8 remained on shore, on Sunday afternoon, the 18th instant, only the brigade of guards, who moved on that day from the palace of Fredericksberg, to the strand near Hellerup, with one brigade of British light artillery, the flank companies of the 32d and 50th regiments, with the 82d regiment, under Major Gen. Spencer, in the arsenal; and the 4th regiment, with a detachment of the royal artillery in the citadel, under Lieut. Col. Wynch, who acted as Lieut. Governor, the 4th, or King's own regiment, having been in garrison there the whole time.—Lieut. Gen. Sir G. Ludlow was appointed to command the rear guard of the army. In the evening of the 18th, a gale of wind came on which lasted 24 hours, and rendered further embarkation impossible, and any communication from the shore with the ships very difficult. As soon as it became evident that the evacuation of the island, on the 19th, was impracticable, a correspondence took place between the British and Danish head quarters, the result of which left no reason to apprehend that hostilities would recommence on either side at the expiration of the term, although the Danish General protested, in strong terms, against our retaining the citadel, which, on the other hand, it was not judged expedient to evacuate.—On the 20th the morning was calm, and, as soon as it was

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light, the drums of all his Majesty's regiments on shore beat the General; and the dock-yard and harbour being entirely cleared of transports and British vessels, the corps commanded by Major Gen. Spencer rowed out of the arsenal, under the guns of the citadel, and proceeded along the shore to Hellerup, to be in readiness to reinforce the guards. His Majesty's sloop Rosamond having been also towed out of the harbour, and the King's ships within reach of the Three Crown Battery, having got under weigh, the 4th regiment marched out of the citadel, and proceeded to join the guards, covered by its own flank companies, and by a picquet of the guards.——As soon as they had marched, the bridge was drawn up, and the British Fort Adjutant was sent to the Danish head quarters, to acquaint the General, that he was at liberty to send a guard to take charge of the citadel; accordingly, a small detachment of the royal artillery, and of the 4th regiment, were relieved by a guard of Danish troops, and the ordnance inventories and keys having been given over to the officers appointed to receive them by Major Bodecker, the Fort Major, and Capt. Patterson, of the royal artillery, the British detachment embarked with those officers, at the citadel, and proceeded to Hellerup.—As soon as the 4th regt. had joined the guards, Lieut. Gen. Sir G. Ludlow began the embarkation, which was completed with great expedition and regularity. No troops of the enemy appeared, and there was no concourse of inhabitants. People of all ranks in the city, in the villages, and on the public road, were extremely civil. Had any disturbance been intended, or had any been accidentally excited, the embarkation would have been equally secure from insult, the place selected being open and level, and out of the range of fire from the Crown Battery or Citadel, but commanded by his Majesty's light ships of war.——The brow, or stage itself, from which the troops embarked, was judiciously and ingeniously contrived by Sir Home Popham, to answer equally the purposes of embarkation and defence. A small vessel, a praam, and a floating battery, were fastened successively to each other on the beach; the two first being planked over, and the last beyond them having several guns of large calibre prepared for action, in an oblique direction, and manned by seamen.—The flat boats drew up on the two sides of the praam, and the gun-boats, which also received troops, were placed beyond the floating battery, so that, as soon as the brigade of artillery was embarked, the troops marched to their boats, and the whole put off to their respective ships; after which the floating battery and praam were destroyed.

Admiralty Office, Oct. 31, 1807.——Copy of a letter from Admiral Gambier to the Hon. William Wellesley Pole, dated on board his Majesty's ship the Prince of Wales, off Copenhagen, Oct. 20, 1807.

Sir;——I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the whole of the Danish fleet being equipped (except two unserviceable ships of the line and two frigates, which have been destroyed), and the arsenal cleared of the stores, the army has been re-embarked; and that I shall proceed, with the first favourable wind, to carry into execution the instructions I have received from the Lord Viscount Castlereagh.——Having so far accomplished the service on which I have been employed, I feel it my duty to state the great activity, energy, and zeal, which have been shewn by Vice Admiral Stanhope and Rear Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, in superintending the equipment of the Danish ships, and the embarkation of the stores from the arsenal; nor has the same spirit been less manifest in the captains, officers, seamen, and marines, who have all executed their respective parts, in the general exertion, with a promptitude and alacrity, which has not only entitled them to my warmest thanks and praise, but will, I doubt not, when the aggregate result of their labour is considered, obtain for them the approbation of their sovereign, and the applause of the nation.——In the space of 6 weeks, 16 sail of the line, 9 frigates, 14 sloops of war and smaller vessels, besides gun boats, have been fitted for sea, and all the large ships laden with masts, spars, timber, and other stores, from the arsenal, from whence also 92 cargoes have been shipped on board transports, and other vessels chartered for the purpose, the sum of whose burden exceeds 20,000 tons A considerable number of masts and spars have been put on board the Leyden and Inflexible, which were well adapted for this purpose, and some valuable stores on board his Majesty's ships; nor can I forbear to remark, that such was the emulation among the several ships of the fleet to which the Danish ships were respectively attached for equipment, that within 9 days 14 sail of the line were brought out of the harbour, although several of them underwent, in our hands, considerable repairs. Of the 3 ships on the stocks, two have been taken to pieces, and the useful parts of their timbers brought away; and the third, being in a considerable state of forwardness, was

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sawed in various parts, and suffered to fall over.—On a review of the whole, I think it may be asserted, without derogating from the merit of any former service, that the characteristic activity of British officers, seamen, and marines, was never more zealously exerted than on this occasion; but I must not omit, at the same time, to inform their lordships, that a very considerable proportion of the labour of the arsenal has been performed, with equal zeal and energy, by large working parties from the army, whose exertions entitle them to the same praise.—I beg leave to express the great satisfaction I have felt from the zealous and attentive services of Rear Admiral Essington, to whom the general superintendance of the numerous transports, and the re-embarkation of the army, with all its artillery and stores, has been committed.—I embrace this opportunity to make a particular acknowledgment of the very able and judicious dispositions which Rear Admiral Keats has made, from time to time, of the force under his command, for guarding the Belt; and the vigilant attention which his whole squadron have paid to this important branch of the service.—Sir Home Popham has not ceased to manifest his usual zeal and ability in the assistance he has rendered me in the various services of the fleet; and I should not do justice to the diligent attention and arduous endeavours of Captain Mackenzie, to fulfil the civil duties of the arsenal, which were committed to his management and superintendance, if I did not, on this occasion, express my warm approbation of his exertions, and I beg leave to recommend him to their lordships' favourable notice.—I have the honour to transmit herewith a list of the Danish ships and vessels which have been brought away, and of those destroyed. The account of the stores shipped from the arsenal shall also be sent, as soon as the several returns can be collected and arranged.—I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) J. GAMBIER.—[The list of the Danish ships will be found at p. 480.]

ITALIAN STATES.—*Order for issuing Letters of Marque against the Italian States under the influence of France. Given at the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 4th Nov. 1807; present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

Whereas France has taken forcible possession of certain territories and ports in Italy, and in the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas, and has subverted their ancient governments, and erected, in the room thereof, new governments, which, under her influence, are aiding in the execution of her hostile designs against the property, commerce, and navigation of his Majesty's subjects; and whereas divers acts, injurious to the just rights of his Majesty, and to the interests of his kingdom, have in consequence been committed; his Majesty is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and inhabitants, of the territories and ports of Tuscany, the kingdom of Naples, the port and territory of Ragusa, and those of the Islands lately composing the Republic of the Seven Islands, and all other ports and places in the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas, which are occupied by the arms of France or her allies, so that as well his Majesty's fleets and ships, as also all other ships and vessels that shall be commissionated by letters of marque or general reprisals, or otherwise, by his Majesty's Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels, and goods, belonging to the said territories, ports, and places, or to any persons being subjects or inhabitants thereof, and bring the same to judgment in such Courts of Admiralty within his Majesty's dominions, as shall be duly commissionated to take cognizance thereof; and, to that end, his Majesty's Advocate General, with the Advocate of the Admiralty, are forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission, and present the same to his Majesty at this Board, authorising the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, or any person or persons by them empowered and appointed, to issue forth and grant letters of marque and reprisals to any of his Majesty's subjects, or others whom the said commissioners shall deem fitly qualified in that behalf, for the apprehending, seizing, and taking, the ships, vessels, and goods, belonging to the said territories, ports, and places, or to any persons being subjects or inhabitants thereof; and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents; and his Majesty's Advocate General, with the Advocate of the Admiralty, are also forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission, and present the same to his Majesty at this Board, authorising the said commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, to will and require the High Court of Admiralty of Great Britain, and the lieutenant and judge of the said court, his surrogate or surrogates, as also the several Courts of Admiralty within his Majesty's dominions, to take cognizance of, and judicially proceed upon,

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all and all manner of captures, seizures, prizes, and reprisals, of all ships and goods that are or shall be taken, and to hear and determine the same, and, according to the course of Admiralty, and the Laws of Nations, to adjudge and condemn all such ships, vessels, and goods, as shall belong to the said territories, ports, and places, or to any persons being subjects or inhabitants thereof; and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents; and they are likewise to prepare, and lay before his Majesty at this Board, a draft of such instructions as may be proper to be sent to the Courts of Admiralty in his Majesty's foreign governments and plantations, for their guidance herein; as also another draft of instructions for such ships as shall be commissionated for the purpose abovementioned.—*Eldon, C. Camden, P. Westmorland, C. P. S. Winchelsea. Cathcart. Hawkesbury. Mulgrave. Sp. Perceval. Nat. Bond.*

DENMARK.—*Order for issuing Letters of Marque against Denmark. Given at the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 4th Nov. 1807; Present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

Whereas the King of Denmark has issued a Declaration of War against his Majesty, his subjects and people; and his Majesty's anxious and repeated endeavour to obtain the revocation of such declaration, and to procure the restoration of peace, have proved ineffectual; his Majesty therefore is pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the King of Denmark, (save and except any vessels to which his Majesty's license has been granted, or which have been directed to be released from the embargo, and have not since arrived at any foreign port,) so that as well his Majesty's fleets and ships, as also all other ships and vessels that shall be commissionated by letters of marque or general reprisals, or otherwise, by his Majesty's commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels, and goods, belonging to the King of Denmark, or his subjects, or others inhabiting within the territories of the King of Denmark, and bring the same to judgment in any of the Courts of Admiralty within his Majesty's dominions; and, to that end, his Majesty's Advocate-General, with the Advocate of the Admiralty, are forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission, and present the same to his Majesty at this board, authorising the commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, or any person or persons of them empowered and appointed, to issue forth and grant letters of marque and reprisals to any of his Majesty's subjects, or others whom the said commissioners shall deem fitly qualified in that behalf, for the apprehending, seising, and taking the ships, vessels, and goods belonging to Denmark, and the vassals and subjects of the King of Denmark, or any inhabiting within his countries, territories, or dominions, (except as aforesaid,) and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents; and his Majesty's Advocate General, with the Advocate of the Admiralty, are also forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission, and present the same to his Majesty at this board, authorising the said commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, to will and require the High Court of Admiralty of Great-Britain, and the Lieutenant and Judge of the said Court, his Surrogate or Surrogates, as also the several Courts of Admiralty within his Majesty's dominions, to take cognizance of, and judicially proceed upon, all and all manner of captures, seizures, prizes, and reprisals of all ships and goods that are or shall be taken, and to hear and determine the same, and, according to the course of Admiralty, and the Laws of Nations, to adjudge and condemn all such ships, vessels, and goods, as shall belong to Denmark, or the vassals and subjects of the King of Denmark, or to any others inhabiting within any of his countries, territories, and dominions, (except as aforesaid;) and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents; and they are likewise to prepare, and lay before his Majesty at this board, a draft of such instructions as may be proper to be sent to the Courts of Admiralty in his Majesty's foreign governments and plantations, for their guidance herein; as also another draft of instructions for such ships as shall be commissionated for the purpose abovementioned.—C. ELDON, P. CAMDEN, C. P. S. WESTMORLAND, WINCHELSEA, CATHCART, HAWKESBURY, MULGRAVE, SPEN. PERCEVAL, NAT. BOND.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 21.] LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1807. [PRICE 1OD.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The motto, which I have chosen for this sheet, will supply the place of a title to the article, upon which I am now entering, and which, I foresee, will be the only one, that I shall find room for in the present number. ——The event, just happened in Portugal, has completed Napoleon's round of coast, and our set of enemies. I always thought what the *expatriation* project would come to; and I am very far from pitying any of those who have been deceived by it; for, none but sheer fools ever gave credit to it, and none but sheer knaves ever pretended to give credit to it. The Prince Regent has out-witted the wiseacres. He has given proof that *all* the cunning is not possessed by either the English or the Hanoverians. He has played a clever trick; and, I dare say, he will obtain a comfortable settlement for it, which is, probably, all that he desires. The cares of government will be taken off his hands; he will have as much to eat and drink as he had before; he will have as good a bed to sleep upon; as good, or at least, very good, horses to draw him about; he will, in short, have all the *enjoyments* that he had before, without any of their concomitant vexations. Really a very happy change; a change to which many other persons, would, in all probability, have very little objection, except, perhaps, as it might deprive them of the privilege of being dishonest, profligate, insolent, and tyrannical with impunity. The Prince Regent has seen what befell *other* sovereigns, who fled from their dominions; and, from their example, he wisely concluded, that it was impossible for him to be worse off at home than abroad. He did not determine, indeed, precisely as *we* could have wished; but, we are always falling into the error, that what is for *our interest* ought to be adopted by every power in the world.—— It is, however, useless to waste our time in reflections of this sort. The thing is done; our ancient ally, her most faithful Majesty, is become our enemy; and all the coast of Europe, from Petersburgh to Constantinople, both inclusive, contains not one port friendly to English commerce.——It is to me evident enough, that, in spite of all Napoleon's decrees, we shall still find an outlet for more of our manufactures than I think it good to export; but, there can be no doubt, that the affairs of commerce will experience great annoyance; that, in fact, there will be a great diminution in those gains, to which commercial men, generally speaking, have long been accustomed; and that, as a natural consequence, the profession of the merchant and manufacturer will become of less importance than, for many years heretofore, it has been. We may, indeed, now say, that commerce will "perish;" so that, what was regarded as a most impious wish in Mr. Windham is about to be realized; and, the good of it is, that we find those who abused him most (and that, too, for a wish that he did *not* utter) are now beginning to tell us, that we may see the wish accomplished without much dread. ——The public will remember how often I have been reproached for speaking irreverently of Sir Baalam; and what curses the sons of Baalam bestowed upon me, when I told him that "the *soldier* was abroad," and would, before he returned home and laid up his sword, have his share of the good things of the world. Baalam was in a rage at the prediction; but, he will see it verified; and, what is more, he will find nobody to pity him. Pitt is gone, commerce, as the foundation of a system of politics, will soon follow him, and, let us hope that Englishmen will once more see their country something like what it formerly was.—I know, that there are many persons, very worthy persons too, who are somewhat shocked at this satisfaction, which I express at the prospect of a diminished commerce, which satisfaction they attribute to some spite that I entertain against commercial men. But, so far from entertaining any such spite, I owe great goodwill to *all* the commercial men that I am personally acquainted with; and, though I am convinced, that commerce has been the great cause of our national decline, I attribute no blame to those engaged in commerce, the carrying on of which is, as to the persons concerned in it, just as laudable as the sowing of corn or the planting of trees. It is the *thing* that I dislike, and, if it has gained an undue pre-eminence,

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the fault has been solely with the government. There is one light, indeed, in which I have viewed commercial men with an evil eye; and that is, as the constant supporters and applauders of Pitt, whom I regard as the author of all the evils that we suffer and that we dread, and whose supporters, therefore, it is impossible for me to like.——My satisfaction at the prospect of a great diminution in our commerce arises from a conviction, long entertained, that such a diminution would be a great benefit to the country. This appears to be the time to obtain a patient hearing upon this important subject; and, therefore, I shall resume my extracts from Mr. Spence's pamphlet, accompanied by such remarks as appear to me likely to be of use in producing a general conviction of the soundness of our doctrine. Before I proceed any further, however, I must beseech the reader to bestow a *patient* perusal upon these interesting extracts, and not hurry them over in a superficial way, which can be attended with no benefit whatever. This is a subject that requires *thinking*. Mr. Spence's pamphlet is the result of long and profound thinking, and it is not to be read like one of Pitt's speeches or Lord Wellesley's letters, that is to say, with a continual anxiety to come at the end.——

"In this country, where commerce has "been carried to a greater extent than in "any other country of the same size, it is "the opinion of almost all its inhabitants, "that its wealth, its greatness, and its pros- "perity, have been chiefly derived from its "commerce; and, that these advantages "can be continued, and increased, only by "its continuance and extension. That "these opinions, as far as they respect this "country, are founded in truth, I cannot "bring myself to believe, and I proceed "to state the grounds of my conviction of "their fallacy. As all commerce naturally "divides itself into commerce of import "and export, I shall in the first place, en- "deavour to prove, that no riches, no in- "crease of national wealth, can in any "case be derived from commerce of im- "port; and, in the next place, that al- "though national wealth may, in some "cases, be derived from commerce of "export, yet, that Britain, in conse- "quence of particular circumstances, "has not derived, nor does derive, from "this branch of commerce, any portion "of her national wealth; and, consequent- "ly, that her riches, her prosperity, and "her power are intrinsic, derived from her "own resources, independent of com- "merce, and might, and will, exist, "even, though her trade should be an- "nihilated. These positions, untenable as "at first glance they may seem, I do not "fear being able to establish to the satisfac- "tion of those, who will dismiss from their "mind the deep-rooted prejudices with "which, on this subject, they are warped; "and who, no longer contented with exa- "mining the mere surface of things, shall "determine to penetrate through every "stratum of the mine which conceals the "grand truths of political economy.—— "Every one must allow, that for whatever "a nation purchases in a foreign market, it "gives an adequate value, either in money "or in other goods; so far, then, certainly, "it gains no profit nor addition to its wealth. "It has changed one sort of wealth for "another, but it has not increased the "amount it was before possessed of. "Thus, when the East India Com- "pany has exchanged a quantity of bul- "lion with the Chinese for tea, no one "will say, that this mere exchange is any "increase of national wealth. We have "gained a quantity of tea, but we have "parted with an equal value of gold and "silver; and if this tea were sold at home "for exactly the same sum as had been given "for it, it would be allowed, on all hands, "that no wealth had accrued to the nation "from this transfer. But, because goods, "bought at a foreign market, and sold at "home, have their value considerably aug- "mented by the charge of transporting "them, the duty paid to government, the "profit of the merchant, importer, &c., "it is contended, by the disciples of the "mercantile system, that this increased va- "lue is so much profit to the nation; so "much addition to the amount of national "wealth. Thus, a quantity of tea, say "they, which has cost in China 1000l. will, "by the charges and profits which have oc- "curred upon it, previous to its exposure "for sale in England, have its value aug- "mented to 1500l. and will be sold for "that sum at home. Since, then, the "tea cost but 1000l., and it has been "sold for 1500l., is not this 500l. an ad- "dition to national wealth? To this ques- "tion, I answer, no; certainly not. There "is no doubt, but the persons concerned in "this transaction have gained a profit, and "have added to their individual wealth. "The ship-owner has added to his wealth, "by the freight of the tea; the under-wri- "ter by his premiums of insurance upon "it; the government has increased the "revenue by the duties of customs and ex- "cise; and the East India Company has

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" augmented its dividend by the profit gained upon this article. But, the question is, from whence have these profits of the ship-owner, the underwriter, the government, and the East-India Company been derived? Have they not been drawn from the consumers of this tea; and is it not as clear as noonday, that whatever the former have gained, the latter have lost: that the latter are exactly poorer in proportion as the former are richer; and, in short, that a transfer, not a creation, of wealth has taken place. If this tea had been sold for 1000l., the bare sum which it cost, would the nation have been poorer, than if it were sold for 1500l.? Certainly not. In this case, the consumers of the tea would have kept in their pockets the 500l., which, on the other supposition, they transferred to the pockets of the ship owner, the insurer, &c.; but the national wealth would be neither increased nor diminished.——The same reasoning is applicable to all commerce of import. In every case, the value of an article is what it has cost in the foreign market, and whatever it is sold for, more than this, is a transfer of wealth from the consumers of the article to those who gain a profit by it, but in no instance is there any addition to national wealth created by this branch of commerce. A gamester, who is not worth sixpence to-night, may, by to-morrow, be possessed of 30,000l. which he has won from the dupes of his knavery; but who would not laugh at him, that should imagine this transfer of individual fortune an accession of national wealth? Yet this opinion might, with every whit as much justice, be maintained, as that the honourable profit of those concerned in importing articles of merchandize is a creation of national riches.——The arguments made use of to shew, that no national wealth is derived from commerce of import, will serve also to shew the absurdity of their notions who talk of the importance of such and such branches of commerce, because of the great duties which are levied on them at the custom-house or excise office. Such reasoners will insist upon the vast value of our East India trade, because of the three or four millions which the public revenue derives from the duties imposed on the articles imported from thence. They do not consider, that all such duties are finally paid by the consumers of the arttcles on which they are laid, and that these consumers are equally able to pay the sums they advance, whether or not they consume the articles on which they are levied. — Thus, an individual who annually consumes 10l. worth of tea, contributes to the revenue 4l.;—but, surely, it is not essential to his capacity of contributing this sum, that he should consume a certain quantity of tea yearly. Since he possesses funds adequate to the payment of 10l. for tea, if no duty were charged on this tea, and he could purchase it for 6l., he would still be able to advance the additional 4l. as a direct tax. Indeed, if he were entirely to cease consuming tea, (though I do not advise that he should do so), and were to substitute in its place the equally nourishing, and far more wholesome beverage water, which he might have without cost, he would have the power of much more considerably contributing to the public revenue; for in that case, he might afford to pay, as a direct tax, the whole 10l. which he had been accustomed to spend in this luxury, and of which, before, 4l. only went to the Exchequer, the remainder being divided between the Chinese, the ship-owner, the East India Company, &c. On the same mode of reasoning, it would be preposterous to maintain, that he who can afford to drink a barrel of ale, on which the duty is 10s. could not afford to advance this 10s. *without* drinking the ale. The fact is, that it is a convenient way of raising a revenue, to tax consumable articles at the custom house, or the excise office; but, if the consumers of the articles can afford to consume them loaded with taxes, they certainly can afford to advance these taxes, even though they did not consume the articles upon which they are levied; and hence there is no *necessity* whatever, that the articles in question should be imported for the mere purpose of aiding the revenue of the country."——This is so clear, that no remark of mine would be necessary; but, justice to myself urges me to show, that this reasoning is not new, and that it was made use of by me long ago. I do not pretend to call Mr. Spence a plagiarist; but, I must show, that, contrary to his supposition, this doctrine has been, amongst many persons, pretty familiar for some time past; and, if he has read the Political Register, I have, I think, some little reason to complain of his want of due acknowledgement, as will, I am convinced, appear from a comparison of the extract just given with the following extract, taken from the Political Register of March 1st, 1806, Vol. IX. page 308. There had been a de-

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bate, in the House of Commons, upon India affairs, into which had been introduced the circumstance of the Company's having failed in their engagement to pay half a million annually to the nation as the price of their monopoly, which monopoly costs the nation so much in troops, and in fleets. Whereupon Sir Theophilus Metcalfe (an East India Director, I believe), said, that "his chief motive in rising was, to shew, "that though the Company had not paid "the annual half million to the public, the "public had derived *other advantages* from "the Company more than equal to it. "The duties," said he, "upon tea, at "the time that the charter was granted, "amounted to no more than 12½ per cen-"tum; but, they have since been aug-"mented to 95 per centum. The conclu-"sion is, that, if the duties had remained at "12½ per centum, the sum paid into the "Exchequer, supposing the half million to "have been regularly paid, would have "been 5 millions; whereas, in the increased "duty upon tea imported by the East India "Company, the sum *annually paid into the "Exchequer is 17 millions!*"——Not a soul, in the Honourable House said a word in answer to this. It seemed to be acquiesced in, with a sort of sapient silence; at which I was so indignant, that I could not refrain from making the following remarks upon it, in my next Number.——"Who "is this gentleman? What is he? A logi-"cian, perchance; but certainly no politi-"cian. In the first place, I would ask Sir "T. METCALF, in what part of the act of "charter he will find the government "restricted as to the amount of duties to be "laid upon tea; but, does he really think, "that any human creature, not to say any "member of parliament, is so shallow, so "stupid, so totally devoid of all the powers "of perception as well as of deduction, as to "believe, though but for a single moment, "that this additional duty upon tea has "come into the Exchequer *from the pockets "of the East India Company?* Does he "think, that it will ever be believed, that "the East India Company have *themselves "consumed all the tea* that has been thus "loaded with additional duties? And, if he "does not, does he not know, that all tax-"es, and all taxes on consumable commodi-"ties especially and obviously, fall solely "upon the consumer? If he could, indeed, "prove, that the additional duties had *di-"minished* the consumption of tea, then "he might urge it as an injury to the af-"fairs of the Company; but never can he "make any thing with human reason in its "brains regard the amount of additional du-"ties upon goods as money given to the "nation by the original owner of those "goods; for, if I, for instance, who pay "into the Exchequer, four or five thousand "pounds a year for the stamps upon my Re-"gister, were to pretend that I gave the "nation so much annually, would not my "readers, who know that *they pay me* the "amount of those stamps, look upon me as "the most impudent, or the most foolish, "of men? No, Sir T. Metcalf; no, it is "not the East India Company; it is *the "people*; the people of England and Scot-"land and Ireland; it is that burdened peo-"ple, to whom the East India Company "owe about 7 millions of money, (to say "nothing about the addition to the nominal "sum caused by depreciation), and to whom "they are coming for more, instead of pay-"ing what they owe; it is that same de-"luded people, who, about twenty years "ago, were, by the craft of the commercial "hypocrites and their abettors, induced to "set up such a senseless bawling about "chartered rights," protected by "a "heaven-born minister;" it is this people "that have, as they richly deserved, been "compelled to pay the 17 millions in addi-"tional duty upon tea."——This extract does, indeed, apply to that part only of the extract from Mr. Spence, which treats of the effect of duties levied upon tea; but, as to the other part, how often have I insisted, and *proved*, that the profits of the East India Company made no *addition* to the *national* wealth? How often have I shown, that the addition of wealth, arising from "our Empire in the East," was an addition to the wealth of the Company and their servants, *at the expence of the people of these kingdoms?* How often have I shown, that the "*fortunes brought from India*," which some of the Nabobs represented to be an addition to the wealth and prosperity of the nation, were the result of an operation, half parliamentary and half commercial, which conveyed the amount of those fortunes from the land and labour of England into the pockets of East India adventurers, who came home, and with the very money which they had drawn from our land and our labour, obtained the estates of those who had paid away the value of them in taxes, and became the lords of the labourers, who had, substantially, been rendered slaves by the same operation? How often have I lamented, that the people of this kingdom, especially the land-owners, would not be convinced of these truths; and how provoked was I, in 1802, to hear them chuckle, be-

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tween a laugh and a cry, when the shallow-headed Pitt asserted, that the overthrow of Tippoo Sultaun, and the consequent establishment of our power and extended commerce in the East Indies, had added more to our resources and our safety than all the conquests of France, than all her additional millions of subjects and acres of land, had added to her resources and her safety? In short, when have I missed an opportunity of promulgating opinions like these? I must, therefore, confess, that it is with some little displeasure, that I now see Mr. Spence giving them, and to the same public too, as something *perfectly new*, or, at least, never before conveyed to the British public in print. Mr. Spence, it is *possible*, has never read, or heard of, any of my remarks upon the wild wars of Pitt and Dundas for the preservation of India; upon colonial expeditions in general, and particularly upon the capture, re-capture, and unsuccessful attack upon, Buenos Ayres; upon the childish notion, that we should be all ruined, if the paper-money were annihilated; upon, in short, first or last, every topic that he has touched upon relative to the importance of commerce. It is barely possible, that Mr. Spence has never read, or heard of any of these remarks; and, for two reasons, I hope he has not: first, because he is not, in that case, chargeable with plagiarism; and, second, because the doctrine proceeding from two minds, between which there had been no communication, is, of itself, no bad argument in support of its soundness. Mr. Spence may, by bare possibility, never have read, or heard of, any of the numerous articles, in which, for the sake of illustration, I have laid money out of the question, and have supposed a state of society, wherein commodities of real value were bartered; any of the many, many essays, in which I have requested the reader to put money out of his mind, when he was talking, or thinking, upon the subject of national riches. It is possible, that Mr. Spence may never have seen, or heard of, this; but, I frankly confess, that I do not think it likely. It is not the *author* that breaks out in me here; but the man of fair-dealing, who never, in all his life, wittingly availed himself of the ideas of another, whether friend or foe, without explicitly acknowledging it.——But, let us now proceed to the hearing of Mr. Spence upon the subject of *export* commerce. And, I must once more beg the reader, not only to go on slowly and attentively; but also to advance with a firm resolution to dismiss from his mind the prejudices there existing with regard to the importance of foreign trade. For, unless he can do this; unless he can say to himself, "*I will listen to nothing but reason*," he would do well to proceed no further. It has been very common for me to be answered, in questions relating to matters of political economy, with a, "so, *you would persuade us*, that such and such is the case." My reply has been; yes, I would, indeed, fain persuade you so; and I am sorry to perceive, that you are pre-determined not to be so persuaded. If the reader be of the temper of these answerers, he would do well to lay down the Register; for, it is impossible for him to read to any profit. But, if, as I hope is the case with a vast majority of my readers, his mind be open to conviction, I am well persuaded, that it is now about to receive conviction of the truth of this important position: that this kingdom derives no addition of wealth from export commerce.——"We should "laugh at, or pity as insane, the proprietor "of a landed estate of £10,000 a year, on "which there was a stone quarry, produ-"cing him annually £500 profit, who "should continually be dwelling on the "amazing importance of this quarry, and "be miserable when he sold a few cart "loads of stones less than usual; and, at the "same time, should pay no regard to the "infinitely greater revenue arising from his "land, and should consider it as by far the "least important part of his riches. With "equal justice might the economist laugh "at our folly, or pity our insanity. "These "people, these Britons," he might say, "have a territory the most productive, in "proportion to its size, of any in Europe. "As their island contains twelve millions "of inhabitants, and each person on the "average annually consumes food to the "amount of at least £10 they must derive "from their soil a gross yearly revenue of "120 *millions*. Their surplus produce, too, "is greater than that of any nation in the "world; for, in the raising of food for "twelve millions of people, there are not "occupied more than *two* millions, and, "consequently, the remaining ten millions "may be employed in fabricating manufac-"tures of use, or of luxury; in defending "the state; in communicating religious, "moral, or scientific, instruction; in ad-"ministering justice, and in contributing "most essentially, in a thousand other "ways, to the happiness and prosperity of "the community. And yet, strange infatua-"tion! these islanders, notwithstanding "their riches and their greatness are so in-"contestably derived from intrinsic causes, "not to be affected by any thing external,

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" notwithstanding they draw a gross revenue, an absolute creation of wealth annually, to the amount of £120,000,000 from their soil: regard this true source of their wealth with indifference; with unaccountable delusion fancy all their riches have been derived from commerce; from a source, the national profits of which cannot be more than a twelfth part of their whole revenue, and are miserable at the idea of having a few ports shut against their trade! And still more strange is the consideration, that, not only their merchants, whose self-interest might blind them on this point; not only their ignorant vulgar have raised this cry of their dependence on commerce: even their land owners, their statesmen, whom, of all men, it behoved to have had right notions on such an important subject, have re-echoed the senseless delusion. Well might ARTHUR YOUNG indignantly exclaim, on reading a speech of their favourite minister (Pitt), on the state of the nation, in which agriculture was scarcely deemed worthy of notice, as a source of national wealth; "This the speech of a " *great* minister at the close of the eighteenth century!—No: it is a tissue of " the common places of a counting-house, " spun for a spouting-club, by the clerk " of a banker:—*labour of the artisan—industry of manufacturers—facility of credit—execution of orders—pre-eminence in foreign markets—capital—compound interest*—these are the great " illustrations of national felicity! This " the reach of mind and depth of research, to mark the talents framed to govern kingdoms! These big words, to paint little views,—and splendid periods, that clothe narrow ideas! These " sweepings of Colbert's shop—These " gleanings from the poverty of Necker!"

* * * * * * * * *——If we examine a list of the amount of our imports, we shall find, that more than half the value of all that we import, a much greater amount than any thing we can possibly gain by our commerce of export, is made up of wealth of the most fugitive and evanescent kind, of articles no way necessary for even comfortable existence, and which are wholly consumed before the end of the year, in which they are imported, leaving not a vestige of their having ever existed. Thus, we import annually tea to the amount of four or five millions sterling; sugar and coffee for our own consumption to a larger amount; and we may fairly estimate the value of the wine, rum, brandy, geneva, and tobacco, which we consume, as equal to eight or ten millions more. Twenty millions, then, and upwards, do we pay for these articles, of which there is not one, that we could not do very well without; of which there is not one, (if we except sugar,) that we should not be much better without, and the whole of which are speedily consumed, leaving " not a wreck behind."——This being the case, with what propriety can we be said to derive any accession of wealth from our commerce? We do, it is allowed, gain annually a few millions by our export trade, and if we receive these profits in the precious metals, or even in durable articles of wealth, we might be said to increase our riches, though still comparatively, but in a slight degree, by commerce; but we spend at least twice the amount of what we gain, in luxuries which deserve the name of wealth but for an instant,—which are here to-day and to-morrow are annihilated. How then can our wealth be augmented by such a trade? how will such a negative source of riches suffice to be referred to, as creating the immense positive wealth, which we enjoy?——We are so much accustomed to the error of considering two things, that can be sold for the same money, as equally valuable to the nation which consumes them, because they are equally valuable to the individual who sells them; that we do not by any means estimate with accuracy, the different value of different kinds of wealth, in a national point of view. Yet a case may be imagined in which this difference would be intelligible to every one.—— Suppose, instead of indulging in the luxuries of tea, wine, and spirits, that it were the fashion for every inhabitant of Britain to inhale, once a year, a quart of the aeriform fluid, called, by chemists, nitrous oxyd;—that this air was to be obtained only from France, and that the price of it was one guinea a quart. Suppose also, that we paid for this £10,000,000 worth of gas, by sending woollen cloth to France to that amount, importing in return, this invisible and elastic wealth, in a proper contrivance of bladders, casks, balloons, &c. Would not an unprejudiced observer laugh at our extravagant folly, if we should make a clamour about the profit which the nation gained by this trade, because it took off our woollen cloth to so large an amount? Would he not justly say,

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" "These people are infatuated. Because " the individuals concerned in exporting " this woollen cloth, and in importing this " gas, gain a few hundred thousand pounds " profit, they fancy, that their nation " gains by this trade, not considering, that " they are giving away ten millions of per- " manent wealth, which may last for years, " and might have been hoarded to an im- " mense amount, for—what? for air; for " mere indulgence of a moment, which is " of no earthly benefit to its consumers, and " which in one day is expended, and ren- " dered of no value whatever! They do " not see, that if they were without this " trade, and kept all their woollens, they " would be much richer than by exchang- " ing them for such a fleeting substance; " they do not perceive, that though *their* " *merchants* may draw to themselves a mil- " lion per annum profit from this trade, " *the nation* loses by it ten millions per " annum."—— If the considerations just " adduced serve to show the folly of the " opinion, which should conceive any na- " tional wealth to accrue from such a ridi- " culous traffic, as that alluded to; they " will equally prove the fallacy of the be- " lief, that this nation gains great wealth " by its commerce. For, though the tea, " sugar, wine &c. for which we pay annual- " ly so many millions in more permanent " wealth, are not of quite so volatile a na- " ture, as an equal value of nitrous oxyd " would be; yet they are fully as unneces- " sary for all the purposes of comfortable " existence, and when consumed leave no " more traces of their having ever been. " And, inasmuch as we pay for them, an " amount much greater than the whole of " any profit that we can possibly derive " from trade, it is clear, that it is from " some other source that our wealth is " created.——* * * * * * *—— " If we would know who it is, that really " get rich by British Commerce, we should " inquire into the qualities as to premanen- " cy and necessity of the articles which we " export, and compare them in these res- " pects with the articles we import; and " having made this comparison, we shall " find, that it is Europe, Asia, America, " —all the countries with which she trades, " —not Britain, that is enriched by her com- " merce. Thus, we supply the inhabitants " of America with clothes, with hardware, " with pottery; with a thousand articles of " the most pressing necessity, and of the " greatest durability; and as we thus pre- " vent the need of any great part of their " population being engaged in manufac- " tures, nearly the whole of it can be em- " ployed in the infinitely richer source of " wealth, agriculture. And what do we " receive in return for these benefits? " Why, a vile weed, tobacco, which, doubt- " less, when it has gratified our gustatory " organs in its original form as tobacco, " or has deliciously stimulated our olfactory " nerves, in its pulverized and more refined " form, snuff, has most marvellously added " to our stores of national wealth! The " case is the same with all the other coun- " tries with which we trade. We supply " them with commodities of absolute ne- " cessity to comfortable existence, and we " receive in return from them such pre- " cious articles as tea—which debilitates " us, without affording an atom of nou- " rishment: as wine, rum, brandy, which " do us the favour of shortening the days of " a great proportion of our population. It " is the countries we trade with, and not " we, that get rich by our commerce."—— " * * * * * * * * * * —— " Since, therefore, no nation can export her " commodities, without importing other " commodities in exchange for them; since " these last are consumed by the home con- " sumers; and since, except they consumed " them no considerable export trade could " be carried on, it follows, that it is the " consumers at home, that actually are the " means of creating all the stimulus which " improves and extends agriculture, whe- " ther this stimulus arises from manufactures " sold at home, or exported. That this is " an accurate statement, will be still more " evident, if we consider, that at the very " commencement of our commerce, and at " every period since, the consumers of the " foreign commodities imported, inasmuch " as these commodities have never been " the necessaries of life; have never been " food or raiment; *might* have consumed " to the same amount of home manufac- " tures, and thus have directly supported the " manufacturers employed in fabricating " the articles destined for export. Just now, " for instance, if the consumers of the arti- " cles, which we import and sell at home, " to the amount of fifty millions, were to " resolve no longer to consume them, is it " not self-evident, that if they chose, they " might take the place of our foreign cus- " tomers, and purchase, with the fifty " millions thus saved, the goods to the same " amount which we now export?"—— Mr. Spence, in conclusion, states several ad- vantages that would arise from our entertain- ing just notions upon this subject, amongst which are 1st, we should no longer give

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arselves up to degrading terror (as we do at this moment) at the idea of losing an old mart for our manufactures; nor to infantine and irrational joy at the prospect of acquiring a new one. 2d, we should look forward without dismay to that total loss of foreign commerce, which, from various causes, is likely to happen. 3d, a cessation of the jealousy and envy, with which we are now regarded by the rest of the European powers; and a consequent diminution of future wars.——He states some other advantages; but, I was sorry not to meet with the mention of one, far greater, in my opinion, than all those which he has mentioned; namely, that we should no longer have any temptation to clamour for peace, upon any terms, for the sake of a revival of trade; that we should no longer be tempted to barter our honour for the gains of commerce; that we should no longer be under the sway of Lloyds' and the 'Change; that we should never again be ruled by a talkative counting house clerk, the eulogist and the companion of jews.——Upon the subject of export commerce, I should stop here, did I not hope, and believe, that, by inserting my own former remarks upon the same subject, an additional chance will be obtained of producing a general conviction of the truths so ably maintained by MR. SPENCE, and which truths are, at this time in particular, of the greatest importance.——I shall, at the head of each extract, mention the date, under which it was published.

Dec. 6th, 1806. *Vol. X. p* 867.

Of the consequences, which the subjugation of the continent by our enemy must naturally produce with respect to England, we have already, in the transactions at Hamburgh, seen a trifling specimen. Often, as the public can bear testimony, have I reminded the Baalams of the city, that the soldier was abroad, and that, rail and curse and cry as much as they pleased, he would, I was afraid, before he sheathed the sword, have his share of the good things of this world. They may now, probably, begin to believe me; and, when they consider, that at the very moment when their goods were seized at Hamburgh, they were exulting in their triumph at Brentford, they will certainly excuse the people, over whom they triumphed, for being too much absorbed with their own chagrin to have time to break their hearts with sorrow for that seizure. For my own part, events of this sort do, I will freely confess, give me very little uneasiness; because I am convinced, that, with respect to the [illegible] permanent interests of the kingdom, the seizure of mercantile property, already deposited in foreign states, can be productive of very little injury. I know well enough, that the merchants and the daily press will set up a most lamentable outcry upon this score; and they will accuse me of rejoicing, or, at least, of not weeping, at the success of the enemy; but, this will not deter me from expressing my opinion upon the subject; and, they cannot, in this instance, at any rate, accuse me of magnifying the power and success of that enemy. I will go a little further in this way, and say, that, *were the French to succeed in seizing all the English goods and property in every port and place in Europe, and if they were to prevent such goods from being sent thither in future, I do not believe it would, even in the smallest degree, tend to disable England either for the defending of herself or for the annoying of her foes.* That it would shut up a great number of commercial houses, I allow; that it would lower a great number of merchants and bankers; that it would *diminish the means by which the Shaws and the Mellishes have been put into parliament;* that it would do much in this way I am ready to allow; but, I am by no means prepared to allow, that it would be injurious either *to the liberties and happiness of the people, or to the permanent security and dignity of the throne.*—— There is a strange perversity, which, upon matters of this sort, appears to have taken possession of men's minds. "*How are we to live*, say they, if we cannot *get rid* of our manufactures?" They regard the nation in the light of an individual shop keeper; and then they run on reasoning upon all the consequences of *a total loss of customers.* But, they forget, that the individual shopkeeper must sell his goods in order to obtain food and raiment and money to pay for his goods, whereas the nation has nobody to pay for its goods, and can never receive an addition either to its food or its raiment for the sale of its goods. The fact is, that exports of every sort, generally speaking, only tend *to enrich a few persons* and to cause the labouring part of the people to live harder than they otherwise would do. We have seen, that many other nations have arisen to the highest pitch of greatness without the exporting of a single article of merchandize; and we have, I think, a pretty satisfactory example, at this time, in the situation of France. Yet, our eyes are not opened. We are not, indeed, so stone blind as we were some few years ago, when, in answer to those who dwelt upon the dangers to be appre-

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bended from the increasing power of France, the conceited and shallow-headed Pitt talked of nothing but the inexhaustible resources of our commerce, and of that poverty and bankruptcy, which must, he said, end in the total destruction of the power of the enemy. You well remember, Sir, that, at the peace of Amiens, your apprehensions of the still further increasing power of France were, by that enlightened statesman, Lord Hawkesbury, answered by a constantly repeated appeal to our *Capital, Credit, and Commerce*, to which he as invariably and triumphantly pointed, as the no less profound Mr. Mellish lately did to the state of the poll. But, if one were now to go and ask that famous possessor of a four-thousand-a-year sinecure what Capital, Credit, and Commerce have been able to do in arresting the progress of French power, and how they are likely to operate in the preserving of England from the lot of Prussia, he would, methinks, be puzzled for a reply.

December 20th, 1806, Vol. X. p. 934

At no time, under no circumstances that the imagination can form to itself, would it be prudent or safe for us to concede any point connected with the maintenance of our power at sea; but, at the present time, and under circumstances that I have endeavoured to describe in the foregoing article, concession would be the beginning of annihilation to the only force, on which we have now to rely for keeping the enemy from our doors. Give up the right of search, and to give up a part expressly will be giving up the whole by implication, or, ar least by interpretation; give up that, and, in the space of two years, France will beat us in that which has hitherto been called the English Channel.——Refuse, and what is the consequence? The execution of a *non-importation act*, passed in America, suspended now, perhaps, but ready to be put in rigid execution the moment the final refusal is made known. And what will be the effect of this terrible act, which is to awe England into compliance? Into a surrender of rights, undisputed by the public law of Europe, and exercised by all nations, except those whose *interest* it has been not to exercise them, or who had not the *power* to exercise them? What will be the effect of this act, supposing the American government to have passed it with any other view than that of exciting the fears of timid commercial avarice? The effect would be, if it were *possible* to execute the act, to prevent large quantities of goods from being carried to America from this kingdom, which, as the phrase usually is, would *greatly injure our commerce and manufactures*; for, as to our *navigation*, it would not injure that at all, it being very material to observe, that not one English ship would thereby be thrown out of employment, because not one English ship nor one English sailor (except, perhaps, some deserters from our colliers or our fleet) is ever employed in the transport of English goods to the American States. But, what is the meaning of this phrase, "injury to our commerce and "manufactures?" It is certainly figurative. It would say, that by injuring our merchants and manufacturers, the measure would injure our country. But, those merchants and manufacturers must excuse me if I regard not this as a legitimate conclusion; for, numerous are the cases, real as well as supposed, in which a measure, which is injurious to particular classes of men, may be, and are, not only not injurious, but beneficial to the community in general; and, though this may not be a measure of that description, I am fully persuaded, that, if it *could* be strictly executed, the injury to the general interests of the nation, the injury to her power, to the means of defending herself, to the means of her maintaining her consequence amongst nations, would, if any at all, be very small indeed.——I made, in my second letter to Mr. Windham, (see p. 867) when touching upon the consequences of the seizure at Hamburgh, some observations respecting the effect, in a national point of view, of excluding our manufactures from foreign countries, to which observations I beg leave to refer the reader, as applicable to this case; and, let me add here, that no abusive paragraph from a Treasury scribe, such as John Bowles or Redhead Yorke, will, either by me or my readers, be taken as conclusive proof that those observations were erroneous.——But, would the injury, supposing it to be an injury, be all on one side? Would the Americans themselves experience no injury from this same measure? To hear some men talk upon this subject one would imagine, that to *get rid* of goods, the produce of sheep's backs and of our mines and of the work of our hands was a positive good that nothing could counterbalance. If this be the case, why not throw them into the sea, instead of putting them on board of American ships, for the privilege of doing which we are to pay so dear? To hear some men talk upon this subject, one would really imagine, that it

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...urely to oblige us, out of mere com-...ssion and Christian charity to us, that the Americans were our cloth, and cut their meat with our knives. It may be the opinion of some, that they have proved themselves to be affectionate children; but, God preserve, I say, the parent from being reduced to a reliance upon their affection or compassion! God preserve the country I love from a dependance upon American generosity, charity, or even American justice! The fact is, that the Americans purchase our goods because they want them, and cannot do without them. Their whole dress, from the chin to the ancle, goes from England, Ireland, or Scotland. From the swaddling cloths of the baby to the shroud of the grandsire, all is supplied by us; and it is in my power, at any time, to show that, in return for English materials and English labour, England receives out, comparatively, a small portion of food or of raiment, the far greater part being a mere vehicle for enriching the few who profit from the trade Can the Americans do without our goods? This is to ask; can they go naked; for in the whole world, this kingdom excepted, there exist not the means of covering their backs; of keeping them from the inclemency of the weather, either by day or by night. To say nothing, therefore, of the numerous useful and necessary articles of hardware, and goods, indeed, of all descriptions, how are they to supply the place of English goods? "Other countries." What other country is there upon earth? Even before the French revolution commenced its havock upon the manufactories of the continent, all the other countries in the world did not supply them with as much of the articles of indispensable necessity as Gloucestershire did; and, it will, I hope, not be forgotten by Lords Holland and Auckland, that Napoleon, in his Northern conquests, must have broken up the small source of supply there afforded to America. But, "shall we not drive the Americans to manufacture for themselves?" This is a horrid possibility to be sure; but, we must first drive two other things amongst them, namely, *sheep*, and *downs* for the sheep to feed upon, and (I had like to have forgotten a third) a *sun* under which sheep can live and thrive. These are physical obstacles, which are not to be overcome, believe me, by a petulant act of Congress, though preceded by six weeks or two months of dull debate, in which, perhaps, fifty lawyers were exercising their lungs for the bar, to the great annoyance of a hundred honest farmers, who had, at last, not a more correct notion of the consequences of the act, than Mr. Spankie (the Editor of the Morning Chronicle) now seems to have. It may seem incredible to some persons that there should be *no sheep* in America; and, there are many superficial observers, who will be inclined to dispute my opinions upon the fact of their having frequently eaten lamb and mutton there. But, it will be quite sufficient, in answer to all such, to state, that for *every man* in the United States, *five pounds* sterling's worth of woollens is annually imported from England. What, then, do they do with their own wool? The truth is, that they grow scarcely enough to answer the demand for stuffing saddles and such like uses; and they never can; both soil and climate being hostile to the breeding and the keeping of sheep. Supposing, therefore, that the people, almost all of them bred to agricultural pursuits, could, before their present stock of cloths is worn to rags, be collected together from their thinly scattered plantations, and moulded into manufacturers; supposing persons there ready to teach them the art of manufacturing; and supposing that unsupposeable event, the transmutation of some of their lands into workshops, still the materials, whereon to work are wanting; and, if ever they are obtained, from England, dear England, however they may hate her, and affect to despise her, those materials must come.

August 22*d*, 1807. *Vol. XII. p.* 262.

Leaving this worst of all aristocracies to enjoy its day, and waiting patiently for the arrival of our day, let us examine a little, Gentlemen, into the grounds of the alarm, expressed by the Independent Whig and the Chamber of Commerce, at the probability of seeing the American ports *shut against our goods*.——Gentlemen, part of the wool (one article is enough, for the same reasoning applies to all), which grows upon the backs of sheep, which feed upon the grass, which grows upon the land of England, is made into cloth of various denominations, which cloth is made by English labour, and is afterwards sent to clothe the Americans. Now, does it appear to you, that it would do us any great injury, if the Americans were to refuse to wear this cloth; if they were to refuse to receive the benefit of so much of the produce of the soil and of the labour of our country? *They* must go naked and absolutely perish without this cloth; but, that I lay aside, for the present, as of no account. What injury would it *do us*, if they were to be able to prevent our woollens from entering their

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ports? Why, my assailant of the Independent Whig will say, perhaps, that such prevention would be the ruin of thousands; that it would break up our cloth manufactories, and produce starvation amongst the cloth makers. This sweeping way of describing is always resorted to in such cases; but, Gentlemen, though we actually clothe the Americans, they do not take off one *tenth* part of our cloth. And, supposing it possible for them effectually to put a stop to this outlet, how would it injure us? The consequence would be, that cloth would be cheaper in England; the consequence of that would be, that wool would be cheaper; the consequence of that would be, that sheep would be less valuable; the consequence of that would be, that less of them would be raised. But, the feed which now goes to the keeping of part of our sheep, would go to the keeping of something else, and the labour now bestowed upon part of our woollen cloths, would be bestowed upon something else; in all probability upon the land, which *always* calls for labour, and which never fails to yield a grateful return.—— There is, Gentlemen, as it were by preconcert, by regular system, a loud cry, upon all occasions, set up about our *loss of commerce*. Wars have been made, over and over again, for the sake of commerce; and, when the rights and honour of the nation are to be sacrificed by a peace, the regaining or preserving of commerce is invariably the plea. To hear these merchants and their ignorant partizans talk, one would almost suppose, that, if sincere in their expressions of alarm, they must look upon commerce as the sole source of our food and raiment, and even of the elements which are necessary to man's existence. Commerce, they tell us, is "essential to the *vital* interests" of the country. Who would not suppose, that commerce brought us our bread and our water. Gentlemen, to support commerce, the wars in Egypt were undertaken; the wars in India are carried on without ceasing, the war in South America, and in Africa are now undertaken. Oh! What English blood and English labour and English happiness and English honour has not this commerce cost! But, "without commerce how are "we to defray the expences of govern"ment, and the interest of the national "debt?" This is a question that every frightened female puts to one; and, really, notwithstanding it is well known that England has been upon the decline of power ever since she became *decidedly* commercial, and that France has grown in power in the same proportion as her commerce has declined, till, at last, having lost *all* her commerce, she is become absolute mistress of the whole of the continent of Europe; notwithstanding this, the commercial tribe, with Pitt at their head, have so long and so impudently assumed, that it is commerce that "supports the na"tion," that it is not to be wondered at, that a man who is foolish enough to have his all in the funds, should be alarmed lest he should lose his dividends with the loss of commerce. The merchants would fain persuade us (perhaps they may really think so) that their goods and their ships pay the greater part of the taxes. "Look, here!" say they, pointing to their imports and exports. That is very fine, for a few hundreds of them; but what is it to the whole of the nation? "But," say they, "look "at the Custom House duties." Yes, and *who pay* those duties? It is *we*, Gentlemen, who pay those duties. The payment comes out of *our labour*, and from no other source whatever. The people of America have been cajoled by this sort of doctrine. "We pay *no taxes*," says one of their boasting citizens, "*except* such as are imposed "upon *foreign* commodities." That is to say, except such as are imposed upon *Rum*, which is to them what beer is to us; *Sugar* and *Coffee*, of which, in part, the breakfast of every human creature in the country is composed; *Woollens and Linens and Cottons*, without which the people must go naked by day and be frost-bitten by night. But, what is the difference, Gentlemen, whether they pay a tax upon their coats, or whether they pay it upon their candles!—— But, Gentlemen, bearing in mind, however, that we pay the custom-house duties, let us see what proportion those duties bear to the whole of the taxes raised upon us. The whole of the taxes, collected last year, amount to about 50 millions; the custom-house duties, exclusive of coals, and goods carried from one part of the kingdom to another, to about 5 millions! *Supposing, therefore, that, if we did not pay these 5 millions in this way, we should not possess them, to pay in any other way, if called upon;* supposing this, is there here any falling off to be alarmed at? Why, Gentlemen, the *Barley* alone of England, pays, in malt and in beer, more clear money into the Exchequer than all the shipping and all the foreign commerce put together; and, as to the revenue arising from the trade with America, it is less than what arises from the porter which you drink in the City of Westminster alone. The fact is, Gentlemen, that the means of supporting fleets and

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armies, the means of meeting all the squanderings that we witness, the means of paying the dividends at the bank, *come out of the land of the country and the labour of its people.* These are the sources from which all those means proceed; and all that the merchants, and ministers like merchants, tell us about the resources of commerce, means merely this, that while we are sweating at every pore to pay the taxes, we ought to believe, that the taxes are paid by others. I will tell you, Gentlemen, who would be injured by the shutting of the American ports against our goods. A few great merchants and manufacturers; and, observe it well, some hundreds of men, and some of those very great men, who have their money in the American funds. These, and these alone, be you well assured, would suffer any serious inconveniences from the shutting of the American ports; and these men are amongst the very worst enemies that the people of England have to overcome. —Nothing is more convenient for the purpose of a squandering, jobbing, corrupting, bribing minister, than a persuasion amongst the people, that it is from the *commerce*, and not from *their labour*, that the taxes come; and, it has long been a fashionable way of thinking, that, it is no matter how great the expenses are, so that the commerce does but keep pace with them in increase. Nothing can better suit such a minister and his minions than the propagation of opinions like these. But, Gentlemen, you have seen the commerce tripled since the fatal day, when Pitt became minister; and have you found, that *your* taxes have *not been increased?* The commerce has been tripled, and so have the *parish paupers.* Away, then, I beseech you, with this destructive delusion! See the thing in its true light. Look upon *all* the taxes as arising out of *the land and the labour*, and distrust either the head or the heart of the man who would cajole you with a notion of their arising from any other source.

Here, in this last extract, there is, as a "learned" man would say, *multum in parvo.* This little extract does, indeed, contain every important idea contained in Mr. Spence's pamphlet, as far as relates to the national inutility of export commerce; and, hasty as the writing of it evidently was, I do really believe, that it is even better calculated to produce the desired effect, than the very elaborate work, from which I have taken so many extracts.——"But," some one will say, "you are only claiming a pre-eminence *in folly.*" May be so; but let it be *proved.* I am aware of the power of deep-rooted prejudice. I am aware of the influence of commerce. I am aware that it will be very difficult to induce the Spinning-Jenny Baronets and Lords to give up the importance of commerce. I am aware, that all those, who either from knavery or folly, still remain attached to the memory of Pitt, will, if they have sense enough to perceive that if our notions relative to commerce were adopted by the nation in general, his speeches would become a subject of endless ridicule; I am aware, that such men will not be convinced, or, at least, that they never will confess their conviction. But, in spite of prejudice and of vanity and of faction, if events proceed as, thank God, they are now proceeding, this so long deluded people will think rightly upon the subject of commerce, and when they do, away go, in a very short space of time, all the locusts that now eat up our substance; that now degrade the country; that now barter its happiness and its honour for their own villainous advantage.——England has long groaned under a *commercial system*, which is the most oppressive of all possible systems; and it is, too, a quiet, silent, smothering oppression, that it produces, which is more hateful than all others.——Napoleon is deceived in supposing, that the measures, which he has adopted against our commerce will ruin *us*; but, he is right, if he means to break up the commercial system; and he thinks, perhaps, that, rather than suffer that system to be broken up, our government will yield to any terms that he may dictate, in which opinion I will not say that he is wrong—— There are three objections to these our doctrines relative to commerce; 1st, That, by putting an end to all foreign commerce, thousands of manufacturers would be thrown out of employment; 2nd, that we should not be able to obtain naval stores in sufficient abundance; 3rd, that we should lose the nursery for seamen, with whom to man our ships of war.——These objections are worthy of attention, and shall be duly attended to in my next sheet.

Micheldever, 19th Nov. 1807.

EDINBURGH REVIEWERS.

(Being Mr. Worthington's second Letter.)

SIR;——Although the *argumentum ad hominem* is not conclusive in general reasoning, yet it may be applied to convict of wilful sophism, the supporter of a political argument, when he is found obstinately stickling for a corrupt abuse, which by a prior proposition of his own argument, it would cost him nothing to relinquish. For exam-

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ple: if, agreeable to the position of the Edinburgh Reviewers, (p. 408) a House of Commons should consist (and our's actually, as they assert, so consisting) of those persons, who, from "rank, wealth, office, &c." (brains and honesty being out of the question) do "individually and necessarily" (according to them) "direct the conduct, and "influence the opinions of a very large ma-"jority of the people;" how comes it to pass, that "corrupt influence, aristocratic "menace, and rotten boroughs," should be so requisite, as aids, in duly selecting these *natural representatives* of the PEOPLE, when the people, according to the premises, would, without any corruption, or undue influence at all, have naturally made such selection of *their own accord?* Now, this being the case, as no doubt it would be, and our present worthy representatives, the very identical persons, whom, under the freest circumstances of selection, the people would necessarily choose, why will not the Edinburgh Reviewers give up these rotten boroughs, why not give up the sources of this *corrupt* influence, concerning which, the stupid people make such (however unreasonable) complaints? (for, who can strike reason into the multitude!) Why not give up these things, I repeat, which their own proposition asserts would in fact be no sacrifice at all? Why not, I reiterate, give them up to the prejudices, however childish, of the people? If a child cried for a bank note, one might think twice before one gave it to him; but, if he bawled for a bit of brown paper, surely one would give it him to make him quiet! And, believe me, Mr. Cobbett, if your inflammatory writings are subjects of such terror, a more effectual *quietus* to their operation would be found in such a measure, than will ever be extracted from the hypotheses, or from all the lucubrations put together of the Edinburgh Reviewers.—It is comical enough to trace the sophistries of these Reviewers through their very denominations.—Thus, in justifying the composition of the House of Commons, such as it exists; which they admit is not, and argue, OUGHT not to be a representation of the people, they carefully avoid the *quiz* of calling it such; they speak of "the parlia-"ment," of a "*representative legislature*, "*lower house*," &c. &c. but the mention of the *representatives of the people*, (which is their true constitutional denomination) never once occurs in their treatise, expressly written upon the *British Constitution!!!*——To proceed with our subject (pages 408 and 409), I agree, then, with the Edinburgh Reviewers, that liberty will be best preserved "by keeping alive the spirit and intelli-"gence of the people;" but, I deny the next term of their argument; viz. that the making speeches, with whatever freedom in a House of Commons composed, *as they describe* our's to be, and the publishing them, however diffusively, will be adequate, as the Reviewers think, to this effect, or even be the best mode of endeavouring to attain it. On the contrary, I think nothing more likely to extinguish all "spirit and in-"telligence," nay, all interest whatsoever in political concerns in the minds of a people, than an exhibition of factious debate, wherein the agitation of a public question is known to arise from a selfish interest; wherein reason stands on one side, and a majority on the other; and where a decision is uniformly given, not in respect of the argument, but of the proposer! I do not at all say, God forbid! that this is the case with our House of Commons; I am merely pursuing and arguing on the assumption of the Edinburgh Reviewers; who, in conceding "the contempt of the people for public "characters, &c." must also necessarily concede some such cause for it as the foregoing. Merely *supposing* then, that the people should witness such an exhibition for an uninterrupted series of years, equivalent to the duration of human life; that they should know and feel, that by no *legal* effort of their own, they could acquire their just predominance in the assembly of their *nominal* (on the supposition) *representatives*, what business in such a state (for the mind is free, and one may imagine such a state, however fanciful!) what business, I ask, in such a state would the people have with "spirit and intelligence?" The latter of which could only instruct them to despise their condition, and the former animate them to rebellion!! But, I pause. I have not sought this occasion; and these remarks have been struck out of me by the provocation, blurted in our faces by these Reviewers, who would have acted more prudently in keeping it out of sight. It was certainly going a step beyond discretion, and a little too far to be yet endured in SOUTH BRITAIN to tell the people; that persons, who, as they admit, are not *bond fide* elected by them, are the fittest to be entrusted with their interests; and that popular "spirit "and intelligence," are to be "best and "adequately kept alive by the *bickerings* of "such an assembly, much better than by "the proceedings of an assembly of their "real representatives!!" This is not declamation—I will not oppose sophistry with declamation, I will oppose it with fact; and *I argue*, not only, that "popular spirit and "intelligence would not be best kept alive" by such bickerings, and their diffusive publi-

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cation; but, *I assert*, that they have not been kept alive in England even by those patriotic orations, which it would be irreverend in any one, who has heard, to compare with such bickerings; and, therefore, *a fortiori*, such bickerings never could keep them alive, although the necessity of a *theory* for defending them, might be well calculated for *keeping the Edinburgh Reviewers alive!*—— An undeniable evidence of the fact of this spirit and intelligence in the public, not having been kept alive by these orations, is afforded in the very *unfortunate* attempt itself before us, of the Edinburgh Reviewers, to prove that they would be kept alive! For, I appeal to a great authority—I appeal to a name, which will survive the forms, as it has *already* survived the *theory* of our constitution, whether the presumptuous proposition of such doctrines on the part of the factious literary supporters of a set of eminent public men, themselves the candidates for public confidence, be not a satisfactory proof, that the "intelligence and spirit" of the people of England exist no longer!! In the solemn—affecting "dedication" of his labours "to the English nation," Junius, says, "when kings and ministers are forgotten, when the force and duration of "personal satire is no longer understood, "and when measures are only felt in their "remotest consequences, this book will, I "believe, be found to contain *principles* "*worthy to be transmitted to posterity.*" A little further. "Be assured that the laws "which protect us in our civil rights, *grow* "*out of the constitution, and they must* "*fall or flourish with it.*" Again, "I "cannot doubt that you will unanimously assert the freedom of election, and "*vindicate your exclusive right* to choose "your representatives!" More might be taken, but this is enough. Let the reader compare *these pictures* of the constitution; *this* drawn by Junius;—*that* by the Edinburgh Reviewers; and if he has himself a spark of "spirit and intelligence" left, he will to the one, contemptuously exclaim, "this *is* my father;" to the other, exultingly, "this *was* my father!" But, he will scarcely have exulted in the comparison, before his pride will be checked by the reflection, that *the spirit* of this father is fled!! For to a nation possessed of "intelligence "and spirit," such a *critical theory*, in violation of all the wisdom and glorious struggles of their ancestors, could not, by any conceivable degree of wrongheadedness have been promulgated.——But, to the Review. We come now (p. 410) to a very pleasant passage, "We cannot help thinking that our "parliament would be as useful and valuable as ever they were, although they were "mostly composed of persons chosen *by* "*lot, or by rotation* from the individuals of "a certain fortune and education in each of "the counties." This is good: but is, I think, rather inferior to the mode of appointing to offices in Lagado, mentioned in Swift's Voyage to Laputa; and, as the Travels of Mr. Gulliver, "are not in every body's "hands," I will transcribe the passage for the gratification of the curious. "To keep "senators in the *interest of the crown*," (for the same laudable object appears to be common to both) "it was proposed that the "members should *raffle* for employments, "every man first taking an oath, and giving "security that he would vote for the court, "whether he won, or no; after which the "losers had in their turn the liberty of "*raffling* upon the next vacancy." The *raffling* plan has certainly the most merit. 1st. On account of its originality. 2d. On account of its securing, by *a previous precaution*, the candidates in the interest of the crown; and at no expense to the country. This contrivance, antecedent, or *subsequent*, seems to be thought indispensable to any plan, whether by *raffle*, "*lot, rotation*," or otherwise: and is the grand secret and device for giving the members of our legislature, that so desirable (p. 112 Edinburgh Review) "greater *sympathy* and *mutual* "*contact* in their proceedings," for avoiding "those curative and vindictive checks," for "modifying the measures of government "in their concoction" (same page), "for "the effect of placing *in that House a multitude of members devoted to the support* "*of the public functionaries for the time*, "and *of the views and interests of most of* "*the great families in the kingdom!*" (p. 413), for making the several elements of our legislature coquet with and *smile* at each other, rather than "overawe and frown at "each other from their separate orbits;" for the advantage of "*prodigiously soften*"*ing* the collision and shock of the three "rival principles;" for "converting those "sudden and successive checks into one re"*gulating* and graduated *pressure*;" thus making "their operation infinitely more *smooth* "*and manageable*;" also, for preventing those comical "*jirks* and bounds" (p. 414) of the political barouche. Nothing, it is obvious, can be better contrived for accomplishing all these useful purposes, than the *precaution of giving the security* in question, which I am, therefore, greatly surprised the Edinburgh Reviewers should have omitted; seeing the discovery to have been so very simple, and shewing as they have done, with *great strength of reason*, that the royal

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throne could not be supported without corruption; probably, because that positive, confident, restive temper, which virtue infuses into a man, is a perpetual clog to public business. 3dly. I approve more the *raffling* plan, because there is something so fair in its allowing the losers to *raffle again* on a vacancy, which, as *their friends* threw unluckily at the last raffle, would appear to be the very object which the Reviewers are driving at; and, therefore, one is the more surprised at their omitting it. One objection indeed, and but one, I see to the *raffle*, which is, that should the country ever imbibe a "contempt for public characters," and be cursed by a bad government, it might render the people superstitious, who, in such a predicament, would naturally conclude, that the devil was in the dice! In defiance, however, of this last objection, should a *raffle* be resorted to, I positively stipulate on the part of the people for the performance of one condition, before the Whigs be again allowed to touch the dice; which is, that they do give solid security for their publicly abjuring and renouncing in their places, the corrupt, wicked, and damnable doctrine of the Edinburgh Reviewers; that they do banish the said Reviewers to Scotland, there to cultivate metaphysics, and do never again on any pretence employ them, as expounders of the English constitution! But, my critique is not yet concluded, whilst it is time to give place to other, though there cannot be more important, discussions. In treating this subject with a partial levity, I have bowed to the authority of the Roman Satirist:

"——————— ridiculum acri
"Fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res."

whilst my natural feelings would have urged me to assume the language of sorrow, or indignation. Can there be a more mortifying thing, than to see the noble profession of letters *converted* into a trade of political prostitution, to see wit and criticism *perverted* to the crooked ends of faction, and a contempt for the profound policy and generous courage of our ancestors, inculcated by the arbiters of taste and refinement. ——I am, Sir, &c.—*J. C. Worthington.*——*Soutnampton, Nov.* 11, 1807.

KILMAINHAM PENSIONERS.

SIR;——A correspondent, who signs himself "A British Veteran," has, in your Register of 17th Oct., consumed four columns in what he terms "a plain, simple "statement of facts;" but which statement, as far as it regards the principal object of his communication, for he does not, I admit, strictly confine himself to it, is void of truth. Kilmainham Pensioners *were not forgotten* in the act which was passed in the late administration, "for making better "provision for soldiers." I refer the Veteran to 46th Geo. 3. c. 69. and 47th Geo. 3. session 2. c 5. unless he feel greater pleasure, which now and then, Mr. Cobbett, some people do feel, or find it convenient to feel, in continuing in error, than satisfying himself that he has had no reason on the present occasion to complain.—Your regard for truth, will, I am sure, induce you to give this early insertion in your Register. ——A YOUNG SOLDIER.—*28th Oct.* 1807. *British Coffee House.*

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

BLOCKADE.——*Order of Council. From the Supplement to the London Gazette; dated Monday, November* 16, 1807.—*At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the* 11*th of November*, 1807; *Present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

Whereas certain orders, establishing an unprecedented system of warfare against this kingdom, and aimed especially at the destruction of its commerce and resources, were, some time since, issued by the government of France, by which "the British islands were declared to be in a state of blockade," thereby subjecting to capture and condemnation all vessels, with their cargoes, which should continue to trade with His Majesty's dominions.:—And whereas, by the same order, "all trading in English merchandize is prohibited, and every article of merchandize belonging to England, or coming from her colonies, or of her manufacture, is declared lawful prize:"—And whereas the nations in alliance with France, and under her controul, were required to give, and have given, and do give effect to such orders:—And whereas His Majesty's order of the 7th of January last, has not answered the desired purpose, either of compelling the enemy to recal those orders, or of inducing neutral nations to interpose with effect, to obtain their revocation; but, on the contrary, the same have been recently enforced with increased rigour:—And whereas His Majesty, under these circumstances, finds himself compelled to take further measures for asserting and vindicating his just rights, and for supporting that maritime power which the exertions and valour of his people have, under the blessing of Providence, enabled him to establish and maintain; and the maintenance of which is not more essential to the safety and prosperity of His Majesty's dominions, than it is to the protection of such States as still retain their independence, and to the general

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interconrse and happiness of mankind:—His Majesty is therefore pleased, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all the ports and places of France and her Allies, or of any other country at war with His Majesty, and all other ports or places in Europe, from which, although not at war with His Majesty, the British flag is excluded, and all ports or places in the colonies belonging to His Majesty's enemies, shall from henceforth, be subject to the same restrictions in point of trade and navigation, with the exceptions hereinafter-mentioned, as if the same were actually blockaded by His Majesty's naval forces, in the most strict and rigorous manner: And it is hereby further ordered and declared, that all trade in articles which are of the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies, shall be deemed and considered to be unlawful; and that every vessel trading from or to the said countries or colonies, together with all goods and merchandize on board, and all articles of the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies, shall be captured, and condemned as prize to the captors.—But although His Majesty would be fully justified, by the circumstances and considerations above recited, in establishing such system of restrictions with respect to all the countries and colonies of his enemies, without exception or qualification; yet His Majesty, being nevertheless desirous not to subject neutrals to any greater inconvenience than is absolutely inseparable from the carrying into effect His Majesty's just determination to counteract the designs of his enemies, and to retort upon his enemies themselves the consequences of their own violence and injustice; and being yet willing to hope that it may be possible (consistently with that object) still to allow to neutrals the opportunity of furnishing themselves with colonial produce for their own consumption and supply; and even to leave open, for the present, such trade with His Majesty's enemies as shall be carried on directly with the ports of His Majesty's dominions, or of his allies, in the manner hereinafter mentioned:—His Majesty is therefore pleased further to order, and it is hereby ordered, that nothing herein contained shall extend to subject to capture or condemnation any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel, belonging to any country not declared by this order to be subjected to the restrictions incident to a state of blockade, which shall have cleared out with such cargo from some port or place of the country to which she belongs, either in Europe or America, or from some free port in His Majesty's colonies, under circumstances in which such trade from such free ports is permitted, direct to some port or place in the colonies of His Majesty's enemies, or from those colonies direct to the country to which such vessel belongs, or to some free port in His Majesty's colonies, in such cases, and with such articles, as it may be lawful to import into such free port;—nor to any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel, belonging to any country not at war with His Majesty, which shall have cleared out under such regulations as His Majesty may think fit to prescribe, and shall be proceeding direct from some port or place in this Kingdom, or from Gibraltar or Malta, or from any port belonging to His Majesty's allies, to the port specified in her clearance;—nor to any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel, belonging to any country not at war with His Majesty, which shall be coming from any port or place in Europe which is declared by this order to be subject to the restrictions incident to a state of blockade, destined to some port or place in Europe belonging to His Majesty, and which shall be on her voyage direct thereto; but these exceptions are not to be understood as exempting from capture or confiscation any vessel or goods which shall be liable thereto in respect of having entered or departed from any port or place actually blockaded by His Majesty's squadrons or ships of war, or for being enemies' property, or for any other cause than the contravention of this present order.—And the commanders of His Majesty's ships of war and privateers, and other vessels acting under His Majesty's commission, shall be, and are hereby, instructed to warn every vessel which shall have commenced her voyage prior to any notice of this order, and shall be destined to any port of France, or of her allies, or of any other country at war with His Majesty, or to any port or place from which the British flag as aforesaid is excluded, or to any colony belonging to His Majesty's enemies, and which shall not have cleared out as is hereinbefore allowed, to discontinue her voyage, and to proceed to some port or place in this kingdom, or to Gibraltar or Malta; and any vessel which, after having been so warned, or after a reasonable time shall have been afforded for the arrival of information of this His Majesty's order at any port or place from which she sailed, or which, after having notice of this order, shall be found in the prosecution of any voyage contrary to the restrictions contained in this order, shall be captured, and, together with her cargo, condemned as lawful prize to the captors.

To be continued.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"I will go a little further in this way, and say, that were the French to succeed in seizing all the English "goods and property in every part and place in Europe, and, were they to prevent such goods from being "sent thither in future, I do not believe that it would, even in the smallest degree, tend to disable Eng- "land either for the defending of herself, or the annoying of her foes."——POLITICAL REGISTER, 6th Dec. 1806.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

"PERISH COMMERCE" (continued from p. 824).——There are three objections, usually urged against those, who, like me, contend, that commerce is of no service to this country.——FIRST, that, by the cessation of commerce, would be thrown out of employment a great number of persons, who now subsist by commerce, and, particularly, a great number of men, women, and children now employed in the manufacturing of goods for exportation.——SECOND, that, if commerce, or trade with foreign nations, were put an end to, we should not be able to obtain certain articles, which are of the first necessity, especially such articles as are required in the building and the rigging and the fitting out of ships.——THIRD, that, as the mercantile marine is the nursery of seamen for our ships of war, if commerce cease, the mercantile marine ceasing, of course, along with it, this nursery is destroyed, and, in a short time, though we shall have ships of war, we shall have no sailors. ——In answer to the first of these objections, Mr. Spence has the following passage. ——"All sudden changes in the system up- "on which a country has been accustomed "to act, must be productive of some incon- "venience; and there can be no doubt, "that the loss of any extensive branch of "our export commerce, would for a while "be heavily felt, by that proportion of the "manufacturing class, which had been em- "ployed in fabricating goods for that par- "ticular market. (We may observe, by "the by, that the sticklers for the impor- "tance of commerce, do not particularly "lament the loss of it, because of the in- "convenience which such a revolution occa- "sions to a large body of people, but be- "cause of the diminution of national "wealth which they fallaciously fancy en- "sues.) The remedy, however, for this evil, "is in our own hands. When, in conse- "quence of the caprice of one nation, or "the envy of another, the export of our "manufactures is materially lessened, we "have but to lessen our imports proper- "tionably, and to spend the money which "we usually had consumed in the produce "of other countries, in purchasing an ad- "ditional quantity of the manufactures of "our own. Thus, if the Americans per- "sist in acting upon the non-importation "law, which their pettish folly led them so "hastily to pass, and in consequence, throw "upon our hands the two or three millions' "worth of woollen cloths, &c. which they "have been accustomed to buy of us, we "have but to prohibit the importation of "tobacco, and the other articles which we "get of them, and we shall speedily see "them upon their knees, requesting us to "let things go on in their old train. And "the consumers in this country, who will "then save the money they had before "wasted in tobacco, have but to expend "the sums so saved, in a new coat or two "additional for each of them, and our "manufacturers will not be sensible of the "change, nor have occasion to regret, the "substitution of a British, for an Ameri- "can, market. If Buonaparté succeed in "his paltry scheme of preventing our trade "with the Continent, a scheme which "abundantly evinces the miserable littleness "of his views on matters of political eco- "nomy; we have but to abstain from im- "porting a proportionate quantity of the "luxuries we indulge in; to increase our "consumption of home manufactures, and, "far from being diminished, our wealth "will be increased, and the prosperity of "our manufacturers no ways affected by "this master-stroke of policy, as its sage "author doubtless deems it.——It may be "urged, that though this plan, if acted "upon, might answer the proposed end, "yet it does not follow, that our consumers "would be inclined to expend the money "with which they had been used to pur- "chase foreign luxuries, in articles which "they could scarcely be likely to want, "even though they were prevented from "obtaining these luxuries; and consequent- "ly, if this were not done, that great dis- "tress would unavoidably ensue, amongst

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"the manufacturers of exports, from the "loss of their market. It must be allowed, "there is some force in this objection, "when we recollect, that serious incon- "venience has sometimes ensued, to parti- "cular branches of the manufacturing "class, employed in fabricating goods for "home consumption, when, by the caprice "of fashion, a total cessation of demand "for their manufacture has taken place; as "in the case of the button and buckle "manufacture, &c. But admitting the "force of this objection, still a remedy for "this evil may be found. In all such cases, "the government of the country should in- "terfere; and these are perhaps the only "instances in which it should interfere in "matters of trade. It seems only just, "that every industrious branch of the com- "munity should be protected from extreme "misery, consequent upon sudden changes, "like those in question; and it certainly "can never be right, that the parishes of "any particular town or towns, where any "branch of manufacture fails, should bear "the whole burden of supporting those "who are thereby thrown into distress. "Whenever, then, any large body of the "manufacturing class is deprived, whether "by the caprice of fashion in our own coun- "try, or by our quarrels with other nations, "of the usual market for their manufac- "tures, it seems proper, that the state "should support them, employing them in "works of public utility, such as making "roads, canals, &c. until, by the gradual "demand for hands, from old branches of "industry, or the institution of new ones, "there is found for them independent and "profitable employment. By this plan, "the temporary inconveniencies, inseparable from a system of policy, in which manufactures form a prominent feature, is "borne, as it ought to be, by the whole "community, and not by a single portion "of it."——I, for my part, see no necessity for any charge upon the national revenue, for the purpose of *making work* for manufacturers thrown out of employment by a cessation of export commerce. For, let things alone to work their own way, and the consequence will be, not that manufacturers will, perhaps, become agricultural labourers; but, that they will, *indirectly*, add to that class, by filling, at the side-board, at the back of coaches, in the ranks of the army, and elsewhere, the places now filled by persons taken from the agricultural population. Manufacturers would not, all at once become expert ploughmen, but they would soon learn to do many things appertaining to agriculture; and, as I observed in a former article, the land *always* calls for hands, and always yields a grateful return. After all, however, it is not to be doubted, that there would be many persons, who would fall upon the parish in consequence of such a change as is here contemplated, and that the augmentation to the poor rates would be partial; but, it would be necessary that it should be so; because that would be the only means of effecting a dispersion of the persons now congregated together by the calls of export commerce; and, if the poor-rates were augmented, in some degree, the other taxes would be diminished by the same cause, commerce being one of the greatest drains upon the land and the labour, as has been proved in the case of the East India territory and its inseparable and never-ceasing wars. ——Mr. Spence's scheme of employing the ousted manufacturers upon "works of public utility" he has not, I am sure, duly considered; or else he would have perceived, that that was the most effectual way of preventing them from finding out new sources of livelihood. To *make work* for people is to war against nature as well as common sense; and when this is done by a nation, and that too with a view of preventing a part of its people from being miserable, it is a mark of downright insanity. Let us try it a moment. "Works of *public utility*" Mr. Spence talks of. Has the nation not already every thing that it *wants*? As fast as it wants, in the way of roads and canals, increase, does it not, in its own natural spirit, take care to provide them? And, does not the provision keep an exact pace with the want? Surely it does, and always will. "Aye, but, supposing a canal, for instance, "not to be necessary; yet, if the money "expended upon it go to support ousted "manufacturers, who would otherwise be "upon the parish books, it is a good to "make such a canal." No more a good than it would be to give the ousted manufacturers money for throwing stones against the wind; and, it would have this mischievous effect, that, while the present cost of maintaining them would be the same, or greater, than if they were upon the parish books, it would be much *more durable*; because, in the latter case there would be much more powerful motives for the finding out of new sorts of employment.——This idea of *making work* for people Mr. Spence has certainly borrowed from that wise practice of the parliament of making work *for the people in Scotland*, where, however, (observe it well!) it is not pretended, that any branch of manufactures has failed, that any want of

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prosperity is to be found, the work being made for the express purpose of preventing *agricultural* people from emigrating; that is to say, one part of the people is taxed to pay another part for throwing stones at the moon. ——I should like to hear Mr. Spence (who, I am pretty certain, is a Scotchman) give his opinion upon these *make-work* grants to his countrymen; and I am the more anxious upon this point, seeing that the work pretending public utility is, in this case, a canal to unite the Eastern with the Western sea, for the *advantage and extention of commerce!* I should like to have Mr. Spence's ideas upon this topic.——We have proved, in the former articles, written upon this subject, that whatever *taxes* seem to arise from commerce, do, in fact, arise from our own internal resources, commerce being merely the channel through which those taxes are collected. But, as appertaining to the objection, which we are now answering, we must notice the alarm that some persons feel, lest, commerce being destroyed, there would be an absence of all that wealth, which we now see individuals gain by commerce, and which is expended by them in taxes and in payments to various individuals. This wealth coming to be gained by commerce, many people ask, how are we to make up for the deduction which this loss will make from the taxes and from the sums expended in the employing of tradesmen and labourers? This alarm, to those who look not beneath the surface of things, is natural enough; for to such persons, who form a great majority of the nation, *the* money, gained and expended by the merchant, or exporting manufacturer, is regarded as so much wealth, which he, by his commerce, *brings into the country*; and, of course, the cessation of commerce must, to all persons seeing the matter in this point of view, appear to be the certain forerunner of a great defalcation in the taxes and also of a great falling off in the custom to tradesmen and in the employment of servants of every description. But, let us try this by a close examination into the real state of the case. *John a Nokes*, for instance, is a great seller of tea (would he were always as inoffensively employed); he supplies the race of *Timkins* (a thousand in number, all gentlemen of estates in land) with this article; and his profits, at ten pounds from each customer, amount to ten thousand pounds a year. From these profits Mr. Nokes, if he make true return, pays one thousand a year in income tax; with the other nine thousand he does various things; but, let us first pursue the income tax. Our pursuit is not very long; for, who is so short-sighted as not to perceive, that this income-tax is, in fact, paid by the race of Timkins, who, if commerce were put an end to, would, of course, get no more tea, and who would have the ten pounds a year in their pocket (supposing them to expend it upon nothing else), which now go to the making up of the income of our friend Nokes. But, as their income would still be the same, how would the government be able to make up for the loss of Nokes's income-tax? Why it would, to be sure, make such an addition to the income of the Timkinses as would render the total amount of the tax just what it was before; and, it certainly would make no difference at all to the race of Timkins, whether they paid ten thousand pounds a year in tax to the government, or in profits upon tea to Mr. Nokes. ——But, Mr. Nokes, who is a very liberal and spirited man, spends the other nine thousand a year of his income amongst tradesmen and servants and in largesses to the poor. Well! and if these nine thousands a year remained with the race of Timkins, would not they expend it, too, amongst their tradesman and their servants and in largesses to the poor of their several neighbourhoods? They might not, perhaps, expend it precisely in the same way, in goods and in services of precisely the same sort; but, as no man but a madman attempts to hoard up his income, as it is, indeed, impossible for him so to do for any length of time, the race of Timkins would, by the end of the year, have expended, in one way or another, the whole of the nine thousand pounds, which, together with the former thousand paid in income tax, they before paid in tea profits to Mr. Nokes; and though Mr. Nokes and his family would be seriously affected by the change (for which one must feel some degree of regret), other trades and persons would derive the profits which he had lost; and, therefore, to say nothing about the total uselessness of the article in which he dealt, his ruin could not possibly diminish, either the source of taxation, or that of the income of tradesmen and agriculturists.——But, Mr. Nokes's fine house and park and gardens and hot-houses and carriages. Would they ever have existed, had it not been for commerce? Certainly not. The race of Timkins would have scattered the profits of Mr. Nokes in a way so as to prevent its producing such effects; and, to those who see any degree of *national power* and *security* likely to arise from the use of silk instead of woollen, marble instead of stone, fallow land instead of corn-fields, pine apples instead of cabbages and potatoes, coaches instead of waggons and carts, French

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vatets instead of English labourers; to all such persons the decline of Mr. Nokes's commerce must, I allow, be matter of deep regret.——Now, the doctrine which I am endeavouring to maintain, is, I think, by this illustration, made as clear as noon day. There will be enough to differ from me in opinion, and I shall be ready to convey their arguments to the public; but, I beg leave to request them, before hand, not to state, as *something new*, objections which I have myself anticipated, and endeavoured, at least, to answer; because, if they should do this, I must reject their communications, it being quite preposterous to suppose, that I can waste my time and weary the patience of my readers with a repetition of what I have already advanced. I would further beg of someone of those who may differ from me, to confine himself entirely to what has here been said about Mr. Nokes and the race of Timkins; and, generally, I would beseech those, who may honour me with their thoughts upon this important subject, not to expect to produce conviction in my mind by a display of fine high-sounding phrases about "commercial "opulence; emporium of commerce; "capital, credit and commerce." I say, that, I am of opinion, that all these tend to weaken, rather than strengthen our country; tend to produce her subjugation, rather than to preserve her independance; and that, therefore, I see their approaching cessation with pleasure, rather than with sorrow. My *reasons* for this opinion and for this feeling I have given and shall give; and, if I am answered at all, I will be answered with *reasons*, and neither with declamatory phrases, nor with appeals to the opinions of others. ——We now come to the SECOND OBJECTION, which is, "that, if commerce, that "is to say, trade with foreign nations, were "put an end to, we should not be able to "obtain certain articles, which are of the "first necessity, especially such articles as "are required in the building and the rigging "and the fitting out of ships."——I shall first, as before, give Mr. Spence's answer to this objection, and then add such remarks as appear to me likely to be useful.—— "It will be said, that though we might give "up some of the luxuries which we import, "without great inconvenience, yet, a very "large portion of what we import, is absolutely necessary to us, and could not be "done without." This may appear, at first "glance, to be the case; but if any one "will examine a list of our imports, he "will be surprised to find how few of the "articles we get from other countries, are "necessary even to comfortable and luxurious existence; and of how comparatively small value these are, when compared "with the immense amount of what we "consume. We could not well do without "some of the drugs used for dying and for "medicine; we should want olive "oil, perhaps, in the preparation of our "woollen cloths; saltpetre (if we had not "the art of the French chemists, to form it "from its principles) for our gunpowder; "turpentine, and the various denominations "of wood, of which we do not grow enough "for ourselves. Of all the rest of our imports, I can see scarcely one, that we "might not very well do without, or find "fully as valuable succedaneums for, from "our own productions. Barilla, Turkey carpets, China ware, silk, fruit of all kinds, "grocery of every description, (except perhaps, pepper), bar iron, linen of all kinds, "skins of every sort, tar, in fact every thing "besides the articles which I have pointed out "(which no power on earth could hinder us "from obtaining, and of which a few cargoes of broad cloth would annually purchase all we can possibly have occasion "for), seem by no means necessary to us. "Some may be of opinion, that we could "not do without hemp, flax, and tallow, "which we import from Russia; but there "seems no reason why we might not grow "a sufficient quaintity of the two former "articles for our consumption; and whale "oil, of the fishery producing which we "have a monopoly, will always abundantly "supply us with the means of obtaining "light, if our own produce of tallow "be insufficient ——With respect to hemp, "it is infinitely desirable, that we should "raise as much in our own country, as "would be sufficient, at least, for the supply of our navy; and probably no mode "of effecting this, would be equal to the "prohibition of its importation, which "would at once create a demand for it, "adequate to raise its price to the point, at "which land could in this country be profitably devoted to its cultivation. The "bounties already allowed for effecting this "end, deemed by the legislature so important, are evidently inadequate to its "accomplishment, since but little hemp is "grown in this kingdom. It might cost "five or ten pounds a ton more, if produced at home, than if imported from "Russia; but this difference, or twice this "difference of price, would be well sacrificed for the sake of our being independent of the world for this article, so "essential to the existence of our navy. "We are now at peace with Russia, and it

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"is to be hoped, may long continue so; "but if another Emperor Paul ascend the "throne, or if we have a quarrel with this, "or with any future sovereign, we shall lie "entirely at his mercy: for, without cord- "age, we cannot have ships, and at present "all our hemp is received from Russia. "In fact, until we grow as much of this "article as is sufficient for the use of our "navy, it is perfectly idle to talk of our "being an independent maritime power. "——It need not be apprehended, that we "could not spare the quantity of land re- "quired for the cultivation of hemp and "flax. About six acres of land are re- "quired for producing a ton of flax, and "five acres for a ton of hemp; so that, sup- "posing we consume 10,000 tons of the "former, and 40,000 tons of the latter, "which is quite as much as we do consume, "it would require only 260,000 acres to be "applied to the cultivation of these articles: "an extent which we can very well spare "out of the twenty-two millions of acres "of waste land which are to be found in "Great Britain. All the hemp, however, "requisite for the independence of the "navy, might be raised from 20,000 acres; "and if, after the narrow escape we once "had of being excluded for years from "Russia; and after the possibility which "we have just witnessed, of our being shut "out from all commercial intercourse with "a whole Continent; if, I say, we do not "take immediate steps for the cultivation of "this most indispensible of all our imports, "to at least this extent, we shall be guilty "of folly the most egregious, of improvi- "dence the most culpable.——That it is "desirable we should grow the whole of "the hemp and flax which we make use of "in every way, I do not mean to assert; "nor, indeed, that it is either necessary, "or to be wished, that we should give up "the consumption of all the foreign commo- "dities, which we import, except the few "above enumerated as particularly essential "to us. All that I assert, is, that by far "the greater part of what we import, we "could do very well without, and conse- "quently, that in every point of view, "whether considered as sellers or as buyers, "we are independent of commerce."—— Of turpentine, pitch, and the various de- nominations of wood, of which we do not grow enough for the use of our navy (for all others we could do without), we can al- ways, at a little additional expence, obtain an abundance, even from those parts of America, which are unsettled, or, at any rate, in those parts, where no power yet upon the earth would be able to prevent us from obtaining them, we having a decided superiority of maritime force. We now la- zily obtain the greater part of what we con- sume of these materials from the continent of Europe; and this is the effect of commerce; but, supposing it possible that a complete exclusion should exist for years, in Europe, the North of America opens and tenders her inexhaustible stores of turpentine, pitch, masts, yards, and ship timber of every de- scription. So, that here is no difficulty in the way of a nation, situated as we are, if under wise and courageous rulers. These ma- terials would cost more than they now cost; but, what would that be to a nation just released from the burthen of supporting the East-India commerce, which now draws from the land and the labour of England millions annually? As to hemp, where is there any difficulty in obtaining it? The *whole* that the nation would want might be grown by the year after next. Only apply to this purpose the amount of the sinecure places and pensions, and you will not only have hemp enough for yourselves, but enough to supply one half of the world, if that were desirable. "But, the *land!* how can we spare the land?" I am not much for a talk about *new enclosures*, which, in general, are wild schemes; but, I am well satisfied, that, if the already-enclosed-land were cultivated here as the land is in Flan- ders, we should have enough for wheat and for hemp and flax besides, and a great deal yet to spare. The reason why it is not so well cultivated here, is, that so large a por- tion of the population is taken up in manu- factures; these being somewhat diminished, as they would be by a cessation of commerce, there would be, very soon, a great improve- ment in the cultivation of the land. The land, in its natural state, bears, generally speaking, but little. The first thing neces- sary is *labour*. From labour comes an *in- crease of produce*. From an increase of pro- duce comes, in various ways, *manure*. From manure comes *an addition* to the increased produce. And so on; not forgetting, that, with the increase of produce, or subsistence, men, the hands to labour, do also necessari- ly increase. Having, then, an addition to our labour ready at hand, we have nothing to do but to give it a proper direction. A law is not required. Only let hemp and flax cease to be imported, and you will soon see, that those, who are now employed in making cloth and cutlery *to be sent abroad to be exchanged for hemp and flax*, will be busily engaged in the tillage of the plants from which those materials are drawn; and, that,

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while the nation will be a great gainer, the only persons who will lose by such a change, will be the great manufacturers for exportation, the merchants trading to Russia, and the Russians themselves, who cannot make cloth or cutlery so well as we can. Thus, then, we should not need those *roads* and *canals*, "those works of *public utility*," of which Mr. Spence speaks, as the means of employing the ousted manufacturers; we should not need to raise taxes to pay them for throwing stones at the moon; but, there would, at once open itself to them an employment of real public utility, without the accompanying curse of premium, pension, poor-rate, or job.——Mr. Spence is, indeed, mistaken in supposing, that hemp and flax would grow in our *waste* land. It requires very good land to produce a good crop of either; but, the addition which a check to the export of manufactures would make, either directly or indirectly, to our agricultural labourers, would enable us to bring new lands into tillage, or, rather to restore to tillage the lands *formerly cultivated*, and now lying waste, which, in spite of all our boasted modern improvements, and pretended increased population, consist of millions of acres, as any one may be satisfied, who, like me, has attentively surveyed the wastes of the western counties, Hampshire included, and who has perceived, that the plough formerly went upon the sides and to the very tops of hills, where, now-a-days, nothing ever ventures but grey-hounds and hares. The restored lands would, under good cultivation, bear corn, while some of the lands, now cultivated, would produce hemp and flax; and thus would this difficulty, so terrible to persons enervated both in body and mind by luxury, be speedily surmounted.——And, as to *corn*. Do we not grow enough now? Perhaps not. But, the remedy is the same. Diminish commerce and manufactures, and we have more labour for the land; and that will, I warrant, bring us more corn. We now employ a certain number of men, say a hundred, in making knives and scissars and razors and buttons and locks and keys and candlesticks and watches and kettles and pots and spoons and porringers and the lord knows what, for a certain portion of the people in Prussia or America, and they, in exchange, send us wheat and oats. Put an end to this traffic, by which a couple or three merchants and manufacturers are growing rich, and what is the natural consequence? Why, that our hundred knife makers [illegible] directly or indirectly, to ra[illegible]land, where corn [illegible]n of that before brought from Prussia or America in exchange for the hardware which they before manufactured to be sent to one or the other of those countries.——It is not so with *all* countries. America has not wool, nor has Holland, nor have many other parts which we supply with that article of prime necessity; but, England has plenty of land for the raising of every thing which she really *wants*, and which she gets from abroad, turpentine, pitch and some timber excepted, and these she can obtain in abundance by the sole effect of her maritime power. Rich in mines of Iron, Tin, Lead, Copper, and, above all, *Coals*, with lands three times as extensive as her present population requires, and, at the same time mistress of the sea, and yet she trembles! Trembles for her life, at a custom-house decree, which life she regards as dependent upon that commerce, which has been the great cause of all those internal corruptions, the effect of which has been to besot, enervate, degrade and enslave her.——The THIRD OBJECTION is, *that, as the mercantile marine is the nursery of seamen for our ships of war, if commerce cease, the mercantile marine ceasing, of course, along with it, this nursery is destroyed, and, in a short time, though we shall have ships of war, we shall have no sailors*.——First, let us hear Mr. Spence's answer to this objection.——"Every Briton must be of one "mind with respect to the infinite importance of every mean by which our naval "superiority is kept up; and as there can "be no doubt, that our trade *has* been one "grand cause of our eminence at sea, we "are certainly, therefore, in this point of "view, highly indebted to it. But the "question we have now under consideration is, whether we are *now* independent "of commerce; and, surely, there can be "no reason why the superiority of our navy should not be continued, even if all "our trade were this instant to cease. It "has been shown, that the *wealth* necessary for keeping up either a naval or a "military force, is not derived from commerce. We *have* ships, and we *have* sailors. What then should hinder us from "increasing the number, both of the one, "and the other, as well without, as with "commerce? Our shipbuilders will not lose "their art, if they are employed in building "men of war; and a landsman may be educated into a sailor, as well, surely, on "board a seventy-four, as on board a merchant ship. It may be said, "But what "becomes of our navy in time of peace; "and how is it to be supplied with men on "the recurrence of war, without resorting

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" to that nursery of seamen, commerce?" " There is no absolute necessity, I reply, " that our navy should ever be dismantled, " or our seamen ever disbanded. Other na- " tions think it necessary, to keep a stand- " ing army in time of peace. We, if we " were to lose our commerce, might main- " tain a *standing navy*; and a fertile ima- " gination may easily conceive and point " out, abundance of important and rational " occupation for such a fleet, even when " not engaged in war. It may indeed ad- " mit of doubt, whether it would not be " politic for this nation, even if she had " more extended commerce than she has, " constantly to maintain a fleet in time of " peace; and, in fact, it would be madness " in the present state of Europe, not to do so. " Let it be considered also, that we shall, at all " events retain our *coasting trade*, and that " this trade is of as much importance, " as all our other branches of commerce " collectively, as a nursery for seamen." ——To hear some people talk about the necessity of commerce in order to create sailors for our ships of war, one would almost imagine, that they regarded merchant ships as the females, or breeding ships, of our navy. Sailors, if they enter grown men, may as well enter at once, as thousands of them do, into ships of war, where they will learn their business much sooner and better than on board of merchant ships; and, why boys should not be taught on board of men of war, as well as on board of merchant ships, I should be glad to know the reason. " But, on board the " merchant ships, they are always at hand, " in cases of emergency." This would imply, that merchant ships are *always in port*. Some of them are; but there is a much greater number that are not; and, of course, all the seamen, on board of them, are not at hand in cases of emergency. There is one thing, however, which seems to be completely forgotten by all those who raise the objection which I am here combating, namely, that a very considerable portion of our ships of war, and, of course, our seamen, are, during every war employed, not in defending the country or in assailing the enemy, but in *defending commerce*. Nay, I believe, that, at this moment more than one half of our astonishing maritime force is employed in objects, which, well examined into, will clearly appear to be purely commercial; and, we have proved, over and over again, that commerce adds nothing, does in nowise contribute to the real wealth or power of the nation. Commerce a *nursery*, indeed, of British seamen! Go, examine the dismal returns from our ships stationed in the East or West Indies, and you will say, that commerce is their *grave*. It is on board of our coasting vessels; the vessels which carry things from one part of these islands to the other; it is on board of our vessels kept at *home*, that seamen are raised. This has always been the nursery for British seamen, and from this nursery the graves of foreign climates are fed, and that, too, owing exclusively to commerce. These vessels unlike those employed in foreign commerce, are *always* within reach of our ships of war; their crews are ready upon *every* emergency; and, from the nature of the trade in which they are engaged, they are readily replenished with hands.——From this view of the matter, it is evident, I think, that the dread of losing our sailors with our foreign commerce is a mere bugbear, and, like all the other subjects of alarm, which we have noticed in the course of these observations, has arisen from the erroneous notions respecting the importance of commerce, so long and so industriously inculcated from the press, the bench, the senate, the pulpit, and the throne. —— " And *who are you*," as the Attorney General, now Chancellor of the Exchequer, said of me, in *Latin*, when he was pleading against me, in the Court of King's Bench; " *Who are you*, that presumes to " tell us we are all in error?" Why, what signifies it who I am? The only question is, *am I right?* If I am not, overset my arguments, and shew the world that I am wrong. Neither your Latin nor your gown nor your wig will weigh aught against these arguments, any more than against the decrees or the sword of Buonaparté.——I can easily excuse an erroneous way of thinking, upon subjects connected with commerce, seeing that, for a long time, I regarded commerce as the life-blood of the nation. The state of things has made me reflect; it has set me to thinking upon the cause of my country's danger and the means of her salvation; and the result of that reflection, as far as relates to commerce, is that it is injurious in place of being, as is generally thought, beneficial to the country.—Viewing commerce in this light, with what indifference might we behold the attempts of Buonaparté to ruin us, by such means as he is adopting, and as our wise ministers are working, tooth and nail to *counteract!* There are several countries, under the control of France, which are dependent upon commerce for their means of subsistence. It was, therefore, very right to put a stop to their commerce; but, even that should have

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been done in another manner. The *dominion of the seas* should have been explicitly asserted; and, the vessels stopped, or brought in, should have been made to pay *a tribute*. The effect upon commerce would have been the same, but the effect upon the minds of mankind would have been very different. What have we now done? We have gone solely upon a principle of *retaliation*; we have said, you have injured our commerce, and we will injure yours; we have acted under the evident hope of being able to give new life to our declining commerce; we have, in short, proclaimed to the whole world, that we sorely feel the effects of the conquer'sor edicts, and that we are making a desperate attempt to obtain vengeance.——The London prints seem to be almost ready to cry, when they give us an account of the "*severe* and *cruel* decrees" of Napoleon against our commerce and merchants. As to the merchants that may fall into his clutches, I shall be sorry to hear of their suffering, in any way; but, it should always be recollected, that they went abroad for their own interest's sake; that they were in pursuit of no public benefit; and that they will reap only the fruit of their adventuring, which *might* have turned out very much to their advantage.——"The "correspondence of England with every "part of the Continent is intercepted, we "have, in consequence of the blockade, in "our hands, more than *an hundred thousand English letters and bills of exchange* "to the amount of several millions sterling. "These measures must *reduce the English* "*to a desperate situation*."——This is the language of the last received French official print, *the Moniteur*, whose editor appears not to yield, in point of profundity, to any of the sages, by whom the people of England are taught and ruled. But, if Mr. Spence's and my doctrine be sound, instead of joining the London prints in crying at this news, may not the public well laugh at it, as I do at this moment? What are the letters and bills of exchange to *us*? To the *nation*, I mean? One half of the bills of exchange are, I dare say, payable in London; and, it must certainly "reduce us to a desperate situation," if the said bills should not arrive! This interruption to commerce will, no doubt, reduce many *individuals* to a desperate situation; but, what is that to the nation? Suppose it to *ruin*, in the common acceptation of that word, a hundred thousand persons, there will be, in the kingdom, fifteen millions as well off as they were before. But, when we talk of effects, of all sorts, we are apt to exaggerate greatly. Thus, a diminution of wealth is often called ruin; and, indeed, an obstruction to the further accumulation of wealth is frequently designated by that desponding term. If Mr. Nokes, for instance, be, all at once, reduced from ten thousand a year income to the one or two hundred a year, which his goods and chattels will yield him, we call him a *ruined man*; though, for my part, I see nothing that he wants to make him happy, and to bring up his family. To be sure, he cannot keep his boxes at the opera and the playhouses; he cannot purchase tickets to hear the squalling and squeaking and piping of the Italian singers; he can no longer keep French cooks and Swiss valets; he must cease to drink wine, and his wife and daughters must cease to wear velvet and silk and jewels and spangles and ostrich feathers and paste and paint; and, so much the better. His reduced income, *aided by industry*, will furnish him and his family with plenty of food and raiment, while the nine thousand eight hundred pounds a year, which he has ceased to receive, will, in all probability, be scattered about in such a way as to cause a proportionate decrease in the demand for Italian singers, French cooks, Swiss valets, and paint and paste for the face, arms, neck and shoulders. The singers and such people would, doubtless, suffer from the change here contemplated; but, I think, it is clear, that nobody else would; and that, as to *the nation* suffering from it, the fact is, evidently, the reverse. May we not, then, laugh at the predictions of the Moniteur, if we are convinced that our government is in the hands of wise and incorrupt men? Aye, let this be as it may, we ought to laugh heartily; for, out of the present state of things, good, in one way or another must come.——Now, I am well aware, that I shall, for a while, make but few converts. The doctrine I preach is so contrary to the settled opinions of the nation, generally speaking; it is so hostile to the feelings of numerous persons; it includes such a fearful fall of those who have, in fact, ruled the nation for so many years; that I am satisfied, that, comparatively speaking, few people will, at first, listen to me. But, I am equally well satisfied, that it only requires time, and not a very long time, to work a general conversion, especially if the joint endeavours of Buonaparté and our ministry should effect the destruction of any considerable part of our commerce. We shall then have the proof, the experimental proof, that all our alarms, upon this score, were groundless. We shall find, that, upon a general scale

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(and that is the way to estimate), the loss of commerce will produce no diminution of our public resources, no diminution of the comforts of the people; while, on the other hand, it must break up those combinations, which have been, and are, the most convenient instruments of corruption. We have a convincing proof, that the loss of commerce has not weakened France. Why are we, then, to suppose, that it will expose us to subjugation? Let the Moniteur answer this question. In short, we have, within ourselves, every thing necessary to our comfort and our defence, and, if we do not make use of the means, which a bountiful Providence has placed in our hands, we shall, and we ought to, perish as a nation.

AUSTRIA, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL.—— The first of these countries has, we are told, declared war against us, which is much about of as much consequence to us as a similar declaration on the part of one of the Emperors of Otaheité would be; and of far less consequence than the growth of a single bushel of wheat or barley. Nay, it is, in one respect, a good; because it will put an end, for the present, at least, to our embassy in Austria; and, I suppose, the expense of maintaining it at home, by pensions and allowances, will not be quite so great as the maintaining of it there; though, observe, I do not take upon me to state this as a fact ascertained.——As to the affair in Spain, where the royal father accuses the royal son of a conspiracy against his life, that is to say, of meditated parricide, there are, it appears, from the London papers, two opinions. Some persons suppose, that the king has hatched this accusation against his son; others, that the charge is well founded. I cannot, of course, pretend to say which of these opinions is correct; but, of one thing I am quite certain, and that is, that either the father or the son, is an atrocious scoundrel, however often the one may have been called the best of kings, and the other, the illustrious heir apparent. The London newspapers, particularly the Courier, ascribes the conduct of the king (whom they accuse of hatching the accusation) to the machinations of the "giant "*fiend*," which description I, as a matter of course, looked upon as applicable to the devil, whose giant stature is described by Milton; but, behold, who should it be but Buonaparté! "Little Boney," as the mob call him, is now become, all at once, a "giant fiend!" There is, however, this to be said, that it is *a king*; yea, a royal personage, whom he has seduced; and, I do hope, that the devil himself is not able to seduce many, even amongst the villains of the earth, to lay a plot, for taking away the life of their own child.——The Courier represents the *Queen*, too, as an accomplice in this abominable design upon the son's life and that, too, at the instigation of the Prince of Peace, who, this writer insinuates, is a lover of her Majesty. Good lord! What shall we hear next? Why, he will really make us doubt, whether it be not high time that this Spanish royal race were succeeded by some other race; for, if what he says be true, I think it is quite impossible that the poor Spaniards should experience a change for the worse. He tells us, that the king's *intellects are weak*; or, in other words, that he is a fool. Fool as he is, he *reigns*, it seems; and therefore, in no just mind, can his folly be urged as an apology for the crime he is accused of by this writer. Besides, there is always some difficulty in conducting a plot with a fool. Indeed, his Most Catholic Majesty appears to have displayed no small degree of cunning upon this occasion, which cunning, though we often meet with it in confirmed fools, ought to plead against any apology that may be set up for his conduct; because, as I observed before, he *reigns*, and a man that reigns ought not to be a fool. The happiness and honour of millions ought not to be committed to the guardianship of a gabbling slobbering creature, fit only for the cell of a mad-house, though he may, at times, discover a greater degree of low cunning than even the oldest intriguer in his dominions. This apology, therefore, for his Most Catholic Majesty, will answer no good purpose. It does indeed, tend to aggravate the charge against him; and, it must reconcile the world to any change that may take place in Spain; for, what, Good God! can be more disgraceful to a nation; what can more sorely gall men of sense and of spirit, than the reflection, that their chief ruler, the person whom they are obliged to acknowledge as their sovereign, is a notorious ideot!——In Portugal affairs seem to be fast approaching to a crisis. The Prince Regent is, the *Moniteur* says (and upon such matters, it is pretty good authority), to lose his throne. "*The Prince Regent loses* "*his throne.*" Just in so many words, and no more. And it is very likely, that this is the sole channel, through which the Prince will receive any previous intimation of his fate. I think it probable, that Napoleon, now that he is bending his thoughts towards the South-West, is likely to give Spain the finishing stroke, too; and then, as to all this side of the continent, the work will

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be done. In the South, and South East, and to the North, there is, yet, a good deal to do; but, the work-man, though no Latin Scholar, is a man of some dispatch. It has been suggested to me, by a very valuable correspondent, that we might arrest the progress of this "giant fiend" by opposing *Lord Wellesley* to him. I have heard of a French woman, who says, "il n'y a que deux grands "hommes dans le monde: Buonaparte et "milor Wellesley." I am somewhat of the opinion of this French woman; but, I mean, as I presume she does, not to pit these great men against each other with the same sort of weapons. Buonaparté with a sword, and our little Cæsar with a pen; and, if the latter was but put in Mr. Canning's place, and we could but prevail upon Buonaparté to *read* his dispatches, nay, or only *one half* of them, he would never make conquest again; for, we would, every other day, at least, treat him with an epistle, which, if not quite so efficacious in the work of conversion, should be as long as all the epistles of all the Apostles put together.

Botley, 27th Nov. 1807.

IRISH TITHES.

Sir;—It appears by your reasoning in your Register of the 14th instant, on the subject of a commutation for Tithes in Ireland, that you are an enemy to such a proposition, and would still saddle *the land* with the expence of maintaining a clergy of one sort or the other. And you say "in proportion to the Catholic population, "I would have diverted that expence to "their ministers, making the Protestant "Church a compensation in England, by "purchasing up the lay impropriations, up-"on the unalterable condition, that Benefice "and Residence should in all cases, be in-"separable. I had no intention to cheat "both the clergy and the laity, and call it "patriotism."—I have always entertained so high an opinion of your judgement and good sense, that I differ from you with much diffidence, but as my sentiments are so much at variance with yours, after perusing what you have said with all the attention in my power, I am inclined to believe that you have not considered this great question in all its bearings with your usual discrimination, as your reasoning on most subjects has wrought conviction on my mind. As few men are so capable as yourself and this question being of the highest interest, I am sure that your readers will be under great obligations to you to favor them with your matured sentiments upon it, and none I assure you, will feel the obligation more strongly than myself. Being unacquainted with the system in Ireland my remarks must be confined to that of England, and having always understood that in Ireland this grievance is the most oppressive, every observation must apply with additional force. I am fully convinced that the *landowner* would be materially benefitted if tithes were abolished, as in that case the occupier of land could certainly afford to pay in additional rent, what he now pays in tithes, and I have no doubt would be required to do so; but in the instance of a commutation (which supposes the same payment by a different mode) I confess it does not appear to me that the landlord can be a gainer. You seem of opinion that if the occupier of land does not pay *less* to the parson as *a composition*, than *he now does*, that he can derive no *substantial benefit from the proposed change*. It is the general practice in this country to lease lands for considerable terms, at *certain* rents, the tithes are also in many instances leased, but I believe in most they are not, and under the most favorable circumstances such lease must depend on the life of the incumbent, which from its uncertainty must in a multitude of instances turn to the disadvantage of the occupier, for no sooner does a change take place, than the new rector has recourse to a valuation of the tithes, and generally they are either raised or taken in kind; in the former case, the occupier must be in a worse situation than *if the landlord had leased him the whole*, as would have been the case had tithes no existence; and in the latter a most grievous oppression would be exercised by taking a tenth of the *produce* from *land*, got into a high state of cultivation at great expence and by many years exertion. Under these circumstances the Farmer would be deprived of much more than he ought in justice to pay, by a subtraction of a *tenth of the produce thus acquired*; or by a different course of husbandry, *which would certainly be injurious to himself*, he would considerably lessen the advantages that the community would otherwise receive. And this to spite the Parson.—You are too good a judge of human nature to doubt that this must happen, or not to know that these circumstances must continually occur.—With regard to your observation of apportioning the tithes between the clergy of different religions in proportion to the population, every enlightened mind must coincide with you in so liberal a sentiment, and I must decidedly agree with you that Benefice and Residence should be inseparable, unless in

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extreme cases, when half the profits of the living should belong to the curate, who *should reside*.—But to me your proposition of applying the tithes of England to the payment of the resident clergy in Ireland would be extremely objectionable. Suppose a Farmer seeing his tithes taken in kind, and the profits sent to a clergyman in Ireland, whom he had never seen and for whom he could entertain nothing but detestation. What would you say to that Mr. Cobbett, or what would the people of England think of such a measure?—You also say you would still have saddled the land with the expence of maintaining the clergy. My understanding is certainly not sufficient to discern the rule of equity by which you would burthen any particular description of persons with the whole charge of maintaining a clergy, when all classes of the community are equally interested in, and benefitted by such an establishment. I do not see why a tenth part of the produce, or a fifth part of the rent of my little farm (which is what tithes are usually let at) should be taken towards the support of an establishment, when the rich merchant, the overgrown Fundholder, or the man whose fortune is on bond or mortgage to ever so great an amount, are exempted from any charge whatever, though equally interested with me. I do not see the justice of all this, and I am sure you sir do not recommend it on the score of its having so long existed. Indeed formerly, according to Burn's ecclesiastical law, personal tithes, or a tenth part of the *clear gain* arising from the *honest* industry of men, was payable, which probably was discontinued on account of the difficulty of ascertaining its amount; however, be that as it may, there does not seem any good reason why the land alone should bear the whole burthen. I conceive the church establishment is intended as a *general* benefit, and that its real object is, or ought to be, the improvement of the morals *of society at large*, and therefore as *all are interested*, that mode of payment which falls the *most equal on all classes*, and is the least *irritating* to the feelings of *any*, should seem the best that could be adopted. If this idea is correct, it would be difficult to devise a mode more objectionable than the present one, or one more ruinous to agricultural improvements, or more destructive to religion, it being a source of endless vexation and discord; and to such a degree is it carried in several parishes which I know, as to cause a great part of the inhabitants to refrain from going to church.—Would it not be highly beneficial to the interests of religion, and infinitely more equitable, if Parliament were to dispose of the tithes, and the clergy were to be paid in annuities; every individual would then contribute to their support, there being but few, who do not pay taxes to the state.—To some this mode would be objectionable from the tendency it appears to have in throwing the influence of the clergy into the hands of government, and to others it being a fixed money payment, the depreciation of money might make it very injurious.—Perhaps the presentations remaining in the same persons might obviate the first objection, and the second might be easily remedied by a rise in the annuities at stated periods (if found by parliament to be necessary,) equal to the depreciation of money.—Having been an eye witness to a multitude of ills from the present partial and oppressive manner of providing for the clergy, and fully believing that it not only has an injurious tendency to the country, by cramping agricultural improvements in a variety of ways, but that it is also essentially injurious to the best interests of religion, I cannot help thinking, that the statesman who has virtue and resolution enough to undertake so great a good, as the commutation of tithes, will be entitled to be ranked amongst the most distinguished patriots of any clime or any age—With much respect, I am Sir, &c. A LAND-OWNER.
November 21.

COMMERCE.

SIR;——I have perused Mr. Spence's arguments, as given in the last and preceding Register, together with your extracts; and, though I agree with you, Mr. Cobbett, that that gentleman cannot claim the praise of originality, either in his ideas, or in the printing of them; yet, I am free to say, that the public is much indebted to him for the clear, logical precision with which they are discussed in his publication. Admiring the positions laid down by yourself and Mr. Spence regarding commerce, and feeling as I do that the existence of this country as an *independent nation* *, is by *no means* endangered by the *suspension* of our foreign commerce, and persuaded too, that a *temporary* suspension will be of peculiar advantage to the country, because it will engrave on the hearts of Englishmen, the solemn, serious, and important TRUTH, that British independence and foreign commerce have by no means a reciprocal relation; yet, I confess, I cannot attain to the conclusion, that a *permanent* suspension of foreign commerce

* By independence, I mean, her safety from foreign conquest.

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would be productive of any serious advantage to Great Britain. You must not imagine, Mr. Cobbett, that I am going to start difficulties or doubts for the mere purpose of opposition, I am only disposed to state such grounds as appear to me at present objectionable to the PERMANENT ANNIHILATION of foreign commerce, in order, Sir, that you, who have much more deeply considered the subject in all its various bearings than myself, may remove these with the other objections which you have promised to notice. Mr. Spence states the population of Great Britain at *twelve* millions; and, he says, that in the supplying *food* for these twelve millions, not more than *two* millions are employed; and that the remaining *ten* millions may be engaged in fabricating manufactures of use or of luxury; in defending the state; in communicating religious, moral, or scientific instruction; and in other ways which he has mentioned. Now, Sir, I apprehend, that for communicating religious and *moral* instruction, and for the administration of justice, (I do not mean to speak with levity upon these subjects) we employ as many gentlemen as the interest or welfare of the state requires; but it seems, that notwithstanding our supply in these particular branches, which are the whole, I believe, wherein literary talents can be employed, we have yet sufficient of the ten millions of population left, to manufacture clothes, hardware, and pottery for the WHOLE inhabitants of AMERICA, besides a thousand other articles of the most pressing necessity, and of the greatest durability, and that all these are manufactured after *we ourselves* have been first supplied with every thing that is essential to our comfort and happiness. Now, Mr. Cobbett, I find this difficulty in the annihilation of commerce; —if we have no foreign connection to relieve us from these surplus manufactures, who is to become the purchaser of them? For we, it must be observed, are *already* supplied with these articles. Why, if it be extremely material to get rid of them, throw them into the sea! But throwing them into the sea will not retribute the manufacturer for his labour in producing the manufactures, or for the purchase of the raw materials with which they have been made: the result then is this; if there be an end of the exportation of these manufactures, that *portion* of the ten millions of population which has been employed in producing them, must be divested of all employ; all means of supporting themselves by their labour; unless you can substitute in their place other manufactures, which will be exhausted by *home-consumption*. Can such manufactures be pointed out? I admit all this time, that the internal riches of the country are as affluent as if the exportation had continued; but, is it no serious ground of objection, that a large mass of the people is to be out of employ; that *four or five millions* probably are to be added to the present lamentable list of mendicants, who disgrace our cities, and corrupt our prisons. I know that though the whole ten millions were paupers, there will be wealth enough to support them, because the same wealth that supported them before still continues in the country; but are the *features* of the country not materially *defaced*, when a considerable mass of population, which before claimed respect from its comparative independence, is reduced to solicit *charity* for mere subsistence. I can perceive, Mr. Cobbett, that luxury may be carried too far. The confines of virtues do not easily admit of their respective lines of demarcation being traced with mathematical precision; but that is no proof that *luxury*, as well as virtue, has not a *necessary existence*. Luxury in great states seems an inevitable consequence; and the only question is, whether in attempting to *limit* her powers *considerably*, we do not place ourselves in opposition to nature's laws; and if we do, we may be sure we shall be lamentably disappointed in the consequence. When I view Great Britain consisting of *twelve millions* of inhabitants, and find from Mr. Spence that *only* TWO MILLIONS are required to labour *to* supply the whole with FOOD; If man be (what he is unquestionably) born to labour and to support himself by the result of that labour, reason imprints on my forehead in characters as strong as any that were written on the twelve tables, that luxury, whether a vice or a virtue, is an indispensible law: if it be a law, though we may be cautious not to enlarge its powers, it must nevertheless be reverenced. When the FEODAL SYSTEM predominated in this country, commerce was but little known; that may probably have been the cause and basis of feodal tyranny. The population was considerable, and a small proportion could supply the whole with food; another small proportion could supply the other limited wants of an unenlightened people; the persons so employed gave to the feodal Baron an equivalent for the food which fed them; the rest were necessarily *dependant* upon him for support; and what are DEPENDANTS, Sir, of any kind but SLAVES? When commerce introduced luxury, and the appetite of insatiable man became vitiated with foreign dainties, those masses of population which

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before were absolutely dependant, found the means of employing themselves to advantage; they manufactured, not for their own countrymen—they were already supplied—but for those foreigners, who in exchange gave them the fopperies of nature and of art; and with these they supplied the liege lord with an *equivalent* for that food, which before they supplicated from his bounty. But here an important æra burst from the gloom of slavery, and with a talismanic power, dissolved the enchantment of *dependance*, and raised to human admiration and astonishment the bright CHARM of CIVIL LIBERTY. My question is, Mr. Cobbett, "*do we not, by annihilating commerce, re-*" *trace the steps which brought us from feo-*" *dal tyranny?*" I shall be happy, Mr. Cobbett, to see a convincing negative given to my question. Commerce and myself are by no means cordial friends. Commercial corporations have been always regarded by me with a cautious jealousy: the sanguinary effects of one, at least, is not to be obliterated from my mind, or from the mind of any man that is tinctured with the faintest colouring of humanity. I am not of an age, Sir, to have *heard* the speeches of Mr. Burke, on Indian delinquency, but I have *read* them; and when I did read them, it appeared as if an angel of light were opening the ponderous gates of the damned, to exhibit to my view all the exquisitely depraved torments of the arch fiend, with the miserable wrecks of victims on whom they had been exercised. I am, indeed, no advocate for Indian domination; but I should be happy to have my mind set at rest on the question of foreign commerce.——I am, &c. —W. F. S.—*Lincoln's Inn, Nov.* 23, 1807.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

BRITISH COMMERCE.—*Official Letter from the French Consul at Bremen, to his Excellency the Burgomaster, President of the Senate of that City.—Dated Bremen, October* 26, 1807.

Sir,—I hasten to inform you, that it is the intention of his Majesty the Emperor and King, that all navigation on the Weser be prohibited; it is his Majesty's desire that all vessels, even French, entering the Weser, be stopped, provided they are wholly or partly laden with colonial produce, or any other goods of whatever kind, that England can furnish. The goods are to be put under sequestration, and taken in charge until farther orders.—Vessels loaded solely with merchandize, which it is possible England cannot furnish, such as pitch, tar, iron, copper, and French wines, are to be exempted from seizure; and all vessels are to be prevented from leaving the Weser.—I am finally ordered to take the most efficacious measures that the intentions of his Majesty be strictly and immediately fulfilled. I hasten to warn you thereof, that you may immediately inform the merchants of this city, in order that they may avoid the inevitable loss to which they will be exposed, if they attempt to render ineffectual the measures taken for the rigid and prompt execution of the orders of my sovereign.—— I am, &c. LAGAU.

SPAIN.—*Decree issued by the King of Spain from the Palace of San Lorenzo, and addressed to the Governor of the Council ad interim. Oct.* 30th 1807.

C. R.—God, who watches over his creatures, does not permit the consummation of atrocious deeds, when the intended victims are innocent.—Thus his omnipotence has saved me from the most unheard of catastrophe.—My people, my subjects, all know my Christianity and settled habits. They all love me, and I receive from all of them proofs of their veneration—such as the conduct of a parent calls for from his children.—I lived persuaded of this felicity, and devoted to the repose of my family, when an unknown hand discovered the most atrocious and unheard of conspiracy, which was carried on in my own Palace, against my person.—My life, which has so often been in danger, was too long, in the eyes of *my successor*, who, infatuated by prejudice, and alienated from every principle of christianity that my paternal care and love had taught him, had entered into a project to dethrone me. Informed of this, I thought proper to inquire personally into the truth of the fact, and surprising *him* in *my* room, I found in his possession the cypher of his correspondence, and of the instructions he had received from the vile conspirators.—In consequence of this discovery, I immediately convoked the Governor and Council, in order that they might make the necessary inquiries; and the result has been the detection of several malefactors, whose imprisonment I have ordered; as also the arrest of my son at his residence. This is an additional aggravation of the affliction I labour under; but however painful to my feelings, it must be submitted to, as it is of the utmost importance to the suppression of such a conspiracy. At the same time that I direct the publication of this affair to my subjects, I cannot avoid expressing to them the regret by which I am agitated; but that regret will be alleviated by the demonstrations of their

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loyalty. You will take the proper measures to have this Decree circulated in due form. —CHARLES R.——By command of His Majesty, I transmit this Decree to your Excellency, in order that it may be duly promulgated. Signed by the Ministers, and addressed to all Viceroys, &c. &c.

AMERICAN COMMERCE.—*Copy of the Circular Letter addressed by the Consul of the United States, at Hamburgh, to the Masters of American Ships, bound to that Port: dated Hamburgh, Nov. 4, 1807.*

At the request of the merchants here, dealing with the United States, I have issued the annexed Circular Instructions to the masters of such of our ships as may be bound to this city, and have also sent over to Heligoland an agent, who will remain their for some months, in order to communicate such further information as I find it expedient to convey to our countrymen passing that island. You, Sir, will make such use of these circumstances as the interest of our commerce may point out to your known zeal and discretion.—I am, J. M. Forbes. W. Lyman, Esq. consul of the United States of America, &c. London.

To Masters of American Ships bound to Hamburgh.

In the present unprecedented crisis, such great and almost daily changes take place, and the measures of the belligerents, affecting commerce, are put into such immediate operation, that it is impossible for the most prudent, with the best intentions, to avoid the injuries which, on every side, lay in wait for fair neutral trade.—It is, therefore, by no means my intention to assume any control in the destination of your ships, but merely to state such facts as it is important you should know. In this measure my own opinion has been fortified by those of the most respectable merchants here in connection with my country, expressed to me in their written request.—The French Custom-house Officers, or Douaniers, without any official intimation to the Foreign Agents here, have, some time since, in virtue of an Imperial Decree, applied the commercial regulations and laws of France to the trade of this city, and without any exceptions, require certificates of origin, signed by the French Consul at the place of shipment, for all articles attempted to be introduced here. In addition to the inconveniences which the prompt and unexpected execution of this measure presented, within a few days, a new order of the French Emperor has interdicted, in the most rigid manner, the navigation of the Elbe and Weser, to all ships, whether going or coming; and in consequence of it the American ship Julius Henry, coming from Baltimore, has been seized, the cargo has been sequestered, the ship has been liberated, but without any freight, and must remain under an embargo, of which the term cannot be foreseen. Under this state of things, it must occur to every one, that it cannot promote the interests confided to you, to enter either of these rivers. Having stated thus much, I can only leave you to follow the dictates of your own prudence, assuring you, that I shall endeavour to send you new advices by the first of December, or sooner, if any favourable change takes place.——J. M. FORBES, Consul of the United States of America.

List of Articles permitted to be imported into Hamburgh, with Certificate of Origin, signed by the French Consul, at the place of Shipment:

Timber, masts, iron, copper, hemp, sail-cloth, or ravens-duck, flax, cordage, pitch, tar, wheat, rye, barley, oats, oatmeal, pease, beans, rice, flower, cheese, butter, wine, brandy, tallow, candles, salt, pot-ash, flax-seed, madder, turnip-seed, linseed oil, hemp-oil, whale and other fish oils, fish-glue, mats, horse-hair, hogs'-bristles saltpetre, yellow-wax, bed feathers, caviar, and honey. All other articles are, for the present, totally prohibited.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

BLOCKADE.——*Order of Council. From the Supplement to the London Gazette; dated Monday, November 16, 1807.—At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 11th of November, 1807; Present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

Concluded from p. 832.

And whereas countries, not engaged in the war, have acquiesced in these orders of France, prohibiting all trade in any articles the produce or manufacture of His Majesty's dominions; and the merchants of those countries have given countenance and effect to those prohibitions, by accepting from persons styling themselves commercial agents of the enemy, resident at neutral ports, certain documents, termed "certificates of origin," being certificates obtained at the ports of shipment, declaring that the articles of the cargoe are not of the produce or manufacture of His Majesty's dominions, or to that effect:—And whereas this expedient has been directed by France, and submitted to by such merchants, as part of the new system of warfare directed against the trade of this kingdom, and as the most effectual instrument of accomplishing the same, and

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it is therefore essentially necessary to resist it: His Majesty is therefore pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that if any vessel, after reasonable time shall have been afforded for receiving notice of this His Majesty's order at the port or place from which such vessel shall have cleared out, shall be found carrying any such certificate or document as aforesaid, or any document referring to, or authenticating the same, such vessel shall be adjudged lawful prize to the captor, together with the goods laden therein, belonging to the person or persons by whom, or on whose behalf, any such document was put on board.—And the right hon. the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the Judges of the High Court of Admiralty and Courts of Vice-Admiralty, are to take the necessary measures herein, as to them shall respectively appertain.——W. Fawkener.

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 11th of November, 1807, present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas articles of the growth and manufacture of foreign countries cannot by law be imported into this country, except in British ships, or in ships belonging to the countries of which such articles are the growth and manufacture, without an order in council, specially authorising the same: —His Majesty, taking into consideration the order of this day's date, respecting the trade to be carried on to and from the ports of the enemy, and deeming it expedient that any vessel belonging to any country in alliance, or at amity with His Majesty, may be permitted to import into this country articles of the produce or manufacture of countries at war with His Majesty:— His Majesty, by and with the advice of his privy-council, is therefore pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all goods, wares, or merchandizes, specified and included in the schedule of an act, passed in the 43 year of His present Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act to repeal the Duties of Customs payable in Great Britain, and to grant other duties in lieu thereof," may be imported from any port or place belonging to any state not at amity with His Majesty, in ships belonging to any state at amity with His Majesty, subject to the payment of such duties, and liable to such drawbacks, as are now established by law upon the importation of the said goods, wares, or merchandize, in ships navigated according to law; and with respect to such of the said goods, wares, or merchandize, as are authorised to be warehoused under the provisions of an act, passed in the 43d year of his present Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act for permitting certain goods imported into Great Britain, to be secured in warehouses, without payment of duty," subject to all the regulations of the said last-mentioned act; and with respect to all articles which are prohibited by law from being imported into this country, it is ordered, that the same shall be reported for exportation to any country in amity or alliance with His Majesty.—And His Majesty is further pleased, by and with the advice of his privy-council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all vessels which shall arrive at any port of the United Kingdom, or at the port of Gibraltar or Malta, in consequence of having been warned pursuant to the aforesaid order, or in consequence of receiving information, in any other manner, of the said order, subsequent to their having taken on board any part of their cargoes, whether previous or subsequent to their sailing, shall be permitted to report their cargoes for exportation, and shall be allowed to proceed upon their voyages to their original ports of destination, (if not unlawful before the issuing of the said order), or to any port at amity with His Majesty, upon receiving a certificate from the collector or comptroller of the customs at the port at which they shall so enter, (which certificate the said collectors and comptrollers of the customs are hereby authorised and required to give,) setting forth that such vessels came into such port in consequence of being so warned, or of receiving such information as aforesaid; and that they were permitted to sail from such port under the regulations which His Majesty has been pleased to establish in respect to such vessels. But in case any vessel so arriving shall prefer to import her cargo, then such vessel shall be allowed to enter and import the same, upon such terms and conditions as the said cargo might have been imported upon, according to law, in case the said vessel had sailed after having received notice of the said order, and in conformity thereto.—And it is further ordered, that all vessels which shall arrive at any port of the United Kingdom, or at Gibraltar or Malta, in conformity and obedience to the said order, shall be allowed, in respect to all articles which may be on board the same, except sugar, coffee, wine, brandy, snuff, and tobacco, to clear out to any port whatever, to be specified in such clearance; and, with respect to the last-mentioned articles,

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to export the same to such ports, and under such conditions and regulations only, as His Majesty, by any license to be granted for that purpose, may direct.—And the right hon. the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the Judges of the High Court of Admiralty and Courts of Vice-Admiralty, are to take the necessary measures herein as to them shall respectively appertain.——W. FAWKENER.

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 11th of November, 1807, present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas the sale of ships by a belligerent to a neutral is considered by France to be illegal—And whereas, a great part of the shipping of France and her allies has been protected from capture, during the present hostilities, by transfers, or pretended transfers, to neutrals—And whereas, it is fully justifiable to adopt the same rule, in this respect, towards the enemy, which is applied by the enemy to this country—His Majesty is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy-council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that in future the sale to a neutral of any vessel belonging to His Majesty's enemies, shall not be deemed to be legal, nor in any manner to transfer the property, nor to alter the character of such vessel: and all vessels now belonging, or which shall hereafter belong, to any enemy of His Majesty, notwithstanding any sale, or pretended sale, to a neutral, after a reasonable time shall have elapsed for receiving information of this His Majesty's order at the place where such sale, or pretended sale, was effected, shall be captured and brought in, and shall be adjudged as lawful prize to the captors.—And the right hon. the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the Judges of the High Court of Admiralty and Courts of Vice-Admiralty, are to take the necessary measures herein as to them shall respectively appertain.——W. FAWKENER.

Explanation of the above Order in Council.—dated City of London Tavern, Saturday, Nov. 21, 1807.

A Special Meeting of the Committee of American Merchants, was held here this day, PHILIP SANSON, Esq. in the Chair, when the Chairman made the following Report from the Sub-Committee appointed to attend the Board of Trade on the Subject of the recent Orders in Council.— 1. That American vessels cannot sail in any instance direct from the ports of the United States to any port of the Enemy, in Europe.—2. American vessels may proceed from the ports of the United States to the ports of the Colonies belonging to the Enemy, and direct back to the ports of the United States.— 3. the Order does not prohibit them from going direct from the ports of his Kingdom to the colonial ports in the West-India Islands belonging to the Enemy; and it is not intended to prevent them from proceeding from this Kingdom with colonial produce to the Enemy's ports, whenever Parliament shall have decided on the duties to be imposed on such Exportation.— 4. American vessels may continue to trade from the ports of this Kingdom to the ports of the Enemy, and from the ports of the Enemy to this Kingdom, and from the ports of his Majesty's Allies to the Enemy's ports, but not from the Enemy's ports to the ports of his Majesty's Allies direct, nor from America to the ports of his Majesty's Allies, with colonial produce.— 5. There is reason to believe that an Order in Council will issue, regulating the periods at which notice shall be considered to have been received of the Orders in council, of the 11th instant, in the United States of America: by which regulation, vessels that shall have cleared, or shall clear out from any port in America, before the 20th of January next, shall be considered to have cleared out before notice of the Order; and vessels, which shall clear out between the 20th of January and the 10th of February, will be liable to be detained, subject to the Question, whether they had begun to be laden before notice had arrived at the port from whence they sailed. From the 10th of February, all American vessels will be considered as having begun to lade after notice, and will thereby be subject to provisions of the aforesaid Order.— 6. Certificates of Origin which may be on board vessels which shall have sailed previous to the notice of this Order at the port from whence they sailed, will not be required to be delivered up.— 7. There is also reason to believe that no Duty is intended to be laid on the re-exportation of any articles which are the produce of the Soil of Neutral Nations, with the exception of Cotton; and that the trade between this Country and the ports of the Enemy's colonies by Neutrals, will be regulated by licence, and confined to the export of British manufactures, until the meeting of Parliament: and that the trade between this Country by Neutrals, with the colonies of the Enemy in the West Indies and South America, will be placed on the same footing. —JOHN GRAY, Secretary.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. XII. No. 23.] LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1807. [Price 10d.

"The wealth of climes, where savage nations roam,
"Pillag'd from slaves to purchase slaves at home."—Goldsmith.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

"Perish Commerce" (continued from p. 851.)——Upon this subject several letters have been addressed to me, as will have been perceived by those who have read the four last numbers of the Register, the present included. Of these letters, one, signed Wroc, will be found at page 760; another, signed W. F. S. at page 853; and three in the present sheet, under the different signatures of A. B. and C. To answer the arguments and objections of several writers at the same time, some of them naturally using, in different words, the same arguments, must, as the reader will perceive, be, upon almost any subject, a work of no little difficulty, especially when it is considered, that, in their arrangement, scarcely any two will be found to have chosen the same order. Nevertheless, such is my opinion of the importance of the subject, which I have assisted in bringing before the public, that I think it a duty which I owe to my readers, to endeavour to remove all the objections, which these several writers have urged, and all the doubts which they have started, against what has been written by Mr. Spence and myself relating to the commerce of England, that is to say, its *trading connections and intercourse with foreign nations.*——These objections appear to me to be all included under the following heads: that is to say, I. respecting the time, at which we have chosen to promulgate our opinions; II. respecting the invidious distinctions said to have been made by us between persons employed in agriculture and persons employed in manufactures and commerce; III. respecting the relative importance, or value, of agriculture and manufactures; IV. respecting the basis of Mr. Spence's doctrine, to wit, that agriculture is the real and only source of all national wealth; V. respecting the wealth which the nation derives from commerce; VI. respecting the injury which would arise to the nation from a cessation of its commerce, especially as a numerous class of persons, who are engaged in manufacturing for exportation, would, by such cessation, be thrown out of employment; VII. respecting the effects upon the navy; VIII. respecting the necessity of luxury; IX. respecting the effects of commerce upon the civil and political liberties of England. —— "Here," the reader will say, "is a table "of contents to a folio volume;" and, were I, indeed, gifted with the amplifying powers of Pitt or lord Welleslev, I should not despair of spinning ten folio volumes out of such materials, the only difficulty to be apprehended, in such case, being, where to look for readers of sufficient means to purchase my work (not having, like them, a king's printer to resort to), and of sufficient leisure and patience to sift the two grains of wheat from the bushel of chaff. ——The 1st objection, that is to say, *respecting the time, at which we have chosen to promulgate these opinions relative to commerce,* is one which I should not have expected to hear from any body; yet, B, in the first paragraph of his letter, says, that "to promulgate that Britain is indepen- "dent of commerce, at this time, when "our commerce is attacked by Buonaparté, "must be of a pernicious tendency." He has not, indeed, made even an attempt to prove this by any sort of argument; and he has totally overlooked, it seems, that Mr Spence had given at large his reasons, why such a promulgation must be greatly advantageous instead of pernicious. I had added other reasons to those of Mr. Spence; and, therefore, I was not a little surprized to see a writer of some talent enter upon the dispute with a bare assertion opposed to conclusions founded upon argument, without even deigning to notice the argument. As to the point itself, it must, I think, be pretty evident to every man, that it can do no harm to promulgate opinions, tending to convince the enemy, if they have any effect at all, that what he is doing with an intention of doing us injury, will not injure us; that, if he were to succeed in annihilating our commerce, he would not have made one inch of progress in the way of subjugating our country. Suppose him to find, by experience, that he is in a fair way of accomplishing his object of destroying our commerce, and suppose him to know that we

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look upon such destruction as ruinous to our power; will not his terms of peace be made accordingly? Will he not treat with us as with a town besieged, which, sooner or later, must yield? Will not the peace be what the peace of Amiens was, a capitulation? And will it not be a capitulation upon still harder terms? But, if, on the contrary, the enemy be convinced, or, if he find that we be convinced, that his war against our commerce, though it may produce partial individual distress, will, in the end render our country more powerful against her enemies and more prosperous at home; will he not be inclined to listen to terms of peace such as a powerful nation has a right to propose? Such as a nation that fears him not, and that has no reason to fear him, ought alone to submit to? The French politicians say, that we derive from the East-Indies the means of subsidizing the kings and princes of Europe; that is to say, the means of carrying on war against France upon the Continent; and, they are not much to blame for saying so, seeing that we ourselves have taught them the creed. But, if Mr. Spence and I have proved, as I think we have, that we derive no national wealth from the East Indies; that our means of carrying on war, of granting subsidies, and the like, are all derived from our land and our labour; then the French politicians will entertain no hope of conquering us by the destruction of our Indian domination; and we shall entertain no fear upon the subject. The East India Company, with their locust-like swarm of unfledged nabobs, may, indeed, derive little consolation from the conviction that England would be happier and more powerful without commerce than with it; but, it certainly will not be so with the nation at large, which must derive satisfaction at being convinced, that the means, by which the enemy is endeavouring to bring us to his feet, will do us good instead of harm, will raise us instead of sinking us. Either our opinions will be adopted, or they will not. If the latter, then they will do no harm, and the time of their promulgation is of no consequence: if the former, then, they will tend to abate the hopes, which our enemy entertains from his present attacks upon our commerce, and also to abate our fears upon that score; and, therefore, this time is better than any other, at which to promulgate such opinions. This is so obviously true, that I cannot help thinking, that my correspondent B. whose letter will be found below, must have a feeling here of a private nature; that, like the East India Company, he must perceive, that, though the destruction of commerce might be a good to the nation, it would infallibly be what he would think ruin to himself. As if he had said, "What! "would you, at this time, when Buonaparté is attacking our commerce; would "you avail yourselves of this favourable "time, to convince the people that our profitable trade is injurious to them?" I cannot say, that I much blame him. It is perfectly natural for every man to think of himself; but, being myself convinced of the truth of the opinions promulgated by me, it behoves me to point out the probable motives which lead to the opposing of those opinions.——The IInd. objection, namely, *that we have drawn invidious distinctions between persons employed in agriculture and those employed in manufactures and commerce*, is not founded in fact. My correspondent A, whose letter will be found below, says, "you will not deny, that the la-"bourer of the plough and the loom are "brethren of the same family." When have I said any thing, whence such a denial could be inferred? When have I attempted to ascribe exclusive merit to persons employed in agriculture? When have I said, or insinuated, that persons employed in arts, manufactures and commerce were less to be esteemed? There are, indeed, certain descriptions of men, who have grown out of commerce as weeds grow out of a rank soil, of whom I have spoken with every mark of disrespect; but, this has been, because, from their *public* acts, it was manifest, that they were actuated by motives hostile to the happiness and honour of the country; and, in other cases, because their prosperity as necessarily implied the decline and the approaching fall of the country, as the prosperity of the fox implies the destruction of the sheep. When I reflect, I cannot say that I blame the fox; but, I would get rid of him if I could; and, in the meanwhile, it is not reasonable to expect me to speak of him in those terms, wherein I speak of the sheep. Let us suppose two men, Tom and DICK, both in the same circumstances, and each having a son. Tom destines his to follow the plough, as his fathers have done before him; but, Dick, hearing that fortunes are made in India, without care, labour, talents, or virtue of any sort, packs off his son to Bengal. Now, it is impossible for me not to speak of Tom with more respect than I do of Dick; and, it is equally impossible for me to like the son of Dick, with all his wealth, half so well as I do the son of Tom; especially when I reflect, that the latter, by his labour, or care, or talents, has

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contributed towards the real wealth of the nation, while the former has been doing nothing but enriching himself out of the labour of others, those others, too, being his own countrymen, and, amongst the rest the son of Tom, who, all the while, has perceived nothing of the operation, by which a part of his earnings have been converted into parks and coaches for his old playmate.——These distinctions I cannot help making. They are naturally made in the mind of every man; and, if I am at all singular, in this respect, the singularity consists in this, that, while, from various causes, others do not utter their sentiments, I freely utter mine. But, never have I, upon any occasion, claimed exclusive merit for those who are employed in the cultivation of land, knowing, as I do, that they form not one fourth part of the nation, and knowing also, that their occupation is not less necessary than the occupations of others; that the coat is as necessary to me as the loaf, and that, once out of a state of mere nature, the weaver is as useful as the cultivator of the land.——As to Mr Spence, he has expressed himself very explicitly upon this point. "Let it not be "imagined," says he, "from any thing "which has been observed, that it is meant "to be inferred, that the character of a "merchant, individually considered, is not "as estimable and as honourable as of any "other member of society. Though it is "the farmer who brings into existence all "wealth, and the land proprietor who dispenses the greatest share of it; yet, as the "views of both are private advantage, not "the public good, neither the one nor the "other, is on this score entitled to any merit. Self interest is the impulse which "directs the industry of every branch of "the community, and, in general, honest "obedience to this guide, will most effectually promote the advantage of society."——One of my correspondents, remonstrated with me, some time ago, as with *a farmer*; it may, therefore, be of use to observe here, that I am not one; that, in all likelihood, I never shall be one; and, that, of course, I am perfectly disinterested upon that score.——The IIIrd. objection, that is to say, *respecting the relative importance of the value, in a national point of view, of agriculture and manufactures*, seems to me to have originated in a misconception of what has been said by myself, and by the author from whom I have, in former articles upon this subject, so liberally quoted.——My correspondent A. asks, in his 4th paragraph: "Will any rational inquirer say, that riches, "greatness, and happiness depend upon "agriculture only? Would agriculture have "made such a place as Manchester? Will "you again assert, that taxes are the fruit of "land and labour? Is there no fruit, or revenue, raised from the manufacture of "cotton?" My correspondent B. says, in his 2d paragraph, that "agriculture itself is "only a species of manufacture; that the "manufacture of the spade and the plough "must even precede agriculture; that nothing is more absurd, than to give one "species of manufacture a preference before another; that it is evidently more "advantageous to society to employ part of "the people exclusively in manufactures." In his 3d paragraph, he says, that "tools "are as necessary to the husbandman as "bread to the smith." In his 5th paragraph he says, "that did we exercise every other "species of manufacture, the total loss of "agriculture would be of little consequence." This last proposition is so monstrous, that I cannot bring myself to give it a serious answer; and, shall only bestow a remark or two upon the examples, quoted by B. of the Syrians, who lived in plenty upon a barren rock, and the Italians, who, if Smollet may be believed (which is not always the case), were starving amidst fields, which, to produce plentiful crops, required merely to be *scratched*. B. need not have gone to Tyre; he might have stopped at Gibraltar, where, upon a rock of sand stone, the people live in great abundance and even luxury, through the medium of commerce. But, is it commerce that *creates* what they live upon? No: it is the land and the labour of England. Some of their provisions go directly from England and Ireland in kind; others are brought from the states of Barbary, purchased there with the amount of goods made by persons who have lived upon food raised here; and, if these persons had been employed in raising food to send to Gibraltar, instead of making goods to send to Barbary, the only difference would have been, that we should have had here so many more agriculturalists and so many less manufacturers, which, as the former would have been a more hale and stout sort of men than the latter, and also less exposed to those vices, which the congregating of men never fails to produce, would have been a desirable thing, would have rendered the nation better and more powerful than it now is.——Now, to take the other propositions in their due order; when have I said, that all riches and greatness and happiness depend *solely* upon agriculture? Nowhere. I have only said, that agriculture is the only *source* of national wealth; and, I think, it is pretty

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evident, that, if we had *nothing to eat*, we should soon have nothing else, in this world, at any rate.——No, agriculture, *alone*, would not have made such a place as Manchester; but, supposing such a place to be a national good (which, however, I deny), it could not have been made, unless people had first *eaten*.——I do say "again," that taxes are the fruit of the land and labour of the nation But, did any one, except A, imagine, that I meant agricultural labour only? I never said so; and, the coupling of the land along with the labour as a source of revenue arose from this circumstance, that the land, of itself, without any labour at all, produces many things for the subsistence of man.——There certainly is fruit, or revenue, arising from the manufacture of cotton; but, this is answered in the preceding sentence.——As to B's saying, that the manufacture of the spade and the plough must precede agriculture, I may say, that the smith *must eat*; before he can make the spade and the plough. But, indeed, this is mere trifling; and I have given no provocation for any of these rather petulant remarks; for, I have no where given a preference to one species of labour over another; nothing so absurd ever fell from my pen, as that a part of the people ought not to be exclusively employed in manufactures; nothing so intolerably foolish, as that tools and cloths and houses were not as necessary to the husbandman as bread to the smith and the weaver and the carpenter. Nothing was ever said by me, that could have been tortured into such a meaning. The object contended for by me, was, that we stood in no need of *commerce*; and, special care has always been taken to define what I mean by that word, namely, a trade with foreign nations; and, in order to make this position clear, it was necessary to show, that our resources were within ourselves, and, in order to do that, it was necessary to trace back every species of wealth to this land, which we inhabit, and which will lose none of its qualities by the loss of commerce.——But, B, after having insisted upon what nobody denied, that manufactures and agriculture were necessary to each other, drops down upon us, all at once, with these propositions, to wit: "the relations between nations and individuals are "the same: the more extensive the exchange the greater the advantage." I should not deny the sequel, perhaps, if confined to individuals; but, I flatly deny the first proposition, opposed to which, as con[illegible] the previous undeniable asser[illegible] sentence and word, that [illegible] Mr. Spence, and that I myself have written upon the subject. Therefore, previous to the making, in answer to us, of assertions like those last quoted, B. should have made an attempt, at least, to refute our doctrine, and which attempt he has not made. The exchange between individuals is absolutely necessary to their existence; for the farmer *must* have cloths and tools and buildings, or he ceases to farm, and to live. But, is there this absolute necessity with respect to wine, tobacco, coffee, sugar, cotton, brandy, or any other thing, which we import? It is evident, that there is not; and, that, therefore, the relations between individuals and nations are *not* the same.——What B. says, in his 6th paragraph, except as far as relates to the navy, requires no answer, consisting, as it does, of mere assertions, unsupported by any shew of argument, and which assertions, if our reasoning be sound, are, of course, erroneous. I am of opinion, that, greatly to diminish our commerce, would give new life to useful industry and would cause many to labour who now live in idleness; that it must tend to elevate agriculture and every species of useful manufacture; and that it would exalt human nature itself, by banishing from amongst us a part, at least, of that effeminacy, and of those corruptions, which now issue from the metropolis and other trading places, as from another Pandora's box, to vitiate the country. These my opinions, if unsupported by reasons, are full as good as B's assertions; but, I have given my reasons, and of those reasons he has not attempted to show the erroneousness.——We now come to the IVth objection, to wit; *respecting the basis of Mr. Spence's doctrine, that agriculture is the real and only source of national wealth.* This was attacked by my correspondent, WROC, whose letter will be found in page, 760. He has been answered, as to this point by my correspondent C, whose letter is contained in the present sheet, where, in the 1st and 2nd paragraph, I think, the reader will find quite enough to satisfy him upon this part of the subject.——V. *Respecting the wealth which a nation derives from foreign commerce.*——But C, who clearly enough perceives and shows, that, in the making of the coach to *be used by the land-owner* (See Mr. Spence, in Register, page 709), no *creation* of wealth would take place, yet imagines, and endeavours to prove, in his 3d, 4th, and 5th paragraphs, that, if *exported* by C. (who supposes himself a merchant for the purpose), and producing a profit to him, in consequence of his bringing back tea, sugar, and wine in exchange, a creation of national wealth would take place.

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The case supposed is this. There is no coin nor any other representative of valuable things in the country. All is done by barter. The *Coachmaker* makes a coach for the *Landowner*, and receives 60 quarters of wheat for it. He barters another for 60 quarters to the *Merchant*, who sends it abroad and barters it for 80 quarters; and, bringing home the proceeds in wine (let us take only one article for the sake of clearness), is, of course, the richer for the operation. But, is this the case with the nation? Has its wealth been increased? C, the merchant, says, that it has; because there are clearly 20 quarters, in property of some sort, no matter what, *brought into the country*, 10 of which he expends, and 10 he has in clear profits to lay out upon objects of permanent national wealth. Observe, that it has required 10 quarters to keep himself, family, mariners, and so forth; but, he has still his ten quarters in clear profit, and thus, he says, he has caused, by his mercantile transactions, an *addition* to the *national* wealth to that amount. But, has he not stopped rather too soon in his researches? *From whom* does this profit come? Suppose he barters his wine with the *Landowner*, does not the Landowner give him the profit? And, that which he gains does not the *Landowner* lose just the same as in the case of the *Coachmaker* and the *Landowner*? Yes, just the same, with this exception, that the Landowner gets from him a perishable, not to say pernicious commodity, instead of a commodity, which, though not contributing much to national strength, is not nearly so perishable.—— But, says C., the merchant, I have clearly effected a creation of national wealth, because the Landowner would have given 80 quarters to any foreigner for the wine. Very well, but what would that foreigner do? Why, take away a coach to the amount of 80 quarters, leaving, in the former proportion, a profit of something more than 13 quarters to the Coachmaker, and carrying the rest away. Well, then, says the merchant, those seventeen quarters, after keeping himself and family and paying his mercantile expences, will go to the making of houses and other objects of national wealth in his country, instead of remaining here, in my hands, to make an addition to the wealth of this. Yes, Sir, but what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. You would do the same with respect to his country. What one country got the other would lose. That you and your brother merchant would grow rich by this traffic, that your profits, drawn from the Landowner, would put you upon a level with him, enable you to vie with him, and even surpass him, in riches and, in time, with the aid of taxation, make you the owner of his estate, I allow. Whether this be a good or an evil shall hereafter be discussed; but, I think, it must be evident, that neither of you can, by any of your operations, produce, in a country, whose soil affords a sufficiency of subsistence, any *addition* to the national wealth, seeing that whatever you gain, the Landowner (to keep up the illustration we started with) must lose.——B. says, in his 6th paragraph, that nations cannot *now* be powerful without riches. I do not very well comprehend the object of this remark; and, it appears to me to have been useless, until it was shown, that our doctrine, respecting national wealth, was not sound. Nations *never* could be powerful without riches; but, power is a relative quality; and we contend, that commerce does not add to our national riches.—— "What great sums," exclaims A. in his 4th paragraph, "have "been *raised* from the market of America "and Africa! And who will say, that the "foreign consumer does not contribute to "our taxes." I have shown, page 821 and 822 of the present volume, that it is but a trifle comparatively speaking, that is raised, upon the whole, through the custom house, and that that is raised upon ourselves. To make this matter a little plainer, suppose woollen cloth to the amount of a hundred pounds, prime cost, to be exported to America, and a return to be made in tobacco. The exporter gets, for his hundred pounds worth of cloth, as much tobacco as he sells in England for three hundred pounds; but, of this three hundred, one hundred and eighty is paid at the custom house in duty. And do not we, who consume the tobacco pay, in the end, the whole of the three hundred pounds? This is a pretty way of making foreigners contribute to our taxes! This is the way of "raising taxes from the American market," and this answer will, I hope, serve for all the rest. But, A will say, perhaps, that he does not mean woollens, which are not taxed here, but *cottons*, which are taxed here, and which are exported, after they have paid the tax in England. This would be a very ingenious way of raising taxes upon foreigners; but, besides, that, if carried to any length, competition must very soon render it abortive, the exporter must bring back goods surpassing in amount the cottons exported, which goods are taxed at the custom-house; so that, in the end, we pay all the taxes imposed, upon the exported as well as the imported goods.——The VI.

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objection, which is suggested by W. F. S. in page 855, *relates to the throwing out of employment, a great number of persons, who now find employment through the means of commerce.* An answer to this objection will, I think, be found, in the preceding number of the Register, from page 835 to page 839 inclusive; and, I am not without some hope, that, if W. F. S. had read those pages (indeed he could not, for they appeared in the same sheet with his excellent letter), he would have been nearly satisfied upon this point. But, there is one error of his, which I am certain he will thank me for correcting, and the correcting of which will, I am disposed to think, remove all his apprehensions upon this score. He thinks it probable, that the number of persons, thrown out of employment by a stoppage to all export of manufactures, would be *four or five millions*, and that all these would be added to the present lamentable list of mendicants. Were this the case; were there any such probability, I should not, I hope, ever have uttered, with satisfaction, the words "perish commerce!" The fact is this, that of the 10,942,646 persons of which the population of Great Britain consists, there are only 2,136,726, employed in *trade, manufactures*, and *handicraft*, including observe, not only the actual workers, but their *wives and children also.* Now, then, go into any village or town, look about you, see how many persons there are employed as smiths, carpenters, bricklayers, masons, tailors, shoemakers, wheel-wrights, mill-wrights, and so forth; then deduct these, together with all the persons employed *in trade for home consumption*; do this, and you will find, that the population employed in manufactures for exportation is a mere trifle compared with the whole population. Observe, that all the grocers, all the linen and woollen drapers, all the *shop keepers*, in short of every description are included. I could *prove* this from the returns given of twenty inland towns and villages that I am intimately acquainted with. The population of the village of Botley, for instance, is stated at a total of 614, and the number of persons chiefly employed in trade, manufactures and handicraft is stated at 420, when there is not one man, woman, or child employed in any thing relating to manufactures, nor to foreign trade, except, perhaps, about a dozen men, who make, in the coppice-cutting season, hoops for the West Indies, there to be used in making sugar and rum casks. This is a strong instance to be sure; but, in looking at the returns of all the villages that I am well acquainted with, there are many persons put down under the head above-mentioned, though in scarcely any one of these villages is there a single person whose employment arises from commerce, by which I always mean, trade with foreign nations. I have made an average of ten villages and two towns of this description, and, I find, that the numbers, thus returned, make a *sixth* part of their *whole population.* Supposing this to be the case all over the kingdom; and, I dare say it is, for it is the invariable custom to call shop-keepers *tradespeople*, the fact will appear to be, that, out of a population of nearly eleven millions, there are not above 1,400,000, including the wives and children, employed in *manufactures* and *merchandize*; subtract from these five sevenths, at least, employed in *manufacturing for home consumption*, and there are, including merchants and their wives and children, 400,000 persons subsisting through the medium of *commerce*, instead of the *four or five millions*, supposed by W. F. S. so to be subsisting. Indeed, one has but to think for a moment to be convinced, that this must be the case; for, how numerous are our mutual wants; how vast this field of employment amongst ourselves; and, what could become of goods if *millions* were employed in making them to be put into ships? How seldom, comparatively speaking, do we see a manufactory, if we travel through the *whole* of England? The truth is, that manufacturers, like merchants, *congregate*, those who congregate always appear the most numerous, while those who estimate are too often, indeed almost always, guided by that appearance. We hear, too, of Sir Robert Peele with his thousands of spinners; of some other great manufacturer with his thousands; then we are told of Manchester and Birmingham; and then, totally forgetting home consumption, we cry out, "such is the effect of commerce, "and, if commerce go, all these persons are "starved." But, above all, we forget how long it is before thousands amount to millions, and how trifling every single description of persons is, compared to that mass which constitutes a nation.——Pitt, whose glory it was to extend our commerce, added more than 400,000 to the list of our paupers: but, I cannot cooly look forward to such an addition; and, I have endeavoured to shew, in the pages above referred to, that there would not, upon a general scale, be any considerable addition to the paupers, or, at least, to the poor-rates. Commerce can not go *all at once.* One branch would die at a time. Manufacturers would first *cease to increase*; those who were but in their be-

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ginning would turn from that employment to others; others would open almost as soon as the old ones were closed; and remember, that there are in the 400,000 more than 200,000 of children who have scarcely any employment, for all are included, down to the very cradle.—Is this not, then, a bug-bear? And is it not painful to hear men of real talents, like W. F. S., expressing alarm for the fate of a country like this at the prospect of a loss of her commerce! Let the hood-winked follower of the Pitts and the Roses suck in the deception, that it is commerce which maintains our fleets and our armies and pays the interest upon the enormous debt which prodigality and corruption have created; but, for the honour of human intellect, let not men of sound understanding and minds independent partake in the degrading belief, when the fact may, by any one, be ascertained, that, as I have once before stated, the barley of England, yields, in malt and in beer only, more, in the shape of taxes, to the national treasury, than all the commerce put together, and which commerce, were it annihilated, would, as has been clearly proved, leave the present means flowing from it, to flow through other channels, and that, too, unpolluted by the political corruptions now inseparable from them.——The VIIth objection, to wit, *respecting the injury which the country would sustain in the way of supporting its navy*, has been anticipated, and, I think that my correspondents A and WROC will, by this time, supposing them to have read the last number of the Register from p. 839 to [p. 846 inclusive, be nearly at their ease upon this score. There is, however, an idea of WROC, at the close of his letter (page 766), which I cannot refrain from noticing. Having laid it down as a maxim, that commerce is the nursery of the navy, he says, "if I even "thought, that, abstractedly considered, "manufactures and commerce were rather "*prejudicial* than of benefit to the country, "still should I think it wise to cultivate ra- "ther than check their growth, being firmly "convinced, that our naval greatness is inse- "parable from our commerce, and, conse- "quently, that commerce is of vital impor- "tance to the country." I have, at the pages referred to, shewn, that the supply of our navy does not at all depend upon that part of our mercantile marine which is employed in *commerce*, but, that our *home* trade, our *coasting*, and especially our *coal* trade is the nursery of seamen, not only for the navy, but, for the mercantile marine also, which latter, together with the convoys and ships stationed for the sole purpose of protecting commerce, cost the lives of many more seamen than are lost in the navy employed in the defence of the country or in attacking the enemy. But, upon a supposition that our coasting trade be not a sufficient nursery for the navy (a supposition which I make merely for the sake of the argument), and that commerce be prejudicial to the country, would it not be as well to nurse up seamen in ships employed for that express and sole purpose? A merchant ship of 500 tons does not contain more than about 17 seamen; but, such a ship of the same size fitted out as a *nursery* ship would very nearly contain two hundred seamen, whom, observe, you would always have at command. It would surely be as well to employ one ship in doing nothing, as ten ships in doing mischief. I am not proposing any such scheme as this; but, if commerce be *prejudicial* in other respects, and this is the case supposed by WROC, I say that this scheme would be much more rational than that of continuing commerce.——So wedded, however, are men to these opinions about commerce being the nursery of the navy, that my correspondent A. seems to think that even *wars*, when carried on for commerce, are a great blessing, because, as he supposes, they add to the strength of our navy. "Had commercial wars never "existed", says he, in his 4th paragraph, "we never should have had such a navy as "we now have." To which he might have added, that we should not have had any *occasion* for a navy one third part so large. At this moment all the ships employed upon the American station; in the West Indies; in South America; in the East Indies; at the Cape of Good Hope; at Gibraltar and in the whole of the Mediterranean; together with all the ships employed as convoys, or in waiting for that purpose; all these are devoted to commerce. They contribute not at all to the safety of the country; they cannot be employed to attack the enemy; they are just so much of national expence, without affording the nation any one benefit. If we had no commerce, or but little, what nation, who was foolish enough to be greatly commercial, would be able to withstand us for a moment? We maintained the DOMINION OF THE SEA when we had *no commerce*, and when our neighbours had much; and why should we not do the like again?——The VIIIth *objection relates to the necessity of luxury*; and W. F. S. in page 856, expresses his persuasion, that luxury is, in great states, an indispensable law. That it is so, there can be no doubt; for, when the land and labour has produced more food than is necessary to the subsistence of those

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who till the land, the superfluous food will naturally and necessarily be used in feeding some of them in making things for convenience; from convenience, the next step is neatness; from neatness and ornament men proceed to what may be called luxury. But, we are not to reckon as luxuries all those things which are not absolutely necessary to the preservation of life and health. Castles and churches and large houses are not luxuries, in the sense in which I use the word. Neither are fine horses and carriages. Neither are many other things which arise from the surplus food of the country. But, the evil of commerce, and of its inevitable accompanying financial operations, is that they assemble men together in large bodies, and shut them up in a narrow compass, in which state their taste and manners become effeminate.—— To expend the surplus produce of the earth is necessary; but, it does not follow, that it should be expended in effeminating luxuries. If, for instance, the two or three thousand quarters of corn, which have, this year, been eaten by the Italian singers and their retinue, had been eaten by men employed in the digging of clay, in the making of bricks, and in doing, in short, every thing appertaining to the making of buildings for the silly boobies who have been following those squeaking wretches from cathedral to cathedral, there would have been something produced in return for the corn; we should have something to shew for it; instead of having to reflect, that it had been totally annihilated. The men employed in the buildings would have been better men; and would have constituted part of the national strength; whereas the singers and their crew are not only useless themselves, but spread about at large their contagious effeminacy.——This misapplication of the surplus produce of the country proceeds from commerce; from that intimate connection and almost intermixture with foreign nations, which our extended commerce has produced, and, above all, from the assembling of men together in large bodies, which never fails to enervate the mind and to produce an effeminacy of taste and manners, not to mention the numerous vices, which now disgrace this country, in which, before the *reign* of commerce, they were scarcely known, or known only to be abhorred, though they now excite no particular abhorrence. In London and its vicinity there are, probably, half a million of persons, who are constantly employed in nothing but the *annihilation of the produce of the land*; and, in place of producing any object of national wealth in return for it, are themselves kept in such a state of effeminacy as to be of no more use in the way of national strength, than so many lap dogs. The surplus produce of the earth must be consumed, or it would cease to be raised; but, the question is, whether it be not better for the nation that it should be consumed by men than that it should be consumed by lap-dogs? whether men be not better than lap-dogs as the population of a state? whether the state be not stronger, better able to defend itself and to attack its enemies, with half a million of men than with half a million of lap-dogs? It is precisely in the same way, that a prodigality in the public expenditure operates against a nation. It creates idlers. It creates *annihilators of corn.* The surplus produce of the land is taken from those who labour, and given to others to maintain themselves without labour. If it were not so taken, it would go to the producing of something in its stead. There would be more, or better cloth; more, or better, houses; and these would be more generally distributed; while the growth of vice, which idleness always engenders and fosters, would be prevented. By the gripe of taxation, every grain of the surplus produce of the country is taken from the lowest class of those who labour; they have the means of *bare existence* left. Of course, their clothing and their dwellings become miserable, their food is bad, or in stinted quantity; that surplus produce which should go to the making of an addition to their meal, and to the creating of things for their use, is *annihilated* by those who do nothing but eat.—Suppose a community to consist of a farmer, four cottagers, a taylor, a shoemaker, a smith, a carpenter, and a mason, and that the land produces enough food for them all and no more. Suppose this little community to be seized with a design to imitate their betters, and to keep a sinecure placeman, giving him the tenth of their produce, which they formerly gave to the shoe-maker. The consequence would be, that poor Crispin would die, and they would go barefooted, with the consolation of reflecting that they had brought themselves into this state from the silly vanity of keeping an idle man.——But, suppose the land to yield enough food for all ten of them, and enough for two persons besides. They have this, then, besides what is absolutely necessary to supply their wants. They can spare one of their men from the field, and have, besides, food enough to keep him in some other situation. Now, which is best, to make him a second carpenter, who, in return for his food, would give them addition-

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al and permanent convenience and comfort in their dwellings; or to make him a sinecure placeman or a singer, in either of which capacities he would be a mere annihilator of corn, at the same time, that, in case of emergency, he would not be half so able to defend the community.——Suppose *two* of the cultivators become sinecure placemen, then you kill the carpenter or some one else, or, what is more likely, all the labouring part of the community, that is to say, all but the sinecure placemen, live more miserably, in dress, in dwellings, and in food. ——This reasoning applied to *tens*, applies equally well to *millions*, the causes and effects being, in the latter case, only a little more difficult to trace; and, therefore, though luxury be an inevitable law (if we mean by that word the possession or enjoyment of every thing beyond absolute necessaries), the existence of that sort of luxury, which arises from a misapplication of the surplus produce of a country, is an evil that admits of an effectual remedy; and, for the reasons, which I have before given, I am satisfied, that, with us, a remedy would be found in a great diminution of commerce, which has been, and is, the main moral and political corruption, of a wasteful expenditure of the public money, and, of course, of that system of taxation which is without an example in the annals of Enrope, and hardly surpassed under the Aumils of Hindostan.——The VIIIth objection, to wit, *respecting the effects of commerce upon the civil and political liberties of England*, I have not left myself room to answer, in a manner proportioned either to the importance of the matter (to which my *motto* applies), or to the respect which I wish to show my correspondent, W. F. S. who so urgently requests me to give him a convincing answer as to this point, and which answer, I shall, I flatter myself, be able to give him in my next.

Russia.——If the "magnanimous Alexander" had not declared war against us, I should have been greatly surprised.—We shall now see what these "no-popery" men are made of.——Will they resist the out-cries of commerce? Or will they make peace upon any terms, rather than risk their places?—— They are certainly in an "unsatisfactory state."——I had almost made a vow, that I never would see St. Stephen's again; but, curiosity will, I am afraid, take me up to have one more look at them.——It will be curious to hear them asserting, that we can do very well without commerce; for, to that thy must now come, or they must admit the necessity of peace, or, rather, of a capitulation; for, in this state of things, it cannot be a peace, in the usual sense of that word. But, it is no matter; war or peace, we have now, before it is over, to *change our character*; and the choice lies between real freedom at home, or subjugation from abroad. There will be a desperate struggle to prevent any change at all, but it must and will come.

Tythes.——In my next I will endeavour to give an answer to my correspondent, in page 851, upon this interesting subject, which answer, as well from respect to my correspondent as from my desire to see maintained all the just rights of the church, I shall render as satisfactory as I am able, regretting, however, that the task had not fallen into more capable hands.

Botley, 3 *Dec.* 1807.

A. ON "PERISH COMMERCE."

Sir,——I. As I have for a long time taken in your Register, which I have done for public information; and, as I conceive your reason for the publication is to inform every class of the community their political duties, and, what you consider to be for the public good; such a person as myself ought more particularly to benefit from its doctrines, since you mean to convey to the plainest understandings, public occurrences, public rights, and public reformation in the clearest and most convincing lights.——II. With this view of your patriotism, I venture to send you a letter, to ask, if your approbation of Mr. Spence's commercial pamphlet be not ironical, and done merely to exercise the humour and "funny" way of writing, your peculiar genius has adopted in your political lucubrations.—What I know of Mr. Spence's pamphlet is only from your quotation in your last Register, but the result stated, professed to be highly approved by you, is, that "*agriculture is the only source of wealth.*" This position is attempted to be proved by a supposed state of society, wherein the landholder, the farmer, and the manufacturer, in bartering their property and labour for coin, exclude the necessity of the circulating mediums of gold, silver, or paper. That our internal intercourse *might* be regulated by this theory, no one will deny; but, who will doubt, that our *riches*, *greatness*, and our *happiness*, would not be *diminished* by such adoption, confining it as *it* must be, only to an internal intercourse?——III. But if we are under a *necessity* of having foreign connections as commercial ones, the *visionary* fabric of Mr. Spence leaves not a "wreck" behind. I suppose he will not deny our navy is necessary for us, as a protecting bul-

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wark, and from whence is its numerous stores to be furnished? Its cordage, sails, and timber? Will a country not wanting your grain or agricultural produce, take it in barter? Or, must not *commercial* operations be adopted to procure those articles? Let commerce be extinguished and see from what source you will man your navy; who ever doubted but the mercantile shipping was the nursery for your seamen? These are a few of the many questions to be answered before Mr. Spence can expect the rational world to be his disciples; and until he can find out substitutes for these things, every one must admit the *necessity* of commerce. —IV. To continue. Will any rational inquirer, Mr. Cobbett, seriously say, that the "riches, greatness, and happiness" of a people depend upon agriculture *only*? Would agriculture ever have brought forward such a place as Manchester? Even you, Mr. Cobbett, I think will not again assert, that the taxes are the *fruit* of land or labour. Is there no *fruit* or revenue raised from the manufacture of cotton at Manchester, paid by the *foreign* consumer. What immense sums have been raised from the European, American, and African markets, from the manufactures of that single place alone! More instances are not necessary, but what article is there sent abroad that the *foreign* consumer does not contribute towards our revenue? If these be facts, the utility of commerce must be admitted, as well as its necessity, unless a sweeping clause comes in in the shape of commercial wars, which has been urged to overbalance commercial benefits. Is there no good from commercial wars? Is such a navy as we have, more than is necessary for our protection? Had commercial wars never existed, would the navy ever have arrived to its present magnitude, and, even in its present powerful state, is it too much to keep our enemies from our shores? Would you not have been a conquered people years ago, had you been confined merely to your "riches and greatness" arising from agriculture?——V. I am sure that Mr. Cobbett will not very readily determine that the "holders of the plough," and the "workers in the loom," are not brethren of the same family; and the habits of commerce, and the labours of manufactory have not materially contributed to the "riches, greatness, and happiness" of this country.——I beg to assure you that I am with high regard, Sir, yours, &c.——A.——*Nov.* 10, 1807.

B. ON "PERISH COMMERCE."

SIR,——I. In your Register of last week, you loudly praise a Mr. William Spence, who has published a pamphlet, endeavouring to prove that the wealth of Britain is independent of commerce, that no part of it is derived from manufactures, but the whole from agriculture. To promulgate such doctrines at such a period, when our commerce is attacked by a person who well knows its importance, must be of the most pernicious tendency if they are erroneous. At least you will agree with me, that the subject is one of the greatest importance, that our commerce is not hastily to be abandoned, and that as the opinions you profess are calculated for extensive influence they ought not to be adopted without due deliberation. These considerations, I hope your candour will admit as a sufficient apology, for my stating a few arguments in opposition to them.—II. In the first place then, I must contend that agriculture is itself only a species of manufactnre, which could not for a moment thrive, or even exist, without other manufactures. There are even some manufactures prior to agriculture; the spade and the plough must be made before the ground is tilled. Nothing can indeed be more absurd than to give one species of manufacture a pre-eminence over another. All human arts are linked and interwoven together; and the improvement of one always keeps pace with that of another. Suppose a certain number of persons to resolve to employ themselves in agriculture, or the manufacture of grain, these persons must either scratch the ground with their nails and go naked, or employ themselves occasionally in other arts. If we conceive them however to have the sagacity to discover, that by employing a certain part of their community exclusively in fabricating clothes, and the instruments of agriculture for the rest, they will derive the advantage of having these necessaries manufactured with greater expedition and skill, than by those who are engaged in different avocations; this will immediately lead us to the division of labour and exchange, which are the origin of commerce.——III. Commerce is merely a reciprocation of industry, by which one person gives that portion of the produce of his labour which he does not need, for the superfluity of another person. The cultivator of the ground exchanges with the artisan that quantity of grain which he may have raised more than necessary for the consumption of his own family, for the tools and clothes which he requires. Both are equally dependant upon each other. It is as impossible for the cultivator to do without the implements of agriculture, as for the artisan to

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continue his labour without a supply of food. —IV. The industry of the one is always limited by the demands of the other; or, in other words, by the extent of the market. The way to encourage the manufacture of any commodity is to consume it; because nothing is given on one side without an equivalent upon the other. Now, where human talents are not restrained by oppression, the wants of men soon increase, and a compact is formed between the followers of different arts to produce articles of convenience to be exchanged among each other. Industry and necessities increase together, desires and arts are multiplied in exact proportion, and enjoyments, luxury, and wealth, become united and extended. The relations between nations and individuals are the same. Commerce is, in all cases, merely to exchange the productions of industry; and the more extensive the exchange the greater the advantage.—V. So far from agriculture being the sole cause of wealth, it matters little though we did not till a field in Britain. It is industry alone which renders any nation opulent; and did we exercise every other species of manufacture excepting this, the loss of it would be of little importance. National wealth is independent of almost all local advantages; for those who possess commerce can command the productions of every climate and soil, and those who want it are poor in the otherwise most favourable circumstances. The Tyrians were rich on a barren rock, and Smollet informs us, that in his time the peasants of Italy were starving on fields which required only to be scratched to produce crops more than twofold superior to any in Europe, such is the importance of industry, and such are the magical charms of commerce.—VI. To deprive us of commerce, would be to deprive us of the arts, to extinguish industry, to debase agriculture and every species of manufacture, to degrade human nature, and reduce mankind again to the savage state. This is not, however, the age in which nations can be powerful without riches. Since the invention of gun-powder warfare has become an expensive employment; and, if naval power and independence are to be preserved, something more must be done than merely to till the ground. I fear much, Mr. Cobbett, were we to renounce our commerce, and exercise no art but agriculture, we would soon have Buonaparté to superintend our farms. This, however, I am sure you did not propose as the result of those speculations which I now oppose; and having already trespassed so long upon your time, I shall conclude by saying that, whatever I may think of some of your opinions, I believe them, in every case, to be dictated by a sincere regard for the interests of your country, and that your heart is truly English.—B.

Nov. 12, 1807.

C. ON "PERISH COMMERCE."

SIR;——I. The doctrine of Mr. Spence has been attacked by a correspondent under the name of WROC, in your Register of last week, only to darken the obscurity which formerly surrounded the subject This writer asks, "how happened it that Mr. Spence overlooked the consideration that the master and journeymen manufacturers, if they had not been employed in building the coach, must notwithstanding *have eaten*, and would, in point of fact, have consumed the same quantity of food?" I answer, if they had done so for *one* year, they would not have done it for *two*, for want of encouragement, the produce of the land would, very soon, be reduced, exhibiting in the appearance of the country, evident signs of decay, and the "drone" would soon be found to have starved. To have eaten without producing something in return, would have been attended with a *diminution* of the wealth of the country; as on the contrary, the conversion of the corn into the coach, by means of the manufacturer, cannot be called a *creation*, but a *transfer*. But this transfer is made from a perishable to a less perishable commodity; and like the produce of the labour of the builder, the carpenter, and the smith, certainly forms one of the objects, by the presence or absence of which the wealth and prosperity, or the poverty of a nation is ascertained.—II. The argument, drawn from Wroc's assumption of the population of a country consisting of 100,000 persons, partly employed in agriculture, and partly not so employed, is equally liable to objection; for, if on his supposition, the produce of the soil should be so much greater than the consumption of the inhabitants, as to enable them to export a part, it is evident that the specie or whatever else the return may consist of, is nothing other than a *direct transfer* from such corn, and what is gained in specie is lost in corn His two other arguments, from a deficiency of corn, and just as much of the necessary article as is sufficient for the maintenance of the population, require no answer after what has above been said.—III. Now, Mr. Cobbett, although these observations go entirely against Mr. Wroc, it does not follow, that I am perfectly satisfied with all that Mr. Spence has advanced with regard to the effect of commerce on the wealth of a

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country; and to convince him of the fallacy of his reasonings, I think I have only to place him in the coach, which he supposes the coach-maker has made for the land-owner, while I am permitted to drive one by his side, purchased by the merchant. The simple case will stand thus. While he rattles about town, and by the dash and elegance of his carriage, excites the curiosity of the stranger, who cries out, "what a country for wealth and luxury." I have mine packed up, and sent abroad, and sold to the best purchaser, giving directions that the dollars it produced should be applied in the purchase of teas, wines, sugars, &c. to be returned to me as soon as possible. Upon their arrival, I find I can dispose of them to the land proprietor for 80 quarters of corn, leaving in my possession 20 quarters after paying 60, the original cost of the coach. Ten of these I apply for the support of my family, and with the other 10 quarters, I build a house, or apply them to some other of those objects which constitute what is esteemed national wealth. The coach-maker finds his capital encreased 20 quarters by his profits on the making of 2 coaches, 10 of which he applies in the same manner as the merchant, to the support of his family, and the other 10 in houses, or in furniture. Can it be said, that the savings of our labour, applied in houses, &c. are less objects of wealth to a country, than similar houses, &c. erected by the land proprietor, from the produce of his land exceeding his expenses? True it is, that the manufacturer, without commerce, cannot be said to have created any wealth to the community; since, although the house which he built is his own, it might have been built by the land owner, if he had been so economical as to make his old carriage last another year. But the same cannot be said of the merchant. He buys from the manufacturer what only cost to the country 50 quarters in making, he returns to the country 80 quarters, or what is the same thing, articles for which we should pay 80 quarters of grain to a foreigner. It is, therefore, evident that 30 quarters is gained to the country, deducting such a quantity of food as is necessary to support himself and the manufacturer, which are not included in the first cost of 50 quarters. —IV. The fact is, Mr. Cobbett, in a country without commerce, the only use that the manufacturer can be of is, to convert the surplus produce of the land, after feeding the persons employed in the growing thereof into articles of necessity or luxury; and if by the effects of his industry, he should be able to get more into his possession than is requisite for his support, this has the same effect as if it remained in the hands of the land proprietor, as certainly the country would be neither richer nor poorer, to whichever of the two it belonged; and, therefore, it appears that in a country where there is no foreign commerce, agriculture alone, is the source of wealth; and that any additional value which the manufacturer may give to corn by converting it into other commodities is merely of a *relative* nature; and cannot be said to make a country more wealthy.—V. It is evident that the country must be most wealthy (or in the road to the greatest wealth if newly cultivated) which in the smallest extent, and with the fewest hands employed in agriculture, produces the greatest quantity of grain. In such a country, when fostered by a liberal government, the number of manufactures is encreased, the mechanic arts arrive at the greatest state of perfection; and the surplus produce of the land, is seen to rise in the elegance and conveniency of our houses, furniture, and apparel, when every field is a garden, and every country seat a palace; and when the common people are well clothed and fed. But the *relative* value before mentioned, becomes *real* value the moment commerce is introduced, for, according to the example of the coach before mentioned, the 50 quarters of grain is converted into 80; or, in other words the merchant and manufacturer acquire a property which they would never have possessed, nor the country reaped the advantage of, had it not been for this transaction. Manufacturers, therefore, are, unquestionably, the means of wealth in a country where foreign commerce exists. It may be stated, as an objection to this argument, that the intrinsic value of the articles imported, and given in exchange to the land proprietor for his 80 quarters of grain, does not exceed the 50 quarters originally expended in making the machine, but there can be no foundation for such an objection when we see that we certainly should have paid 80 quarters to any foreigner who brought the same articles for sale; and further—that the 30 quarters may be applied, as soon as it is received, in the buildings or ornaments which form the wealth of the country, without any one receiving the least injury from such application.—VI. Thus, Mr. Cobbett, it appears, that manufactures without commerce, cannot be said to constitute national wealth, but only to give the produce of agricultural industry a more permanent form—that foreign commerce promotes the wealth of a country

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through its manufacturers and merchants, who reap a profit, and add to that stock, which has always been considered a proof of prosperity.—VII. I purposely avoid mentioning the other advantages of commerce in the view of national security, from its affording employment for ships, and keeping up the necessary supplies for that navy, which is considered the safeguard of our independence and happiness. The *security* of nations, being different from their wealth, I shall not imitate Mr. Wroc in his patriotic conclusion, but reserve a word or two, with your permission, for some future opportunity, when I may furnish you with some reflections upon certain subjects, which you, yourself, have brought to the attention of the public. ——Meanwhile, I remain, your constant reader,—C.——*Nov.* 18, 1807.

IRISH TYTHES.

SIR;—I have seldom seen so much calm mistatement, and so large a portion of bad logic as pervades the whole of your observations upon the article which you have quoted from the Morning Chronicle respecting county meetings in Ireland, in your Register of the 14th instant.—You say "I admire the patriotism which the sage of the Morning Chronicle has discovered in the Irish Protestant gentlemen." Now the word patriotism, does not occur in the whole article, nor is the idea of it applied to the Irish Protestant gentlemen. If the words "liberality and good sense of the Protestant gentlemen of Ireland," were construed by you into patriotism, you were mistaken, these words were applied because the Irish Protestant gentlemen are with very few exceptions friends to the claims of the Catholics, and have adopted these Petitions for a Commutation of Tythes, as the most agreeable measure to the Catholics which there is a chance of pressing with success.—If "praise undeserved is satire in disguise," to attribute patriotism to the Irish Protestant gentlemen would be almost as good a joke as to talk of your suavity, Mr. Cobbett.—You next say, in the same strain of error, that these Irish Protestant gentlemen are endeavouring to take a part of the amount of the tythes out of the pockets of the parsons to put it in their own. How you, Mr. Cobbett, who are attentive to the meaning of words, could have made this charge, after having stated in the first sentence of your observations, that the article in the Morning Chronicle "announces to us the fact, that the Protestant gentlemen of Ireland, are for a *commutation* of tythes," and commutation in italics too, I am at a loss to discover. For, if the word commutation means any thing, it means such a measure as will give the parsons the whole benefit of tythes, but in a less vexatious and exceptionable manner. If any thing is produced by the change, if by the removal of moral oppression, land will acquire an encrease of produce over and above the fair and customary profits of the farmer, it will and ought to belong to the landlord. It is *not* taken from the pocket of the parsons, because it never could have been raised under the system of tythes. You take from the parsons only their power of oppressing and you convert it into good substantial corn and hay.—So much for your mistatements, Mr. Cobbett, let us now examine your logic. You ask this question: "will the poor man who cultivates five acres of ground, yield less in tythes than he does now?" and you answer it by saying, "that if he does give less to the parson, it is to me at least quite certain, that he will give more to the landowner or land jobber, so that this commutation, whatever may be the effect of it to the landowner and the parson, will, in no degree whatever, lighten the burdens of the potatoe planter." The fallacy of this reasoning, like that of your friend Pitt on the sinking fund, lies just beneath the surface. Let the landlord, year after year, value his rent *after* the crop of potatoes is grown as the parson does his tythes, and then your reasoning would be correct. But so long as it continues to be the practice of landlords, to settle with their tenants for the rent of land *before* they take possession, and (as is particularly the case in Ireland) to give such leases as leaves the tenants to the increased produce that may arise from an incerased industry; while the parsons value their tythes *after* the tenant has tilled, manured, and sown his land, and the crop is come to maturity; so long will the circumstances on which rent is calculated be so very different from those on which tythes are taken, that the tenant will always prefer and find his advantages in commuting tythes for rent. —"But, did I myself not propose to do something respecting the tythes in Ireland?" This ejaculation of yours is very explanatory. So, Mr. Cobbett, all your anger against the Irish Protestant gentlemen is excited by their presumption in recommending a simple commutation of tythes, in neglect of a favourite plan of your own.—I have now, Sir, said enough to put both your candour and your talents to the test—Your candour by giving you an opportunity of publishing this letter, and your talents, by making it no easy matter to answer it.——AN IRISH PROTESTANT GENTLEMAN, —— *Dublin, Nov.* 20, 1807.

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MR. WILBERFORCE AND THE MOLUNGEES.

SIR;——From the volumes which have for years made their appearance on the subject of the slave trade, and the strenuous efforts made by the most conspicuous members of both houses of parliament, in favour of its abolition, it might have been supposed that the Negroes were the only aggrieved subjects under the British domination; or, that their wrongs were so much superior to those of others, as to silence every other complaint, and eclipse every other misery. I pass over the Irish peasantry for the present, certain *Protestant gentlemen* having in their great wisdom, discovered a panacea for all their sufferings, in the *abolition of tithes.* This single measure, unaided on the part of the Protestant country gentlemen, by any diminution in the price of land, which both the Protestant and Roman Catholic gentry seem to vie with one another in enhancing, is to work like a miracle to the comforts of the poor; immediately after the tithes are abolished, and the rent proportionably increased by these wonder-working landlords, the labourer is to be clothed in a supernatural suit of warm frieze, his children are to be inspired with the elements of religion and morality, and his hut, like the hovel of Baucis and Philemon, is *to grow* into a comfortable habitation. Such are the wonders to be performed by the Protestant country gentlemen; and so for the present I leave them in possession of their wands and their talismans, looking upon them to be the most accomplished conjurors, (since the lamented death of Doctor Katerfelto) that have ever astonished the world.—The sufferers to whom just now I wish to draw your attention are the Molungees (Salt Makers), employed by the *Honourable East India Company,* in the manufacture of salt, of which the Company have the monopoly. A large proportion of the salt made in Bengal is manufactured by these Hindoos, in deserts overflowed every tide by the sea; and the climate of these deserts is inimical to every constitution; all the complaints occasioned by heat and moisture, appear there in their most malignant form. Dysenteries at one season are particularly fatal; the unhappy victims of this disorder are avoided as infectious by their companions, and suffered to pine without receiving either that aid or consolation which compassion usually pays to the wretched; the progress of this disorder in such circumstances leads to certain death, if that event be not anticipated by the tigers and alligators, by which these dreary wastes are infested. The tigers accustomed to human blood, boldly attack the salters, while the alligators are always ready to assail each unfortunate individual who may stray away from his companions. These are not the only evils to which the Molungees are exposed, their unhealthy and dangerous employment carries them to a distance from their families, where their provision, and even water, is supplied by a long carriage; from choice, therefore, a native will not engage as a salter, and this circumstance occasions a species of slavery to be established in this manufactory, which has yet received neither remedy nor alleviation.—Whoever has once laboured at the salt works, is bound himself and his posterity, ever after, to continue in that occupation. From the great mortality incident to their employment, the salters do not keep up their numbers, but the annual waste is continually supplied by unjustifiable artifices in procuring fresh recruits. Labourers are either *decoyed* to those works by false representations, or they are *compelled* on alleged proof of their profession to engage in them; this proof, it is said, frequently consists of perjured evidence, which is never difficult to obtain, especially in India.——Such is the situation of these miserable Hindoos, and yet the salt revenue is so considerable that the trade cannot be laid aside, nor can an article of living so necessary be abandoned; the annual sales by the Company amount to one million sterling; and the net revenue after deducting charges has been so considerable, that no adequate compensation to the *Honourable Company* for so important a sacrifice can easily be found. "Hence," says Tennant, * "the unfortunate Molungees continue in the most wretched of all slavery"—Here, then, are a race of unfortunate wretches, whose fate compared to that of the Negroe slaves in the West Indies, sinks incalculably in the scale of human wretchedness. The employment of the Negro is by no means hostile to health, nor creative of disease; he is not liable to be devoured by beasts of prey, and when he is sick he has medical care and attendance. The climate that he serves in is superior to his own, and the manufacture of sugar in which he is chiefly engaged, furnishes him for three months of the year with food, the most nutritious and wholesome that the earth produces. I shall not draw a parallel between the situation of the Molungee and the Irish peasant. It is an easy, but might be deemed by the "jacobin and leveller" manufacturers, an invidious task; they are both certainly liable to the extremes of heat and moisture; the one in the fields at their labour, and the other during their repose in

* Indian Recreations, Vol. 2. page 330. See Bryan Edwards's account of Jamaica.

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their hovels, and the consequences are pretty much the same, dysentery, ague, and consumption, and that anticipated old age produced by the causes already stated, superadded to bad food, smoke, filth, and despair, which changes as beautiful a race of people as ever originally came from the hands of the Creator, (particularly the females) into skinny, sallow, and withered invalids in the prime of their existence, when youth should give them spirits, and vigour, activity.—I join the name of *Wilberforce* especially with the *Molungees*, because he has already stood forth the champion of a much ess aggrieved class of human beings, and may therefore, be the more inclined to exert his talents and his influence in behalf of these wretched outcasts. Great praise is certainly due to him for his labours in behalf of the Negroes, though they will terminate in the loss to Great Britain of the West India colonies, while a doubt may still remain on the minds of many, as it does on mine, whether the same good to Africa and a less evil to England might not have been produced by a new modelling of the colonial code and making the condition of the blacks so much more advantageous, by assimilating it as closely as possible in point of civil rights, to that of the British, that compulsion would have been no longer necessary, and the Africans would have emigrated to Jamaica from motives of self interest, as the Irish and Scotch do from the United Kingdoms to America,—But the motive of the abolitionists was "fiat justitia, ruat cœlum;" and such a sentiment is too apt to be accompanied with a degree of virtuous but imprudent enthusiasm that passes over remedies which to cooler and less expanded minds seem perfectly adequate.—But it is no longer time to investigate those measures which led to the abolition of the Slave Trade—it has received the sanction of the legislature, and the fate of the Africans, as far as that measure and its consequences reach, is decided—it is the cause of the Molungees which I now wish to advocate!—it is the misery of this miserable class that I wish investigated and redressed. Whether it will ever be discussed in Parliament remains to be seen—at least it deserves discussion as well as any of the enormities attributed to Lord Wellesley, and throws as deep a stigma on the British Domination in India:—it will at all events if you think it expedient to publish this letter in your Register, acquire in the course of the well deserved and extensive circulation that Register has obtained, a considerable share of publicity—and this is all I want—for I will not think that the *commercial gangrene* has so completely rotted and mortified the British heart as to render it insensible to such misery as falls to the hard lot of the Molungees.—I am, Sir, &c. MALB.—*Ireland, Nov. 23d, 1807.*

PUBLIC PAPER.

RUSSIA AND ENGLAND.—*Declaration of Russia against England. Done at St. Petersburgh, October 26, 1807.*

The higher the value in which the Emperor held the amity of his Britannic Majesty, the keener the regret he must feel at the complete alienation of that monarch.—Twice has the Emperor taken up arms in a cause in which the interests of England were most immediately concerned: but he has solicited to no purpose her co-operation to promote the accomplishment of her own objects. He did not require she should unite her forces with his: he was anxious only she would make a diversion in their favour. He was astonished that in the furtherance of her own cause she herself would make no exertion. On the contrary, she looked on a cold spectatrix of the sanguinary theatre of the war, which she had herself kindled, and sent a part of her troops to attack Buenos Ayres. Another portion of her army, which seemed to be destined to make a diversion in Italy, finally withdrew from Sicily where it was assembled. Hopes were entertained that they had taken that step, in order to throw themselves on the Neapolitan coast; but it was soon understood that they were employed in taking possession of Egypt.—But what most sensibly hurt the feelings of his Imperial Majesty was, to see that in violation of the faith and express stipulations of treaties, England was annoying the maritime trade of his subjects; and at what period was this proceeding adopted? when the blood of the Russians was flowing in the glorious battles which accumulated and directed against the armies of his Imperial Majesty, the whole of the military force of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, with whom England was, and still is, at war! When the two Emperors made peace, his Majesty, notwithstanding his just causes of displeasure at the conduct of England, did not however refrain from endeavouring to render her services. The Emperor stipulated in that very treaty that he should interpose his mediation between England and France; and he accordingly made an offer of that mediation to the King of Great Britain, apprising him that it was with a wish to obtain honourable conditions for him. But the British ministry, adhering no doubt to the plan that was to dissolve and break off all the ties between Russia and England, rejected that mediation,—The peace between Russia and France

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was likely to bring about a general peace, but it was at this moment that England suddenly awoke from that apparent lethargy in which she had slumbered; but it was only to throw into the north fresh fire-brands, which were to rekindle, and have actually kindled, the flames of a war which she was desirous not to see extinguished.—Her fleets, her troops, appeared on the Danish Coasts, to execute an act of violence of which history so fruitful in examples, records no parallel.—A power distinguished for its peaceful and moderate conduct, and for a long and unexpected course of wise neutrality, and who sustained, amidst surrounding monarchies, a kind of moral dignity, finds itself treated as if it was engaged in secret plots, and was meditating the downfal of England: while the whole of these imputations were only meant to justify the sudden and entire spoliation of that power.—The Emperor, wounded in his dignity, wounded in the affection he feels for his people, wounded in his engagements with the courts of the North, by this act of violence committed in the Baltic, a close sea, the tranquillity of which has so long depended on the court of St. James's, and is reciprocally guaranteed by both powers, did not dissemble his resentment against England, and warned her that he should not remain indifferent to such a proceeding.—His Majesty did not foresee, that while England, having successfully employed her forces, was on the point of seizing on her prey, she would offer a fresh outrage to Denmark, in which his Majesty was to bear a part.—New propositions, still more insidious than those made at first, were made to Denmark, which aimed at binding down to England that power thus subjugated, degraded, and applauding, as it were, every thing that had happened:—Still less did the Emperor foresee that it would be proposed to him to guarantee that submission, and to promise that that act of violence should not be attended with any mischievous consequence to England.—The English ambassador seems to have imagined that he might venture to propose to the Minister of the Emperor, that his Imperial Majesty should undertake the apology and defence of a proceeding which his Majesty had so openly condemned. To this step on the part of the cabinet of St. James's, his Majesty has thought proper to pay only that attention which it deserved, and has deemed it high time to set limits to his moderation.—The Prince Royal of Denmark endowed with a character full of nobleness and energy, and having been blessed by Providence with a soul as elevated as his rank, had apprized the Emperor, that, justly enraged against what had recently happened at Copenhagen, he had not ratified the convention respecting it, and that he considered it as null and void.—That Prince has just now acquainted his Majesty with the new propositions that have been made to him, and which are of a nature rather to provoke his resistance than to appease his resentment, for they tend to stamp on his actions the seal of degradation, the impress of which they never will exhibit.—The Emperor struck with the confidence which the Prince Royal placed in him, having moreover considered his own grounds of dissatisfaction with England, having attended to his engagements with the powers of the North, engagements entered into by the Empress Catherine, and by his late Imperial Majesty, both of glorious memory, has resolved upon fulfilling them.—His Imperial Majesty breaks off all communication with England: he recalls his embassy from that court, and will not allow any ambassador from her to continue at his court. There shall henceforward exist no relations between the two countries. The Emperor declares that he abrogates for ever every act hitherto concluded between Great Britain and Russia, and particularly the convention concluded in 1801. He proclaims anew the principles of the armed neutrality, that monument of the wisdom of the Empress Catherine, and binds himself never to recede from that system.—He calls upon England to give compleat satisfaction to his subjects, with respect to all the just claims they may set up, of ships and merchandises seized and detained, contrary to the express tenor of the treaties concluded during his own reign. The Emperor gives warning, that nothing shall be re-established between Russia and England, until the latter shall have given satisfaction to Denmark.—The Emperor expects, that his Britannic Majesty, instead of permitting his Ministers to scatter fresh seeds of war, in compliance only with his own feelings, will be induced to conclude a peace with his Majesty the Emperor of the French, which would be extending, in a manner, to the whole world, the inestimable blessings of peace.—When the Emperor shall be satisfied upon all these points, and especially upon that of a peace between France and England, without which no part of Europe can expect to enjoy any real tranquillity, his Imperial Majesty will then willingly return to the relations of amity with Great Britain, which in the state of just resentment which the Emperor should feel he has maintained, perhaps, too long.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 24.] LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1807. [PRICE 10d.

"Here is a specimen of the new and pure Aristocracy, created by the Right Honourable Gentleman, as the "support of the crown and constitution, against the old, refractory, natural interests of this kingdom. A "single Benfield out-weighs them all; a criminal, who, long since, ought to have fattened the region kites "with his offal, is, by his Majesty's Ministers, enthroned in the government of a great kingdom; and "enfeoffed with an estate, which, in the comparison, effaces the splendour of all the nobility of Europe." —BURKE; on the Nabob of Arcot's debts, 28th Feb. 1785. See his Works, Vol. IV. p. 308.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

"PERISH COMMERCE" (continued from page 881.)——IX. *Respecting the effects of commerce upon the civil and political liberties of England.*——My correspondent, W. F. S. whose letter will be found in page 854, expresses his fears, that, if commerce were annihilated, we should fall back into that state, when the population of this kingdom consisted of *Lords* and *Vassals*. After having described the rise of civil liberty, he puts his question to me thus: "*Do we not, by annihilating commerce, retrace the steps, which brought us from feodal tyranny?*" My answer is, that, while, by annihilating commerce, we should not retrace one of those steps, we should cut up by the roots that political corruption, which, in a thousand ways, has operated to our oppression at home, and has been the chief cause of all the dangers, with which we are now menaced from abroad.——This is my opinion. I now proceed to offer the reasons upon which that opinion is founded.——*Liberty*, by which I always mean, *freedom from oppression*, did not arise, in this country, from the operation of *commerce* (that is to say, trade with *foreign nations*), but from the conflicting interests and passions of our ancient kings and their thanes or barons. The church had something to do in the matter; but, it was chiefly the work of the kings, who, in order to free themselves from the tyranny of the barons, called in the people to their aid; and, that this aid might be efficient, they did, by degrees, arm them with political privileges, after having emancipated them and enabled them to possess property. But, this was wholly a work of *internal* regulation and enterprize. The people, as fast as they became free, as soon as they could call their *persons* their own, naturally became proprietors; from free *men*, they became *freeholders*; and, with the aid of the numerous measures, adopted from time to time, the land of England, which, at the Norman conquest was in the hands of, perhaps, not more than seven or eight thousand persons, became divided amongst hundreds of thousands. Power followed property, or, rather, they went hand in hand; the dispersion of the one naturally produced the dispersion of the other; and thus was the partial and capricious sway of the feodal lords made, by degrees, to give way to the operations of general laws and fixed principles of jurisprudence, leaving nothing of the old system behind, except that which was deemed useful, and which really was, and still is, useful, as to the distinction of ranks, the ascertaining of local limits, and the tenure of property. ——What part of this great change was, I would beg to know, the effect of commerce? The effect of trade and connection with *foreign nations*, not one of whom could afford any example whereon to frame that constitution which arose in England, and all of whom have remained, until within these very few years, under the sway of feodal or royal despots?——As fast as the people of England became free, they became possessed of property; they enjoyed not only food sufficient for them, but also a share of the surplus produce of the soil, which would naturally increase from the same cause. Hence, and not from foreign trade, arose arts and manufactures; and, that the persons, thus employed, might have their due share of political power, corporations and boroughs were established. Men in *trade*, that is to say, engaged in *buying and selling*, would naturally arise as arts and manufactures increased. In all these divisions of the population, some would naturally acquire great riches, without any aid at all from *foreign* trade; and, if we have proved, that, upon a general scale, the nation can acquire no wealth from foreign trade; if we have proved, that, if commerce were to cease, all those who are now employed in manufacturing for foreigners, would be employed in contributing to the national wealth at home, what reason is there to fear, that the loss of commerce would throw us back under a feodal tyranny? If commerce were destroyed, the persons now employed in manufac-

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turing for foreign nations, would be employed in something else. The *profits*, arising from their labour, would, in that case, indeed, certainly not go to the enriching of *merchants*, but, they would as certainly go to the enriching of some other description of persons engaged in trade; and, therefore, the change could have no tendency whatever towards a restoration of the feodal system. Suppose the silk trade to cease. The landowners, who have heretofore expended a hundred thousand pounds a year in silks for their wives and daughters, wou'd, you will say, apply that sum to the purchasing up of the property of those, who, on account of the cessation of the silk-trade, are obliged to sell; and, thus, branch after branch of trade failing, the property of traders, piece by piece would fall back again into the hands of the landowners, until, at last, we should come back again to the feodal system. But, I have, in my former sheet, page 875 and the two following ones, shown W. F. S. that there are, out of a population of about 11,000,000 no more than 400,000 persons now employed in manufacturing for commerce and in carrying on commerce. Supposing, then, the cessation of the silk and other foreign trades to work in the way above described, we should make but a very trifling retrogade movement towards the feodal system. But, I am sure W. F. S. is too wise to suppose, that the wives and daughters of the landowners would suffer their husbands and fathers to appropriate the silk-savings to the purchase of lands and tenements. In some way or other, they would obtain satisfaction for the loss of their silks. Woollens, for instance, would be made (as, indeed, they now are) to rival silks. Some fineries or other would be made out of our home-produced materials; and, the traders in these fineries (many, and, indeed, most of them, the very same persons that before traded in silks) would possess the profits, and, of course, the riches and the power, before derived from the trade in silks; the balance of property, and of the political power, growing out of property, would continue the same, with this difference, that they would not then, as they now do (as far as commerce is concerned), tend, as I shall now endeavour to show, to oppress and enslave the people, instead of preserving their liberty.——The idea of Goldsmith, as expressed in the verses, taken as a motto to my last sheet, that is to say, *that slaves are purchased at home by the wealth pillaged from savage nations*, is not fully enough explained. To be sure those savage nations are pillaged and most cruelly treated by those, who, through the means of commerce, purchase slaves at home. But, it is we here in England (I use this word because I hate a long compound name for a nation) who, in fact, pay the amount of the pillage. We pay armies and fleets, and we make direct grants of millions, for the maintenance of colonies. The people there are oppressed and pillaged; but we pay the amount of the pillage. Suppose a parish were wicked or foolish enough to raise within itself a thousand pounds, and give it to an expert and gallant gentleman to go and raise contributions upon the next parish; that the various expences which he should be at for the hiring of subaltern ruffians, for the obtaining of arms, and for food and lodgings, cost him a thousand pounds; and, that, finally, he comes back with a thousand pounds worth of pillage. *He* has gained a thousand pounds; but the individuals of each of the parishes have lost to that amount; and, the only difference between them, as to the consequences, is, that the parish which has sent him out to plunder, has the satisfaction to see him raised above the heads of his former fellows, and making some of them, in fact, his slaves. Thus, does this sort of commerce, at any rate, deal its curses double-handed.——But, the political effects of commerce are so glaringly injurious, that it is matter of astonishment, that any sensible and honest man should not perceive them and dread their final and inevitable consequences. One would think it impossible for any such man, recollecting the facts detailed in the speech, from which I have taken my motto, not to abhor the very name of commerce. Mr. Burke states, in that speech, that Benfield, *had eight members in the House of Commons*. Now, if the wealth, which, by that corrupt transaction, had been heaped upon him, had been divided amongst a thousand or two of traders at home, is it not evident, that it would have had no such effect as this? If the million of money (I believe it was more) that he received out of the taxes, had not been raised in taxes, it would have been distributed about in supplying the wants and luxuries of those who paid those taxes; but, would no where have had, either in the beginning or the end, the corrupting consequence so clearly proved by Mr. Burke. A hundred particular instances might be quoted of this corrupting effect of commerce; but, one has only to reflect a little to be convinced, that commerce *must* have a corrupting tendency. It forms men together in large companies, or bodies. They soon acquire great pecuniary powers; and they as soon perceive, that the minister of the day, be he who or what he

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will, has great controul over their interests. Hence they become his own faithful adherents upon all occasions; and, when the government becomes interwoven with a funding system, the commerce and the minister can, at any time, set the country at defiance. By the debt due from the East India Company to the public, and the demand of payment of which depends solely upon the minister, he holds that body in a string. The merchants and planters of Grenada he holds by a loan made to them out of the taxes, and the re-payment of which loan he can at any time demand. The Sierra Leone Company, finding themselves engaged in a losing concern, wished to throw their debts upon the public. That is, if I recollect rightly, now effected by an act of parliament; and, before it was effected, the Company received a large annual grant from that parliament of which some of them were members. The Company of merchants at the Bank of England have a law passed to protect them against the demands of the holders of their promissory notes; and, in short, every thing connected with commerce is *necessarily* on the side of the minister of the day.——The commercial and the funding systems are inseparable. One cannot go to any mischievous length without the other; and, by the latter, that is to say, by rendering a considerable part of the population mere state annuitants, the nation is made to be even zealous in promoting its own ruin.—It is to be noted, too, that men engaged in commerce, that is to say, in close and interested connections with foreign countries, must have their local affections divided; and, it would be marvellous indeed, if *some* out of a great number, did not prefer the safety of another country to that of their own, especially when their profession is such as necessarily to have narrowed their minds to questions of individual and immediate profit and loss. These are very fit advisers in matters relating to war, or to treaties; and yet, it must be pretty evident to every man, of only common observation, that, for many years past, they have been the principal advisers; and, the result is now, and long has been, before us. Commerce, therefore, so far from operating beneficially, with respect to civil and political liberty, appears to me to have been, in this country, their greatest enemy. Had it not been for commerce, the accursed system of funding never could have existed to any extent. Commerce, by the means of its attendant assemblages and incorporation of rich and active men, has destroyed the natural influence of the proprietors and cultivators of the land, as well as of persons in trade, if unconnected with those assemblages. Commerce has given rise to, and established, beyond the reach of every thing but national desperation, that system of taxing, which has made a burlesque of the maxim, that "Englishmen's houses are their *castles*." Commerce has erected a sort of under government, to which official reports, not only of important occurrences, in war and in peace, are made, but also of intended measures; the heads of that affiliation being consulted with as regularly as if they were of the king's council. Commerce, by the creation of such a power in the state, has caused the national character to be degraded, it being notorious, that, upon almost every occasion, the question has been, not what is just, but what is expedient, the expediency turning solely upon the interests of commerce. Commerce has debased the naval service by giving to the whole of it a trading cast and complexion. Endless is the list of evils which commerce has brought upon England; but, there needs nothing else than to say, that it has reduced her to *her present situation*, in which the highest hope she entertains is that of being able to prevent herself from being conquered by France ——To those persons (for I am confident there are many), who think with me, upon this subject, how contemptible must appear all those laboured addresses to the public, which have, of late, appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* newspaper, under the signature of A. B. whose object is to persuade us, that there is scarcely any sacrifice of honour or of permanent safety, which we ought not to make, *rather than risk a war with America*, a war, in which we could not *possibly* receive any injury from the arms of the enemy. I have thought it my duty, at this time, to read the whole of the letters of this canting, whining, shallow-brained writer; and, without looking into the book which I see advertised as a compendium of the "*Miseries of Human Life*," I venture to affirm, that to be compelled to perform this task, is well calculated for the winding up of the melancholy catalogue. There is, however, one passage, which, by way of specimen, and as applicable to the subject of which I have been treating, that I shall here insert, begging the reader to observe, as he proceeds in the perusal of it, how the American foot peeps from beneath the English cloak. I do not take it upon me to assert, that this writer is really of American birth; but, when we consider, that, in funds, goods, and debts, Englishmen have, probably, two millions worth of property in that country, we may easily suppose the existence of American motives with the honour

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of American birth.——This writer, after pretending to wish to see England and America united for the sake of opposing Napoleon, proceeds thus:——"If he could bring "America into his vortex, his triumph "would be complete; without it, in the "end, he will be nothing. There are, nevertheless, madmen walking about our "streets, who have probably broken loose "when Bedlam was lately repairing, who "consider a war with America as rather to "be courted than avoided; we should, according to them, "blockade all their "ports, and take all their ships." It would "be a notable exploit, to be sure, in the "greatest WHOLESALE DEALER in "London, to succeed in nailing up the retail shops of all his customers in town and "country, and to procure the seizure of all "the waggons and lighters, conveying his "own goods to every corner of the country "and of the world! To whom, pray, are "we to sell all these American prizes, and "our own manufacturers' produce? And "from whom, in the event of scarcity, are "we to import flour, or tar and timber for "our marine, if we are at war with the "whole world? But would it be only a "present loss? Recollect, that the population of America is already eight millions, "and that the portentous state of Europe is "a hot bed to her. She doubles her numbers every sixteen years. If peace and "harmony are preserved, you will soon "want no other customers. She already "takes ten millions, annually, of your exports. In twenty years, which is but a "day in the period of a nation, she will "take twenty millions; and in twenty "more, which is but as another day, forty "millions; and in twenty years more, "which is but as a third day, you cannot "cloath her, or administer to her wants and "luxuries. You may blot the Continent "of Europe out of the map, and yet your "trade and consequent revenues, would "overflow. If you continue to cultivate "peace, she will not manufacture for herself, so as to interfere with you, until her "boundless deserts are cultivated; a period "incalculably distant."——Now, who is the madman? He very coolly calculates upon a sixty years duration of the American Republic; very seriously supposes, that a government like that, of which Mr. Thomas Jefferson is the head, will bear sway over sixty millions of souls! If grasshoppers had souls, it might; but never will it hold together, even nominally, ten millions of human beings; and, if there should be a war between this country and that, well managed on our part, the far-famed constitution, of which so many well-meaning men have pronounced the eulogium, has not many months to live.——But, let us not pass over the argument that this pleader for America makes use of, in the passage above quoted. It comes upon us in the shape of a comparison, about a great wholesale dealer in London and the shops and waggons of his customers; but, this writer forgot, that, in order to give force to the comparison, he should, first or last, have shown, that there existed a similarity in the circumstances relating to the objects compared; for, it clearly appears to me, that there does exist no such similarity. The wholesale dealer in London must sell his goods, or he must be ruined. He has bought them, and, in order to be able to pay for them, he must sell them again. This is not the case with the nation. It has not bought the goods of any body. It has nobody to pay. It fears neither duns nor bailiffs. It has a hundred bales of cloth; but they are objects of *exchange*; and, if it cannot be indulged in obtaining tobacco for this cloth, the consequence will be, that there will not be so many hands required in the making of cloth, and those hands will (a very few in all) turn to other employments in such a way, that, either directly or indirectly, they will in a short time produce, from our home produce, something to please idle people full as well as tobacco, without which, I take it, a nation might very well subsist. I love this wholesale dealer too well, however, to quit him yet. Let us suppose a state of barter instead of a state of money, for that will greatly simplify our view of the matter.——The wholesale dealer, who shall have nothing, must exchange his cloth for food, and raiment, or he dies; but, let him have raiment and every thing else but food: he must have that, and he must exchange his cloth to get it. But, the *nation* has the food that it wants; it has already had a *surplus* quantity of food wherewith to feed the people who were making the cloth, and it was willing to give it, (I might say *throw* it) away for the purpose of obtaining, in exchange, the luxury of tobacco. It has the same surplus now that it had before the cloth was made, and, if it give it away in exchange for superior fineness, or for some ornament, in its cloth, is not that luxury as good to it as the luxury of tobacco?——For the argument of this profound politician, whom the editor of the Morning Chronicle, for the sake, I suppose, of teaching the virtue of patience to his readers, invites to a continuation of his labours; for the agument of this profound gentleman

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to have been good for any thing, except that of misleading those who do not reflect, it should, some where or other, have been shown, *that we drew the necessaries of life from America*, as the wholesale dealer *must* draw them, however circuitously, from his customers. There does, indeed, lower down, drop in, incidentally, a slight attempt towards the establishing of this similarity, in certain cases, which, as always existing, ought to have been the basis of the argument. We are asked, how, *in times of scarcity*, we are to get *corn*. Now, not to mention, that, from authentic documents, it appears, that during no one *year* of the late scarcity, the corn imported, from all the foreign nations put together, was more than enough to supply our wants for *one week*, it happens, unfortunately for the argument of this wholesale politician, that, to whatever amount the imported corn might be, we must have, first or last, produced, on that account too, a *surplus* of corn here, else we could not have fed the people while working upon the manufactures, for which that corn was exchanged; and, whatever effect he may hope to produce upon the minds of unthinking persons, by a display of the horrors of scarcity with closed ports, he may be assured, that, men of common sense and reflection, will never be scared at this idea, knowing, as they do, that less than two millions and a half of us now produce, upon this land of ours, enough food for eleven millions; that part of this food now goes, in the end, to be exchanged for tobacco; and, that, when we want corn, it is because we employ men in manufacturing goods to exchange for tobacco instead of employing them to raise more corn here, for which purpose we have an abundance of land already enclosed, and that waits only for more hands to render it more productive.—— I will pass over the notions, that Napoleon wants only America on his side *to complete his triumph*; that, without her, he, in the end, will *be nothing*; that, taking care to secure her continued custom, we may *blot the continent of Europe from the map*: all this I pass over as the natural offspring of that disgusting vanity, which, next after meanness and fraud, is the prominent feature in the American character, excepting, as, in such cases, I always do, the inhabitants of *New England* and the *Quakers of Pensylvania*.——Having gone so far in the sin of noticing this writer, I am induced, like sinners of another description, to go a little farther, hoping that the reader, when he considers the present state of our connection with America, will not think his time entirely thrown away in hearing what her adherents have to urge in behalf of further concession to her.——"This view of the subject" [the looked-for sixty millions of customers] "should never be lost sight "of for any speculative temporary loss or "inconvenience. In all our transactions "with America, we should look to the "America of fifty years, or a century, to "come. The policy of a nation should be "prospective, extending to the contemplation of future ages, and not like the prudence of a transaction between man and "man, which is properly contracted within the narrow span of individual existence. America also should reason upon "the same principle.—She is now in her "infancy, and, if not checked in her "growth by an unnatural struggle with her "parent, will arrive sooner at maturity and "greatness, than any nation of antiquity; "because she started into life in the meridian of civilization: but if, from her "highly Republican Constitution, she acts "in her great political character, from the "sudden impulses of the multitude, and "not from the mature considerations of a "regular Government, she may throw "away, in a rash moment, all the advantages which her firmness and virtue, in "the storm of her revolution, has so eminently entitled her to enjoy.—But to return to the interests of our own country. "—It is said, that our losses and privations, "which it is admitted must follow from a "war, would come back again with fresh "advantages with the peace, which our "arms would speedily enforce. Nothing "can be more fallacious than this expectation. If the present dispute should ferment into national hostility, America "will manufacture immediately for herself; "and it will be extremely difficult to prevent the emigration of your spinners, "whilst the stagnation of your trade continues, even supposing it to be but temporary. The raw material she has already, "the rice plantations in Carolina have to a "great extent been converted to the growth "of cotton, and Louisiana alone would "grow enough to manufacture for the "whole habitable world. But, supposing "her manufactures not to reach at first to "supply luxuries (which they certainly "would not), she would manufacture cheap "goods—would make it a national distinction to wear them, and penal to wear any "other. I know that this was contemplated during the American Revolution, if "the independence had not taken place; "and that it is talked of now from one

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"end of America to another. This is a "most serious consideration. The effect of "such a spirit of industry, turned suddenly "on manufacture, would not cease again "upon any peace which the pressure of our "arms might produce. When the ordina- "ry course of human luxuries and necessi- "ties is stopped up, so as no longer to run "habitually upon the fabrics and commodi- "ties of particular nations, who have en- "joyed a kind of prescriptive monopoly in "the commerce of the world, no man liv- "ing can anticipate its return, or know "what course it will take. Like the sea or "mighty rivers, which, when forced by "floods or tempests out of their accustom- "ed directions, seldom come back again to "their ancient beds.—Before I leave this "subject let me warn his Majesty's present "Ministers to beware how they try any rash "experiments upon the trade of this coun- "try by an universal blockade, in conse- "quence of the attempts of France to ob- "struct it. Let them not wean Europe "from our manufactures, by attempting to "shut them out altogether, lest new habits "of luxury and new channels to supply "them should start up. Let them take "their chance of finding their way till the "storm is overblown, and by a manly po- "licy, as it regards America, let us break "the French party there, and look to the "infinite resources which almost from pole "to pole the new Western world presents "to us. The late ill-contrived, abrupt, "unauthorized landing in La Plata, "proves nothing against the probable "success which may be expected here- "after from the meditated plans of a "vigorous and prudent Government. We "should have looked merely to com- "merce, and not to settlement. We "should have held out to the inhabitants the "safe pursuit of their own interests, and "not have attempted to plant the stan- "dard of conquest in such distant regions, "which, with our limited population, it "was impossible to maintain by force. This "mistake may, and I hope will be cor- "rected hereafter. The people of England "ought more cheerfully to subscribe to the "expenses of such plans, however unsuc- "cessful in the beginning, than to the vi- "sionary attempts of weighing the powers "of Europe in an imaginary balance, "which, after the labour of a century and "a half, has ended in our scale being kick- "ed up into the air, with the loss of five "hundred millions of money, whilst "all the nation[illegible] "ended "together in [illegible] but "that, by this wiser policy, the Divine Pro- "vidence may be preparing the light of the "Gospel, and all the blessings of civilised "life which follow in its train, for nations "in the shadow of darkness; and that this "favoured nation may still be made the "day-star (as she so long has been) of the "most extensive human blessings? Who "knows, but that thus the emperor of "France may live to see, that, instead of "obtaining universal empire by ways that "are unjust and unwarrantable, his ambi- "tion is only raising up more numerous and "more virtuous communities to balance his "power, and in due time to break it into "the atoms which compose it? But the "age of miracles is past. It is only by hu- "man means that human advantages are to "be obtained, and we must do our parts. We "stand upon the vantage ground. Nothing "conceded by Great Britain can be imputed "to fear—she will only rise in dignity by "the mildness and moderation of her coun- "cils."——Here, again, is another of the "Miseries of Human Life." We are here led, or rather tossed away from America to the continent of Europe, and thence to South America; and, from the propagation of trade we are tossed to the propagation of the Gospel; and, what is worse, we must take notice of every point, or be thought to admit the truth of what is said upon it. As to the propagation of the Gospel, I do not believe, that that BEING, in endeavouring to form an idea of whom, the greatest of minds shrinks back with the perception of nothing but its own littleness, ever made any of his creatures with a view to punish them for not believing in that which they never have heard of, or, hearing of, have not capacities to understand; and, when I consider the abominations, which, under pretext of carrying the light of the Gospel, have been committed by Spaniards in South America and Englishmen in Hindostan, I am rather disposed to invoke Divine Providence to prevent any farther progress in that way. I am for "raising up no more *new communities*," guided, as I am, in my wishes by experience of the past; and, I cannot help suspecting, that the world has not been much improved by the exchange of inhabitants, which has taken place in the United States of America. But, to finish this peroration since we have begun upon it, is it not kind in this ill-disguised American to send us to find new markets in South America, and to carry on the work of religion there, while his country is to be left to carry on a free trade with our enemies in Europe? "Let us," says he, "by a

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"manly" policy towards America, break the "French party there, and look at the in-"finite resources, which, almost from pole "to pole, the Western world presents to "us." And what is this "manly" policy? Why, *concessions*, to be sure. "We stand," says he, "upon the vantage ground. No-"thing *conceded* by Great Britain can be "imputed *to fear*. She will only rise in "*dignity* by the mildness and moderation of "her councils." If this writer had not in his memory the dialogue between JOHN BULL and NIC FROG, wherein the latter wheedles the former to ruin himself that Nic may be the gainer, this passage is only another proof, added to the many already existing, that great wits often fall upon the same idea. Of one thing I am pretty certain, that the late ministers, were they in power, would follow the advice of this writer; for, the person who has the controul over the pages of the Morning Chronicle, would not, otherwise, have given such unqualified praise to these letters, which have evidently been published with a view to the producing, in the public mind, an effect in favour of concessions to America. But, how impudently false is the assertion, that, concession to America, at this time, would not only be imputed to *fear*, but would raise Great Britain in *dignity!* Was there ever any thing so impudent as this! It *must* be imputed to fear, because it could be imputed to nothing else; and what but an enemy, an enemy base and hypocritical, could give such advice? If these concessions are made, there is, at once, an end of the struggle. We give up. We acknowledge ourselves beaten. We declare ourselves a set of traders, who must starve if their trade be considerably diminished; and, our enemy, who waits for the confession, will give us back our beloved trade, upon the sole condition, that we give him up the country. The treaty will be short and pithy, and, from the bottom of my heart, I believe, that there are many persons in the country who would hail it with joy, if they could obtain security for the peaceful continuation of commerce.——But, let us, since we are so far in, examine a little into the further consequences, which this writer apprehends from a rupture with America. She will (dreadful thought!) *manufacture for herself*. We have proved, that it would be a change *advantageous to us* to cease to supply her with manufactures, but, at this time, it is worth while to see what her advocates say, as to the effect of that change upon her. We are told by this writer, that she would make it a national distinction to wear goods of her own manufacture, and would make it penal to wear any other, such regulations, to his own knowledge, having been in contemplation during the rebellion, and, as he also knows, are now again talked of from one end of the States to the other; that this is a matter for most serious consideration with us, because the effect of such a spirit of industry, turned suddenly on manufacture, would not cease again upon any peace, which the pressure of our arms might produce; that she has the raw material in abundance, being capable of growing *cotton* enough to supply the whole civilized world.——What, then, is cotton all that we supply her with? It does not make a *tenth* part of her imports from England. By descending to almost a savage state, she might do without our hardware and some other branches of manufacture; but, without our wool, she could not exist even in that state. It is as necessary to her as food. Without it life cannot be preserved; and, were I minister of England, I would soon convince her, since she has begun to be so insolent, and to treat us as shop-keepers, that she held her life at my mercy. America is a country which has an average *hard* winter of *seven months*. There needs no authority to convince us, that she *must* want a great quantity of woollens of every description, and that she *cannot* produce, proportionately, much wool; because, as to the first, the bodily sensations of every man will lead him to a right conclusion, and, as to the second, it requires but a very slight degree of observation to convince one, that, in a country which has such winters, sheep cannot be raised to any extent. Add to this the three circumstances, that the winters are always accompanied with deep snow; that the summers are as much hotter than ours as the winters are colder; and that the untilled land is covered with impenetrable woods, instead, as here, with grass or heath. There needs nothing more to convince the reader, that America not only cannot produce woollens enough for her now, but that it is absolutely impossible that she ever should.——Mr. Spence has, I perceive, been deceived by one of those deceivers, the American land-jobbers, upon whose authority he states, that the Kentucky farmer "makes even his own "clothing at home, and sells no more of "the produce of his land, than will serve "to buy him salt and a *few* other articles," amongst which few articles he includes, of course, his coat, waistcoat, flannel shirt, stockings, overalls, and blankets; for these he *must* have, and he must have them from

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England. And where does this Kentucky farmer get his *hardware*? Good God! what silly lies do these fellows put into print! And yet they find even sensible men ready to believe them. Mr. Spence has, I should think, in his single head, more real wisdom than all the "New Amphyctionic Council," (as poor Mably called the Congress) put together. But what the Americans want in wisdom and in wit, they amply make up for in impudence; and experience teaches us the great utility of that endowment in obtaining belief to falsehood. What always surprised me most, was, how they could look *one another* in the face after having published their lies. But, it seemed to be a thing understood amongst them. As if they had entered into a compact, as if they had promised and vowed at their baptism, to humbug the whole world and especially England. I really am not quite in charity with Mr. Spence for having given currency to this representation; for, what sort of pots and kettles and candlesticks and locks and keys and plates and dishes did he believe it *possible* for a Kentucky farmer to *make at home*? What sort of shoes? Nay, though he may grow the *flax*, what sort of *shirts* and *handkerchiefs*? What sort of *caps* and other things for women and for young children? I'll tell Mr. Spence what an American farmer makes at home. Most things in wood, except what is called furniture, and that he buys. Coarse aprons; coarse linen for summer trowsers; bed-ticking of a coarse kind; and in families abounding in females, some coarse shirts to work in; as also a little of a sort of stuff called linsey woolsey. But, even this practice is far from being general, there not being, perhaps, one farmer in ten who is able to adopt it to any extent worth mentioning. This is the real state of the case. I know it to be so from having not only lived many years in America, but from having passed a considerable part of my time in the houses of farmers. From this statement is it not clear, that the people cannot exist without imported woollens, and that, too, in great quantities? The country never could have been settled without the aid of the wool of Europe; and, for the reasons which I have given, it cannot now exist without it.—— But, this writer, of whose lucubrations the Morning Chronicle is so anxious to obtain a continuation, tells us, that, by making it a *national distinction* to wear home manufactures, and *penal* to wear any other, the thing would be *easily* accomplished. Very easy indeed, to hang a man or woman, or, according to the *old practice*, to ride them naked upon a three sided rail having first dressed them in a garment of tar and feathers; or, not having a jail at hand, to shut them up in their own houses, or townships, denying them all communication with friends or relations, and denying them, at the same time, *all medical assistance*: by hellish means like these, which none but Americans ever practised, they might prevent people from wearing many articles that they now wear; but, not English woollens; for them even the tormentors themselves must wear, or they would be frozen too stiff to be able to inflict their torments. However, supposing the Devil to come to the aid of the fraudulent debtors to English merchants (for those are the great enemies to England), and to furnish each of them with a garment from his own manufactory, frost and snow proof; and supposing, that, by one means or another, a state of things is brought about, in which even English woollens can be dispensed with. The consequence *to us*, we have shown, would be beneficial; but, in order to shew that this profound gentleman has, if he be sincere, taken a false alarm, let us apply what he says of America to ourselves. He tells us, that the agricultural industry of America would *suddenly be turned on manufacture*. Well, then, I think our manufacturing industry might, without any riding upon three edged rails, be as suddenly turned upon agriculture; for, it is pretty evident, that a man weaver will learn to thresh quite as soon as a thresher will learn to weave; and that a boy or girl spinner will learn to weed or to tend sheep quite as soon as a boy or girl shepherd or weaver will learn to spin. They will require the same quantity of food in one situation as in the other; and, if the loss of American commerce had this effect, the change would produce no other consequence, than that of an addition to the good morals, the health and bodily strength of the people here, while the change in America would produce a contrary effect, except as to *morals*, for, in that respect, with the exceptions before made, it may safely set all change at defiance. But, the truth is, as has been before amply proved, that the cessation of commerce altogether, and, of course, with America, would produce in England, the effect here contemplated only in part, and that, perhaps, a very small part. We now raise, upon our own lands, food to keep, say a thousand, manufacturers to make goods to be sent to America, there to be exchanged for tobacco, for instance; if we did not give them the food for this purpose, we should give it them for some other purpose, and, as to

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bacco is a pure luxury, though, it must be confessed, a very strange one, we should, if we could no longer get tobacco, give these thousand persons food to make us some other luxury, and, perhaps, it might be a luxury contributing more towards what may be called national wealth than a thing which we send upwards in smoke or downwards in something still more offensive to the beholder; and, as to *revenue*, of which also this gentleman is pleased to speak, as arising from commerce, we have proved, I trust, to the satisfaction of every man capable of putting two ideas together, that *all* revenue, in this country, is paid by the *people here*, and that the ability to pay it comes from resources inseparable from the land. In this instance of the tobacco, who pays the revenue? The Parson, who smokes it; and the Parson is enabled to pay for it by the produce of his living, and that produce comes from the land. A newspaper publisher, in imitation of his betters, smokes it too. Here the operation is a little more intricate; but, if we trace back the money, which the publisher gets by his newspapers, to the pockets of those who read them, we shall find that they, too, are the representatives of something which the land has produced.——Thus, then, in whatever light we view the commerce of America, its cessation can be no injury to us as a nation; but, on the contrary, must, if the thing can be accomplished, be finally a permanent benefit. We are so situated as to want nothing but what our land produces, with the exception of the few articles of naval stores, of which, too, our marine, a marine naturally growing out of and supported by our own mines and domestic trade, will always insure us an abundance, in spite of the world combined. We want no "*national distinctions*" to induce us to wear cloths of our own manufacturing and produce; much less do we want, for that purpose, the three edged rails, or any of those infernal transatlantic inventions, by which murder is committed with the levity of a wake. We have no need to have recourse to any violent or unnatural means. The surplus produce of our soil will still feed all those whom it now feeds; and, though, doubtless, for a short time, there will be some individual inconvenience and distress arise from the changing of the channel through which it now reaches that part of the people who are employed in making manufactures for exportation, we have only to let the thing alone, new and regular channels will open, and we shall have the experimental proof of the truths, for which I have been contending, and from my anxiety to establish, which I have, I am afraid, put to too severe a trial the patience of the reader.——In taking leave of this subject, for the present, I must point out to the reader a letter from Mr. Spence (which will be found below), complaining of my insinuations against him, in the making of which he has convinced me that I was wrong, and I, therefore beg his pardon. I do not, however, allow, that I was a plagiarist either from Aristotle or Bishop Berkeley; for, though it now appears (what I did not know before) that they inculcated the same principles, which I have been endeavouring to inculcate, the application of them to a state of things like the present is new. I felt, before receiving his letter, great admiration of the talents of Mr. Spence, entirely unmixed with any thing like literary envy; but, I must confess, that there is one honour, which, as I have hitherto enjoyed, so I wish always to enjoy, undivided with any mortal breathing, and that is the honour of being abused by the hirelings of the press, those enemies of truth, those darkness and pestilence shedding stars, those curses and scourges of the community. This wish is, perhaps, a weakness; but, who has not his weakness? Mr. Spence makes but a poor apology, or rather none at all, for putting F. L. S. to the end of his name. Plain William Spence would have answered every useful purpose; and, I venture to say, that he is, in his own mind, convinced, that the society, to which he belongs, wherever and whatever it may be, is unworthy the honour he has done it. Men who are nothing of themselves naturally wish to crowd into a society or party. "What are you?" said a friend of mine, one day, to another person. "A staunch Pittite," answered he. "That's well for you," replied my friend, "for now you are *something*." But, Mr. Spence is not one of those nothing-men. He had no rational temptation to add any initials to his name; and, besides, it was imitating those impostors, who cheat the unwary by practising the trade emphatically called *book-making*, which is entirely an operation of the hand and scissars. I declare with perfect seriousness, that my insinuations, of which Mr. Spence so justly complains, arose, in great part, from the prejudice excited by those unfortunate initials; and, when one starts with a prejudice, it generally sticks by one to the end of the journey. When I see L. L. D. in a title page, if I am not well acquainted with the name that precedes it, I instantly throw down the book, as the work of one who has obtained his certificate of learning from our "*well educated*"

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neighbours to the North, at the price of a second-hand wig.

AMERICAN STATES.——Since the greater part of the foregoing article was written, I have, through the news-papers (who said they were good for *nothing?*), received a speech, or address of President Jefferson, at the opening, on the 27th of October last, of the "New Amphyctionic Council," commonly called the Congress of the United States of America.——Upon the want of candour, the partiality, the falsehood, both expressed and by omission, of this Amphyctionic address, it is quite unnecessary to comment; they being too glaring to escape the attention of the most superficial reader. The sum and substance of the address is this: "We will frighten the mercantile government of England into such further concessions as shall serve her enemies in Europe for an example at the next peace, and thereby we will undermine her maritime power, and glut, in her fall, that vengeance, which her having continued great in spite of her loss of us, has excited in our breasts, as being a sore rebuff to our vanity." This is the language of their hearts; this is the design which they harbour; and, looking at the ministers, looking back at the school in which they were bred, looking at their recent proclamation with regard to America, looking at the number, the connections, and the influence of those concerned in American trade, American lands, and American funds, I am far from being confident, that the design will not succeed.——The temper of the ministers may, in some degree, though, I should hope not wholly, be judged of from the following article, taken from the Courier of the 8th instant, that paper being, at present, engaged in serving them in the double capacity of injector and pulse-feeler with the public. "The partizans of "America assert that it is the interest of "this country to remain at peace with America. It is so—but it is equally the interest of America to remain at peace with "us—the interest is mutual, or rather we "should be justified in maintaining that it "was more the interest of America than of "Great Britain. But America acts and has "long acted towards us as if she thought the "behaved with great condescension and favour to us in not taking part against us, as "if she thought the advantages of peace were "all on our side, and as if in not going to "war she consulted a principle of generosity "towards us rather than a principle of inclination: Hence she has never failed to "manifest discontent, to make complaints, "to urge demands which she has conceived "we would not refuse, because we would "not relinquish the benefits we derived "from being at peace with her—hence her "continual encroachment and attempts to "get concessions from us. It is remarkable "that the cry against all the late Administrations has been, that they manifested "too great a disposition to make Concessions to America—it was a charge brought "against the Administration of Mr. PITT "—it was a charge which was very generally brought against the late Administration—It was a charge which, in the affair "of Admiral BERKLEY and in the proclamation against searching neutral ships of "war, has even been brought against the "present Ministers. Whether these charges were past to the extent to which they are "urged, we shall not now enquire; but "they proved, at least, that there was no "disposition on the part of any Administration to behave with harshness or injustice "towards America. In proportion, however, as she discovered a yielding and "conciliating disposition on our part. Did "her avarice and desires increase—acquiescence in one demand created only fresh "demands, and the more moderation we "evinced, the more did it fail to produce a "corresponding disposition on her part.—"We have now the proof and demonstration "before us, that *America is not to be conciliated by concession*—The period of "concession is past—she has mistaken our "moderation for meanness—she has imputed our forbearance to fear—it is high time "we should convince her of her error.—"A more disingenuous speech than that of "Mr. JEFFERSON's—a speech more unworthy of a statesman—more resembling "that of the leader of a party than of the "head of a government—more liable to "the charge of partiality, of wilful concealment of facts, it were difficult to "conceive.—We know well enough that "Mr. JEFFERSON has always had a strong "attachment to the French, an attachment "which all the horrors of the Revolution "have not impaired; but we never could "have supposed that in a grave and solemn "exposition of the situation of his country "to his own legislature, he would have "presumed to have characterised the conduct of France, which has been in the "highest degree hostile and haughty to "America, as perfectly amicable and friendly, while he presented our conduct and "our Orders in Council, which France has "obliged us to adopt, in the most black "and warlike point of view.—The period

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" for electing a President of the United " States approaches.—He may wish to pro- " pitiate the democratic party in America, " and to prevail upon them to re-elect him " to the President's chair. He may also " have directed all his indignation against " this country, and kept entirely out of " view the conduct of France, from a " belief that France may at last oblige us " to surrender part of our maritime rights. " But has this sapient President no appre- " ciations that the experiment might be " fatal to the interests and independence of " his own country, *and that should France* " *finally prevail over England, the liberty* " *of America would not long survive?* " There is another circumstance of which " we should suppose Mr. JEFFERSON cannot " be ignorant; that war with this country " must be a war without hope; not only " without hope, but with certain destruc- " tion to the American commerce? *But* " *"perish commerce!" is perhaps the motto of* " *the American President, as well as of* " *certain wiseacres on this side the water.*— " During his residence in France, he be- " came enamoured of the doctrines of the " Œconomists and Turgotists, and he " wishes, pitiably, to try the experiment " of a nation relinquishing foreign com- " merce, living upon the produce of its " own territories, and confining itself " to the pursuits of agriculture. If such " be his wishes, we know not that he could " have found out a more likely means of " realizing them than by going to war with " this country.—War with this country, it " is scarcely possible to concieve he is not " desirous of provoking, by the concealment " of every fact which might dispose Con- " gress or the people of America to adopt " amicable or pacific measures.—It is utter- " ly improbable that he could have been " ignorant, when Congress met, of the " *disposition and feelings of his Majesty's* " *Ministers, with respect to the affair of the* " *Chesapeake.*—It was known in this coun- " try about the 26th of July, on the 27th July " the subject was alluded to in both Houses of " Parliament. To a question from Mr " WHITBREAD in the House of Commons, " Mr. Perceval, tho chancellor of the ex- " chequer, replied, that " All he could say " " was, that if, upon receiving the neces- " " sary information, it should appear that " " there was any thing improper or unjus- " " tifiable in the conduct of the officers " " concerned, there certainly would be e- " " very wish, on the part of his Majesty's " " ministers, to make the fullest reparation " " the nature of the case would admit of." Mr. Whitbread immediately said, " that he " was glad he had asked the information; " because the answer he had received from " the right hon. gent. afforded him the " greatest consolation.*——This declara- " tion of his Majesty's ministers must have " reached America long before October; " indeed we have seen it ourselves in the " American papers. We have every reason " to believe also *that government did trans-* " *mit a distinct disavowal of the affair;* " *and we are confident too that Mr. Jeffer-* " *son was informed of the fact that our go-* " *vernment did not claim the right of search-* " *ing neutral ships of war.*"——Don't cry! I thought that " NO-POPERY" had more *vi-* *gour.* What, can you show vigour towards nobody but the Irish?—Come, wipe your gentle, sweet, no-popery eyes, and tell us all about your wrongs. And so, you sent this unreasonable man word, did you, as soon as possible, that you " did not " claim the right of searching ships of war," and, of course, that you gave up Admiral Berkeley, and were ready " to make the *ful-* " *lest satisfaction* the nature of the case " would admit of?" You hastened to tell him this, did you? Well, and what then? He turned his back upon you, did he, in ex- pression of his contempt, and represented the affair to the Amphyctionic Council, just the same as if he had not received your pri- vate apology. Really, that was pretty well, I think; for, if he had spoken to the Coun- cil about your apology, it is probable they would have spitten in your face, for they did actually spit at one another when I was in America. But, my dear gentle no popery, are you surprized to find, that " *Ameri-* " *ca is not to be conciliated by concession;* " that she has mistaken your moderation for " meanness, that she has imputed your for- " bearance to fear?" Why, evangelical no- popery, why should you be surprized at this, when, upon the first appearance of your proclamation, I told you it would be so, and that, too, almost in the very words, where- in you now state your conviction. Nay, I warned you of it at the time when Mr. Per- ceval gave the above quoted answer to Mr. Whitbread. I expressed my regret, that that answer foreboded *yielding;* and, I explicitly told you, that to give signs of a readiness to yield was the on- ly possible way to produce a rupture with America; but, either from the natural soft- ness of your disposition, or from having all your vigour engaged in Ireland, you went on

* See Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. ix, p. 930.

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relenting, and you have now the consequence before you. Perhaps you will say, as Mr. Perceval did, in the court of King's Bench, "what are you, that we should have believed your predictions?" Soften that killing frown, my angelic no-popery, and I will tell you what I am. I am a person, rendered by experience (which makes fools wise, you will observe), thoroughly skilled in the American character, manners, interests, and motives of political conduct. I understand well the nature of their government, the resources of their country, the means and the wants of the people; and I understand, too, the nature and extent of their connections with this and with other countries. Farmer (to construct a sentence after the manner of the learned George Chalmers), Farmer there is not, who knows his cattle better than I my Americans. I have summered them and wintered them for eight long years; I have tried them upon all sorts of grounds and in all their paces; I know all their tricks (and they have not a few), all their ailings and failings; all their bad qualities and all their good ones. And this, no-popery, is what I am, a person, I presume, better calculated to give you advice than Mr. Whitbread, or Mr. A. B. of the Morning Chronicle, who calls upon you to make *further concessions*, in order to "break the French faction in "America;" but, be assured, sweet saint, that you may break your heart and neck, and give your body to be burned in the attempt, and that you will fail at last; of the truth of which you must, one would think, be now pretty well convinced. The ruling party in America like you just as well as your political opponents; they laugh at your cries of no-popery and of danger to the church. These, your wars, are matter of diversion for them. They hate us all together, and would annihilate us, if they could, without any of those considerations, which you seem to suppose they ought to have, about not favouring Napoleon in his views upon us, lest he should finally fall upon them, and take their "liberty" from them, no such idea having ever come athwart their minds. As to *real liberty*, they have not much to lose, any more than certain other nations that I could name; and, they could *talk* about it, under a Buonaparté as well as under a Thomas Jefferson.——You have nothing left, therefore, but to bow down your neck at once, or to gird on your sword. Nay, draw it out, lay aside your sweet consenting conceding disposition, screw up your mouth and knit your brows, as Pitt used to do, when a hard gravelly truth fell upon his ear, and let your eyes flash religious fire upon these refractory Americans. But, if you do yield, as, from the known mildness of your nature, I suppose you will, let me beseech you to do it openly and without reservation. Down upon your saint-like marrow-bones, nay prostrate yourself at full length. Let us have no more *private* apologies; none of your penance performed in a corner; come forth in the white sheet at once.——You are in a sadly "unsatisfactory state," I must confess——Speaking now to my readers, I would ask them, what, if our doctrines respecting commerce be sound, we have to fear from a war with America, who, it is allowed, on all hands, cannot touch us with her *arms?* The truth is, that it is only cowardice in our councils that can, even now, produce a war. The wise man of the Morning Chronicle thinks the President has called the Congress together to *consult* with them. Not at all. They have been called, at an earlier period than usual, merely for the purpose of intimidating us by the President's address, which was written for *our* use and not for that of the "Amphyctionic Council." If we remain firm, they will give way; if we recoil, they will tread upon us, step after step, till we are down and trampled under their feet.——They cannot maintain war against us for a year. The thing is impossible; and, even during that year, they must and will have our goods. We have nothing to do but to send out from ten to fifteen frigates; their trade is at an end in a month, and their people soon afterwards in mutiny. Mr. Jefferson's hatred may be great, and his party may be strong; but, he will have two most formidable enemies to cope with at home; namely, the *back* and the *belly*. Coffee, molasses, and rum, are, in that country, nearly necessaries of life; and, these come only in ships. Of the absolute necessity of woollens I spoke before. In short, it is downright madness to talk of their carrying on a war for the purpose of obtaining concessions of speculative good from us. A war, upon such grounds, would not only overset Mr. Jefferson's party, but his government. Does any one imagine that the people of New England, who have long wished, and expressed their wishes, for a separation from the Southern States, will forego that commerce, which is necessary, not to their comfort, but to their existence, to humour the partialities of those whom they hate? The people of New England are wise, brave, and virtuous; they are the soul of the country; and, we may be assured, that they will not tamely submit to be made the instruments of their own misery. A

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war it is that would, therefore, "break the French faction in America;" but, no concessions would have such a tendency; while they must, in the end, work our ruin, because they would destroy our power upon the sea.——*Botley, Dec. 10, 1807.*

LETTER FROM MR. SPENCE.

SIR,——As the dissemination of opinions, which at this juncture I deem particularly important, was the object I had in view in publishing the pamphlet on Commerce, from which you have of late made such large extracts, I cannot but feel highly obliged to you for so effectually promoting my purpose. I have to thank you also for the compliments which you pay me. But, along with these you couple a charge of plagiarism. You broadly insinuate, that however excellent my ideas may be, they are wholly stolen from your Political Register. Such a charge requires some notice, and I intend this letter as a refutation of it; for, of all stealing, literary stealing is the most indefensible; and I should have little hope that my opinions would have any weight with your readers, if, influenced by your insinuations, they believed them to be advanced by a plagiarist. I should have written what I now send you, immediately after seeing your No. of the 21st of Nov., but your charges seemed to thicken so marvellously, that I was induced to wait a week longer for their probable accumulation. In your last No. I perceive you appear to have exhausted your accusations; and, I therefore, lose no time in transmitting my defence. Before, however, I enter upon it, you must suffer me to premise, that I feel no ill humour towards you on account of your insinuations. On the contrary, conscious how groundless they are, I have been highly gratified by your critique. Your sneer at "my weakness in putting F. L. S. after my name," and your sage conjecture that I (who was never out of England in my life, nor my forefathers either, as far as I know), *must* "be a Scotchman," have amused me much more, I dare say, than any of your readers. And the gratification I have derived from seeing the opinions which we hold in common, so ably and staunchly supported in a work which has such extended circulation, has far outweighed any sensations of anger, on account of the injustice you have done me.—To proceed with my reply to your accusation of plagiarism. In the first place, I might state, and bring forward the evidence of at least a dozen literary friends in support of my assertion, that all the main positions of my pamphlet were maintained by me at least six years ago; and, indeed, I have now by me a paper which was read to a literary society in 1801, expressly in support of these doctrines. But there is no necessity for proofs of this kind. Such proofs would be necessary only, if I had claimed any *originality* in the positions which I maintain; but you, Mr. Cobbett, well know, that I make no such claim. You know, that I explicitly adduce the arguments which I employ, in support of doctrines which I state to have been maintained long ago, by philosophers known by the title of the French Economists. I ask you, therefore, in the second place, whether there was ever since the creation of the world, such a charge of plagiarism brought forward as yours? Is there an instance on record, of one author charging another with stealing his ideas, when that other expressly declares, that he is maintaining opinions supported by writers who flourished before either of them were born? Yet precisely such a charge is yours. The doctrines that agriculture is the sole source of wealth, and that commerce cannot enrich a nation, were insisted upon 50 years ago, by certain philosophers in France. In my pamphlet, avowing the source whence I derived them, I profess merely to place these doctrines in a new point of view, to restrict them in some respects, to elucidate them more fully in others, and to deduce some conclusions from them, which, as far as I knew, were novel. How preposterous, then, to charge me with stealing these ideas from you! You talk of my "taking pains to premise that I was the first to promulgate such sentiments." But, where do I take any such pains? I say, indeed, that the motive which induced me to publish on the subject, was the wish to lead the 99 out of 100 of those of my acquaintance, (yours, it appears, are a more enlightened tribe) who believed commerce to be essential to our existence, to entertain more manly and just ideas of our independence. But surely, Mr. Cobbett, your experience must have taught you, that opinions may be promulgated over and over again without working conviction: and though I knew, therefore, that similar opinions with mine had frequently been before the public, I did not, on that account, think it unnecessary once more to give them in a new form; especially since, if digestion be allowed to assimilate our mental food to our own substance, I might fairly consider these ideas my own, for I had not read one of the works from which they were originally drawn, for at least 6 or 7 years previous to the writing my pamphlet; and since, be-

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sides, as a combined whole, my system differs essentially from that of any political economist. Your opinions on these topics, seem to have been drawn from the stores of your own mind. You have much greater merit, therefore, than I can lay claim to. But be contented with this praise. Usurp not a title to originality, which cannot be conceded to you. You please yourself with the idea of being the *creator* of these doctrines, and you amuse yourself with playing on my language, and calling me the transmuter or manufacturer of them. I am content with the latter designation, but, alas! I must deprive you of the glory of the former. *You* the creator of the opinions, that agriculture is the great source of wealth, and commerce, merely a transfer of it! Why, my good Sir, these opinions were maintained 2200 years ago by an old Grecian named Aristotle. Your antipathy to the learned languages prevents my referring you to this philosopher in his own tongue, but take the trouble to look over Dr. Gillies's translation of his ethics and politics, and you will see that the vile plagiarist (pardon the anachronism; you will shortly find that you have set me the example) has run away with all your discoveries. If this research be too fatiguing for you, I have another of these forestalling rogues of antiquity to bring to your notice. Turn to the 1st vol. 8vo. edition of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," p. 341, and you will find that a certain monarch, named Artaxerxes, gave it as his opinion 2000 years ago, "that agriculture is the sole source of wealth, and that all taxes, must in the end, fall upon the produce of the soil." But, I foresee that you have still a hole to creep out at. A saving clause in one part of your remarks teaches me, that you will say, "that, at least, you are the first promulgator of these opinions in Britain." But if you solace yourself with such a hope, I am once more obliged to demolish your air-built castles. Look over the *Querist* of good Bishop Berkeley, and you will be convinced that all these discoveries which you claim, were perfectly familiar to him. Adam Smith, too, however opposed to our tenets he may appear at the first glance, if sifted to the bottom, will be found, not widely to differ from us. The very object of Lord Lauderdale's "inquiry" is to prove that "land and labour are the *sole* sources of wealth;" and to omit other instances, a pamphlet was published a few years ago by Dr. Gray, which carries these doctrines to a greater length than any of us. Even your old friends the Edinburgh Reviewers (would you have thought it Mr. Cobbett?) have once at least, whatever they may be now, been of our opinion on these points. Refer to Vol. I. p. 445 of their Review, and you will find them arguing that all taxes fall eventually upon the land proprietors; and that, consequently, agriculture must be the grand source of wealth. Thus, you see, even if you had maintained these important positions, more strenuously than you have done, I could with no propriety have given you the credit of being their first discoverer Such an unjust distribution of literary merit, if it had not raised the ghost of Bishop Berkeley from his grave, would certainly have brought Lord Lauderdale, Dr. Gray, and a whole tribe of enraged authors about our ears; and I even tremble, when I think of the vengeance which those terrific Scotch dissectors, the Edinburgh Reviewers would have taken on us. As it is, I should not wonder, if, losing sight of their identity, they were to fall foul of us; but with what whetted beaks, and sharpened talons, would they not have pounced upon us, had they caught us monopolizing the credit of discoveries which were made ages since!——As you may not have Bishop Berkeley's works at hand, to prove to your readers, that we have great authority on our side, suffer me to quote one of his queries. Q. 123 "Whether one may "not be allowed to conceive and suppose a "society or nation of human creatures, clad "in woollen cloths and stuffs, eating good "bread, beef, and mutton, poultry, and "fish in great plenty; drinking ale, mead, "and cyder; inhabiting decent houses built "of brick and marble; taking their pleasure in fair parks and gardens; *depending "on no foreign imports* whether for food or "raiment: and whether such a people "ought much to be pitied?" Two more queries may serve to dissipate the fears of those good souls who think we shall be ruined, if we cannot get tea and brandy. Q. 159. "Whether, if our ladies drank sage or "balm-tea out of *Irish* ware (Bishop Berkeley was an Irishman your readers will remember) it would be an insupportable "national calamity?" Q. 156.—"Whether, "if people must poison themselves, they "had not better do it with their own "growth?"—In concluding this head of my letter, I have one question seriously to put to you, to which I should wish to have an explicit answer. The extract which you first copied from my pamphlet, in the pamphlet begins thus, "That the examination of the "truth of the opinion *of the French econo-"mists*, that agriculture is the only source "of wealth, &c." In your extract you have omitted the words "of the French eco-

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nomists," and only these, in an extract of five pages. What could be your motive for this omission? I cannot bring myself to believe that it was for the purpose of making this extract square with your insinuation, that I was copying from you: but, I confess I cannot easily account for it on any other supposition. On this point, therefore, I must request an explanation from you, and I shall be glad if it prove satisfactory.—Notwithstanding the above host of evidence proving it is not probable I should copy from you, opinions maintained above 2000 years by authors without number, it is not unlikely, as you are a pertinacious gentleman, but you will still insist that I have drawn my sentiments from your secondary fountain; and, as you have given extracts from your Register to prove this idea, it requires some notice. You are right in your conjecture, that I am in the habit of reading your weekly publication. I have seen it for about 3 years at a news' room; not, however, constantly, for my occasional absences from home have frequently prevented my reading it for months together. Amongst much of your publication that I approved, and much that I disapproved, I was of course gratified to see you now and then, advancing opinions similar to my own, on the subjects of my pamphlet; but, I confess, it never struck me that you had established your doctrine in such an argumentative and logical way, as to preclude their further discussion: and, as I can with truth say, that I am not conscious of being indebted to you for one single idea advanced in my publication, it certainly never entered into my head that there was any necessity for adverting to the circumstance of your having maintained similar doctrines; especially, as I had no reason for supposing them original with you, any more than with myself. But to proceed to your extracts. The one which alone has any such similarity with a parallel passage of mine, as to justify even a suspicion of plagiarism, is that in which you argue on like grounds with me, that the revenue is indebted for the duty paid on tea, not to the East India Company, but to the consumers of that article. The similarity here, is merely accidental. Most assuredly, I never saw the passage quoted in your Register, when it was originally published; for if I had, its accordance with my own opinions would have fixed it in my memory; whereas it was perfectly new to me. But even if I had seen it when first published, as it was an illustration which had occurred to me years before, I should not have scrupled to make use of it as my own. You surely will not pretend that an idea, which you say is so obvious, that it must have struck the most stupid of the human race, is one which might not have occurred to two persons meditating on the same question.—You say, too, that you have long ago advanced the arguments which I employ to show that the nation does not get rich by the East India trade. This may probably be the case, though I was not aware of it; and you do not point out the passages in your Register, where your opinions on this head are to be found. But you must see, that my fixing upon the *East India trade* to show that we do not get rich by import commerce, was merely, because, as in that trade, we exchange bullion for a luxury, the chain of argument is more simple. I might just as well have instanced the Baltic trade, or the Turkey trade; and, in that case, I suppose you would not have pretended that I was indebted to you for my arguments.—On the remainder of your parallel extracts, I shall be very brief. You give two of the 6th and 20th Dec. 1806. I have only to say, that my pamphlet was *written* in *November* 1806. You may be made sure of this, either by inquiring of the printer, who had it in his hands in the beginning of Jan. 1807; or, by the internal evidence of the fact at pages 2 and 82, where the conquest of Buenos Ayres is spoken of as a recent transaction, and the sugar distillery question as being then under the consideration of parliament. But, your last extract is the greatest curiosity. This, you say, contains *multum in parvo*, the sum and substance of all my publication; and you verily believe is more calculated to work conviction than my elaborate arguments. All very probable, my good Sir; but what, in the name of consistency and of common sense, had become of your eyes when you adduced this extract as a proof of plagiarism? Surely you must have been sleeping. Why, Sir, your extract was published on the 22d August, and my pamphlet was published on the 3d of the same month, that is, *three weeks before!!!* Who is the plagiarist now, Mr. Cobbett? Your *multum in parvo* extract, the *source* of all the arguments in a pamphlet published *three weeks before* it! Admirable logic to be sure! You see the anachronism of making Aristotle steal from you, is not without authority. You will say, perhaps, you were ignorant of the date of the publication of my pamphlet. This I cannot help. It was your business before you brought forward a charge of plagiarism, to have consulted the documents which would have given you the requisite information. If you had looked into the newspapers of the 3d August, you would have seen an

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advertisement which would have prevented your committing yourself, in the way you have done. In this matter I can lay claim to greater liberality. I was actually asked by a friend, on the appearance of your extract, if I did not think you had stolen your ideas from me. But I, knowing that you had maintained similar opinions before, and moreover, that nothing is more easy than for two writers to stumble on the same ideas, gave no countenance to the supposition. So much for my defence against your charges. I have been obliged to enter into a detail, which I dare say will be as tiresome to your readers to peruse, as it has been to me to write; but the impossibility of compressing into smaller space, the explanations which your insinuations seemed to call for, must plead my excuse for this prolixity.—While I have the pen in my hand, I may as well say a word or two, in reply to the objections which you have thrown out against some of the subordinate parts of my reasoning. You treat as absurd, the idea of the government maintaining those who may be thrown out of employment by the loss of our foreign export trade, and occupying them in public works. You must recollect that I recommend this, only, "until a demand from new branches of industry shall have caused for them independent and profitable employment." You admit they must be supported in some way, and the question therefore is, whether this burthen had better be defrayed by the nation at large, employing them in public works that *are wanted*, or be thrown upon particular parishes that could not find employment for the poor. Your position, that roads, canals and other public works should never be undertaken, until they can be profitably undertaken, seems to me very untenable. But it is impossible to enter into this subject here. You say also, that I am in error in supposing that hemp and flax could be grown upon waste land. This I never meant to say, but merely, as you have better expressed my ideas, that corn might be grown upon waste land, and hemp and flax upon the rich land now appropriated to corn. But these productions will grow freely upon *bog-land*, and there are many hundred thousand acres of this, unreclaimed in Great Britain and Ireland. (See Young's Annals of Agriculture, the last No.)—Two of your correspondents have honoured me with their remarks. To both I can only say, that if they had read the whole pamphlet in question, they would have found their difficulties, which are occasioned by having seen detached passages of it only, attempted to be resolved. The polite expressions, however, and sensible remarks of W. F. S. deserve more attention; and, I beg to recommend to his notice, and to that of all your readers who may doubt of the possibility of finding employment for the manufacturers that may be thrown out of employment by the loss of foreign trade, the following passage of Mr. Hume. It occurs in his essay on commerce. "When the affairs of the society are once "brought to this situation, a nation may "lose most of its foreign trade, and yet con- "tinue a great and powerful people. If "strangers will not take any particular "commodity of ours, we must cease to la- "bour in it. The same hands will turn "themselves towards some refinement in "other commodities which may be wanted "at home, *and there must always be mate- "rials for them to work upon; till every "person in the state who possesses riches, "enjoys as great plenty of home commodi- "ties, and those in as great perfection as "he desires; which can never possibly hap- "pen.* China is represented as one of the "most flourishing countries in the world; "though it has very little commerce beyond "its own territories."——I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,—WILLIAM SPENCE.

Drypool, Dec. 1, 1807.

CAPTAIN SCOTT.

Sir—You will much oblige me by inserting in your paper, for the satisfaction of others, the following letter, which I have authority to say, is the truest account that has been received of the loss of the Boreas. The kind and mindful testimony of Sir James Saumarez to the character of my beloved and deeply lamented brother, so worthy of a British seaman, lays me under the most lasting obligations to that gallant and distinguished officer.—I am, &c. WILLIAM SCOTT.—Serjeant's Inn, Dec. 7, 1807.

"*Inconstant, in Guernsey Road, Nov.* 29.—Sir; It is with the deepest regret I have to acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that his Majesty's ship Boreas, in standing towards this island yesterday evening, about 6 o'clock, run upon the Hannois Rock, the wind at the time blowing very hard at N. E—I received information of this unfortunate event about 2 o'clock this morning, and immediately sent orders to the Brilliant and Jamaica (which had arrived from Spithead the preceding day, with the Rebuff gun brig) the Britannia cutter, and one of the Government scouts, to proceed off the Hannois, and afford her every assistance; their Lordships will be very much concerned to be informed, that on the tide's flowing the ship

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overset, and became a complete wreck, at about two o'clock; and I am truly grieved to be obliged to add, that captain Scott, with the officers and men, except those mentioned in the inclosed list where lost with the ship; lieut. Berwick (second lieut.), with lieut. Wilson, of the Royal Marines, and 6 men, were sent off in the gig, and landed in the western part of the island; and about 30 others in the launch and large cutter, were also landed, and the boats returned to the ship, but have not been heard of, and there is every reason to fear were lost on nearing her—Through the great exertions of lieut. colonel Sir Thomas Saumarez, in collecting the pilots and boatmen in the vicinity of Rorquains, about 30 seamen and marines were taken off the Rock of the Hanpois at day light, which I fear are the whole that have been saved.—The greatest praise appears to be due to captain Scott, and all his officers and men, for their steadiness and good conduct, under such perilous circumstances, in a dark and tempestuous night, in the midst of the most dangerous rocks that can be conceived; and I have most sincerely to lament the loss of so many brave officers and men who have perished on this most melancholy occasion.—Capt. Scott has been long upon this station, and has always shewn the greatest zeal and attachment for his Majesty's service, and in him particularly, his country meets a great loss, being a most valuable and deserving officer. I am, Sir, &c. (Signed) Js. SAUMAREZ."—*To the Hon. W. W. Pole, Secretary to the Admiralty.*

WASTE LANDS.

SIR,——I should not so soon have intruded upon you, had I not thought it necessary to mention something relative to my letters, which you have done me the honour of inserting in your Register. You brought forward in the whole, four letters of mine; the first of these, p. 838, was upon the Internal Situation of Ireland; the second, p. 439, through mistake was also entitled Ireland's Internal Situation; the 3d and 4th letters were numbered 2d and 3d. If you will have the goodness to peruse my second letter again, you will, I doubt not, think that England's waste lands would have been more apposite than the title given to that letter. I mention these errors, because I imagine, that in consequence of them my second letter may be passed over; and I am undoubtedly, very anxious that this should not happen; for, I am in hopes that what I have said of the *advantages to be derived from bringing into cultivation a greater breadth of land in this kingdom*, may induce some person of abilities, or what is of more consequence, some person in power, to write upon the subject of waste lands, or to bring the matter once more forward in parliament. When I addressed my second letter to you, I was not aware that Sir John Sinclair (while President of the Board of Agriculture), contrived to get something like a general inclosure bill, passed through the House of Commons, which was thrown out by the House of Lords.—Mr. Hobhouse, a member of parliament, in a letter which may be found in the Ninth Vol. of the Bath Agricultural Society's Papers, states this, with other circumstances, well worth notice. ——I am, &c.—M. H.—*Oct.* 30, 1807.

P. S. Without doubt my letters are very incorrect as to language. I shall point out two considerable errors which may render my meaning unintelligible, in p. 625 line 25, instead of 'discontinued' it should be read 'continued.' In p. 627 line 47, read 'without the smallest partiality' instead of 'impartiality.'

IRELAND.

SIR,——If your correspondent Mentor has proved, that if Ireland was conquered by Buonaparté, England might be invaded from the several points mentioned in Mentor's letter, I should in that case be inclined to think, England could not hold out against such a variety of attacks for any length of time. All I have now to say is, that Britons would no doubt do their duty under the most trying circumstances. However, I have no dread that it should ever fall to their lot to defend their country against their Irish fellow subjects leagued with the French. The Irish may feel their having been neglected; some may have erred when one half the world was in error, but all are now too wise not to make a common cause with England. The blindness of England in not promoting her own interest, by acting justly towards Ireland, but, on the contrary, denying her the enjoyment of those benefits freely granted to *the whole* of Great Britain, has in my mind, been chiefly owing to the mass of Englishmen being as little acquainted with the real state of Ireland, as of the real state of China. From what Mentor has said, I presume in this we are agreed. It often occurred to me, that could I have an opportunity of pointing

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out to my countrymen, what I know of that part of the British empire, I should be able to plant in their minds as anxious a desire to promote the happiness of every individual in the Sister Kingdom as I have myself; and, I must here declare, that I do not recollect to have met with one Englishman well acquainted with the misfortunes under which the Irish labour, that would not have lent his aid to have relieved them from their burthens. With the ideas before mentioned, I began my first letter to you, not expecting that my own words would appear in print, but hoping that you might from time to time bring forward those facts concerning Ireland, which I designed to put you in possession of. I am now sanguine enough to hope that my countrymen without exception, will throw off that jealousy towards Ireland, so unworthy of them, and that in future they will be solicitous that all parts of the United Empire should prosper.—I am, &c.——L. H.——*Nov.* 19, 1807.

IRISH TYTHES.

Sir,——I take the liberty of sending you an extract from a letter I have just received from a friend of mine, upon whose judgment and fidelity I place the greatest reliance, who has lately returned from a tour in Ireland. He says, "I found the climate in the south western part of Ireland very mild and salubrious, so much so, indeed, that I was half inclined to remain there, and probably should have done so, had it not been for the alarming state that country is in. You cannot conceive any thing more deplorably wretched than the state of the Irish peasantry: No one who has seen them, can wonder at their being ready to join in any plan that can hold forth the hope of a change, which must be always desirable to those who cannot change for the worse. Moloch's argument, "what can be worse," is completely applicable to their present state, and there is no want of Moloch's to urge it. I could write volumes about them, for I have seldom been more interested by any subject; but, you will probably hear enough of it when the House meets again, in consequence of these petitions against the Tything system, the grievances of which would be comparatively little felt, if Irish landlords lived on their own estates, and exacted only a moderate rent from their tenants; but as an Irish postboy remarked to me, when I asked him why they left such holes in the road, "it is easiest and cheapest to mend the best part, and leave the worst as it is." So the country gentlemen will find it easier and cheaper to rob the clergy, than to correct the abuses by which their own pockets are filled."—Leaving you, Sir, to make what use you think fit of these reflections, of a very sensible man on so interesting a subject.——I remain, &c.—A.D. Morrice.—*Nov.* 20, 1807.

POOR LAWS.

Sir,——After seeing my letter of the 10th instant, in your Register of Saturday last, (p. 650) chequered, caricatured in Italics, and pared away, as it there appeared, *ad libitum*, for to suit your own purpose, I had almost resolved to desert the correspondence. Lest you should, however, be disposed to construe this into turning my back upon you, I shall not yet do so without first giving you my reasons; and then you are welcome to take it all in your own way.—Mr. Cobbett, I cannot help remarking, and I think it is not without good reason, that you are the most disingenuous controversialist I have ever met with. Your manners bring to my mind, the behaviour of a blustering troublesome fellow at a mess, who cares nought about driving his elbows into his neighbours sides, and when he receives a hint of the propriety of keeping them nearer his own, he complains of it as "a personal reflection." If an explanation be offered he will not hear it, but seemingly conscious that his ranting and declamation are better adapted for the entertainment of the company, he prefers immensely a cavilling altercation to any thing else, whether in the shape of an answer or an argument. My letter, I know, was altogether of little or no importance; it is the first, however, that I have observed you give a partial publication to. But, to have committed the whole of it to the press "would have been a mere waste of paper." The excuse I admit is weighty, and would be quite satisfactory, were it not a little suspicious from the circumstance of its being rather too convenient for yourself, and forming a bad precedent for the future, when you have a mind to conceal any thing you do not wish should come to light. Let me ask you, Mr. Cobbett, if it is acting fairly with Sawney, that after a charge of a rude and vexatious nature is made against him, viz. that he indulges in personal reflections, he is not to be heard in his own defence? Aspersions are wantonly cast upon his country, but a direct confutation of them must not be permitted; if he attempt to expound the reason why you have been feeding our southern neighbours with erroneous prejudices against his countrymen, of which, God knows, they have already

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enow to contend with; and if he would uncover the head of the wily depredator, in order to show the vulpine species he belongs to, all, all must be refused insertion for another, but doubt—increasing reason, that "they are the mere effusions of wit and politeness?" This sort of ridicule is truly becoming the man of genius and elegant deportment, whose wit is not more brilliant than ready. Only observe his inimitable address, when he finds that a kiln-dried story about rabbits, (which by the bye, *for aught I know*, as Mr. Cobbett, sometimes very shrewdly observes, may be a figure of his own imagination. *Knowing well as I do*, that he is a great *economist* of historical facts, and accuracies) when he finds his joke about rabbits suited only to amuse other animals, such like for their long ears, with a nonchalance peculiarly graceful he winds it round, and makes it apply to the smallest creatures imaginable, so that the risible faculties shall not, upon any account escape being most delicately tickled. Most facetiously too, he quotes logical aphorisms in the Scottish dialect; although he has just as perfect an understanding of it, as a grey gander has of Italian music. And then his politeness .... the less that is said on this subject the better. But, in the name of candour, why have you, Mr. Cobbett, so grossly misrepresented my observations? Where have I made the smallest allusion to the increase of population as you would have it, either in England or Scotland? It is surprising enough that, besides waste of paper, you should have given yourself the trouble of answering so acutely what never stood betwixt us as a matter of dispute. And, then, what I have said you twist and turn into a meaning my words do not by any means warrant. In short, to argue with you, is like trying to seize an eel by the tail; although it is at the same time a matter of little difficulty to hold you in another way; for, your rapacity gives to every one a sufficient opportunity. With regard to the Caledonian Canal, which one would suppose you must have, by this time, rummaged to the very bottom, I have only to say, that I am ready to prove your statement enormously incorrect. As soon as I have reason to expect that I am to be heard, I am also ready to point out to you a number of the innumerable grants made out of the Exchequer to the people of England; and far be it from me to do so, with the intent of reproaching them for these things. You state that the people of England have been insulted by the Scotch, but how, for my life, I cannot yet comprehend. However, I am ready to prove, that not only has money been extracted from the public funds to build churches, but depositaries for gewgaws, porcupines, and water serpents; not only earth and stone, but fire and water have combined to draw liberally on the national purse, in favour of the people of Old England. Perhaps, Mr. Cobbett will reply, that these, like St. Pauls, were paid for by the people of England themselves. Mr. Cobbett, surely, will not deny, that the money is, in the first place, put down into a column titled the Disbursements of the Nation, which, in the course of a short but certain process, comes to be called the National Debt, and which at last is supported by the payment of interest, and redeemed, if ever redeemed, (honourably, I mean,) by the people of England and Scotland together, without exemption or discrimination. But, what is the use of argument to such a harlequin reasoner as you are? I like to see fair jockeyship well enough, but you have stole a post upon me, and unless you start again, run fair, and keep the course, it is the last time you shall ever hear from, your humble servant—SAWNEY.——*Peterhead, Oct.* 31, 1807.

THE BASIS OF RIGHT, AND THE RIGHT OF CONQUEST.

SIR;——I have long held it as an opinion, that whatever may be the degree of pleasure or profit which writing for the public may yield to individuals, there is an inconsistency in themselves, a general perverseness of public disposition or defect of public understanding, which renders the labour of no public utility. Still, Sir, we had better, in my opinion, amuse ourselves with what would unite public good with private interest or amusement under more favourable circumstances, than with what has no such tendency in any state of private and public intelligence and virtue. Under this impression, and this impression only, I have frequently intruded myself upon your notice, on the subject of political economy; and under this impression and no other I now again take the liberty of arresting your attention on the subject of the controversy in which you are involved with the editor of the Whig, and others of tried consistency, ability, and sincerity, in the cause of affected justice and humanity, and in which I think, you are unfortunately involved, supposing union to be of any utility; because, when leaders do not agree, their followers are naturally divided and bewildered. Sir, you have asserted, with an apparent air of triumph that the editor of the Whig has not answered the arguments by which you have attempted

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to establish the principle of power as the basis of our rights. The Jews, Sir, to this very day assert that the promised Messiah has not come, and for no other reason than because he did not make his appearance with that partiality towards themselves, with which their narrow love of power and dominion taught them to expect he was to descend among men. Just so, in my opinion, it is with you, Sir, you do not believe that your arguments are answered, because they have not been answered in the express terms, or on the exact principles on which your similar attachment to your own prejudices led you to expect they would be answered, and therefore like the Jews, you persist in your error, and reason as if your arguments were unanswerable. To me, Sir, they are far from being so; for they appear to me as resting themselves upon a confusion of ideas, as distinct from each other, as the shield is from the head it protects; namely, the basis on which our rights are founded and the means we have of defending them:—the first of which I assume to be fellow feeling, and the second power. But, before I proceed to the proof of this confusion, I shall offer a few remarks upon the arguments by which you confound the ideas. You charge the editor of the Whig with not having "taken time sufficiently to discriminate between the rights and liberties of individuals and the rights and liberties of nations." As nations are made up of individuals, and are, relatively considered, themselves individuals, I believe it is out of your power to shew that nations do possess or can possess any other rights or liberties, than the rights and liberties of the individuals of whom they are composed. If you cannot, all the conclusions which you have drawn from a distinction of rights to liberties fall of themselves to the ground. "Individuals" you say "all consent to "surrender a part of their rights; to put "their natural rights into a common stock, "whence in well regulated states each "draws an equal share and enjoys it on "conditions common to all. But it is "impossible that any such compact should "exist among nations who have no com-"mon stock of rights and liberties; who "have no common government; who have "no general head; who acknowledge no "sovereign, who appeal to no arbiter "but the sword, and with whom conquest "confers the best possible right of domi-"nion." A most charming climax!!! No common stock, no common government, &c. &c. &c!!! But stop, Sir, as it would be sheer nonsense to say that men have surrendered rights which they have only invested in a common stock and drawn out again in equal shares, is not the conclusion irresistible, that individuals, and for the reason stated, nations, have not surrendered any right or liberty whatever that ever nature gave them? If it be, all the conclusions which you have drawn from the surrender of rights as well as those you infer from a distinction of them, are mere Will o'the Wisps engendered only in the vapours of minds whose disorder'd state reduces all principles to chaos. But granting for the sake of argument that individuals have surrendered a part of their natural rights, nations as individuals you admit have not, and even if they have, like the individuals of which they are formed, there is a part which you admit they have not surrendered, and what is this part, Sir, but a common stock, the common stock of equal rights to that portion of the four elements, or their productions, which we find necessary to promote that happiness which is our being, end and aim; and which a God who is no respecter of persons, who only regards principles and actions, must have intended for man without any regard to the distinction of country, colour, or clime. If this be not the part of their natural rights which the human race have not surrendered, and if it be not a common stock, pray what is the common stock, and that part of their natural rights which they have not surrendered? If you cannot tell, and I venture to predict that you cannot, by what right do you assume the Dominion of the Seas, and therefore the privilege of putting your equals in right upon a short allowance of water? You have answer'd, by the *right of conquest* "which confers the best possible right to dominion." But with submission, Sir, I question if the strength of your prejudices in favour of one part of mankind, and therefore, the force of your coolness towards the other, have permitted you to take time sufficiently to discriminate between the rights of conquest and the rights of nature. Nature you will admit has given us as a right, the portion of the four elements above stated, and liberty to enjoy them: and when either is invaded, contrary to the laws of fellow feeling in the case, the same nature gives us a right not only to reconquer them, but to take as much more from the invader, as will make good the loss we have sustained by his invasion and expulsion. This being all that conquest can give us on the principles of moral justice, it necessarily follows, I. that conquest confers no right at all to dominion, because our right to the conquered dominion is given us by the rights of

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nature before the conquest was made; and II. that to justify your dominion of the Seas, you must either shew that you had an original and exclusive right to that dominion, or that you acquired it in virtue of your right to remunerate yourself for the loss you have sustained by the invasion of others, of the Americans, for instance, of that part of the dominion to which you are entitled by the rights of nature. I believe, Sir, you are not prepared to shew any such things; on the contrary, such are my opinions of the good qualities of your heart and understanding, that there is nothing required to obtain from you a generous confession of your error, but that some one of my numberless superiors in the gift of discovering principles and art of applying them, should take up the subject upon those rights of nature which you do yourself admit have not been surrendered by your brethren of mankind in any capacity in which they can be considered as free agents. In hopes, then, that the subject will be so taken up by abler talents than mine, and that when it is so taken by them, you will, for the sake of your own consistency and to do as much as in you lies to restore peace to a butchered and distracted world, either give up the exclusive dominion of the Seas or place your right to maintain it upon some other basis than your "power to hold a mastery over all that "swims upon them,"—I will proceed to prove that your arguments as to the basis of right are founded upon confusion of ideas which ought not to be confounded when the establishment of such basis is the subject in question. Emblematic figures, Sir, have been invented to impress their subjects with greater force upon the mind; and one of them is represented blindfolded holding a sword in the right hand and a balance in the left. Of what is this figure an emblem, Sir? Is it of policy standing upon the principle of self preservation slaughtering the Danes, bulning and sacking their capital because it was a matter of fact or probability that they would join with the civilized world in settling the dispute, whether the Sea is or is not "the highway of nations," the common stock of all that can swim on it? No, Sir. Is it an emblem of power standing upon the principle of right, majestically insolent and capricious, taking it upon herself to settle this dispute; to measure the world and weigh the air to the rest of mankind, just as her notions of self interest may direct? No, Sir, it is the emblem of a being or attribute who cannot distinguish friends from foes, brethren from countrymen, or countrymen from foreigners, in its distribution of rights; and that being is Justice standing upon the most firm of all basis fellow feeling, indiscriminately dividing the Seas equally between all that can swim on them or in them, balancing the rights of man with the one hand, and holding power in the other, not as their basis or origin, but as their guardian and protecting shield. Look at this figure, Sir, and say, if you can, that I have charged you falsely with mistaking power for fellow feeling as the basis of right: look at this emblem, Sir, and shew us the principle, if you can, on which the dominion of the Seas can become the exclusive right "of those who can hold a mastery "over all that swims on them." But, above all, look at it, Sir, and inform us, if you are able, how your country is to retrieve her character for honour and magnanimity, and avoid the contempt and wretchedness which awaits her from an outraged and exasperated world, in consequence of her deliberate, malicious, and cold blooded murder and robbery of the Danes. Nay, Sir, for once do take your stand upon the basis of fellow feeling, and place yourself in the situation of these unfortunate victims of your country's power, and then say, if you dare, that such another transaction ever disgraced the annals either of the civilized or uncivilized world; that power can be admitted for a moment as the basis of right, but in minds harbouring darkness visible, despair and revenge, ghastly plotting the means of expelling from the human character that sympathy and attachment which alone uplifts man above the level of the most ferocious brute of the whole animal creation.—C. S. *Nov. 14th* 1807.

SINKING FUND.

[Being C. S.'s Sixth Letter, which is particularly recommended to the serious consideration of the land and stock-holders, merchants and traders of the United Kingdom.]

Sir;——In the Register of the 14th instant, your correspondent, Osgur of Leinster, "ventures to suggest a doubt, that my conclusions are not quite certain as to the increase of taxes, depreciation of money, and sevenfold ruin which is to result from the liquidation of the National Debt by means of the Sinking Fund." His doubt is founded upon a notion, which, if it be truly just, is really new, that one million without any interest, mind ye, may discharge a debt of 600 millions, without either increasing its quantity or depreciating the value of the circulating capital. On the subject of the Sinking Fund, I have to

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charge Osgur either with a neglect or design in dragging out my conclusions before your readers, and leaving behind the curtain those of Mr. Pitt and Lord H. Petty. Had Osgur a design in doing this? Was he sorry that I brought forward these eminent financiers in evidence against themselves? Has he an interest in the perpetuity of error on this subject? Is it truly a neglect? or, does he really want information, and think me the most likely to give it him? In this thought he shall not be disappointed as far as my humble abilities can be of service. But, as it would be losing the advantages of the best of evidences, in support of my conclusions, to keep out of sight, on any occasion, the picture which Mr. Pitt and Lord H. Petty drew of the Sinking Fund as far as their view of it went, I shall beg leave, again, to bring it forward, as stated under my signature in the Register of the 19th. last September. "When the Sinking "Fund was established," says Lord H. Petty, "Mr. Pitt *foresaw* the inconvenien- "cy and mischief which might arise from "the extinguishing, at once, of a very "large portion of the National Debt. If "the two Sinking Funds had been allowed "to accumulate to their full extent, this "mischief would have followed, that at "one and the same time, an immense ca- "pital would be destroyed. In fact, by re- "turning all their capital to the holders of "stock, capital itself *would cease to be of* "*value*, and the nation might be nearly "ruined, by that which at first sight might "appear to great advantage. However pa- "radoxical it might sound, he considered "that the sudden extinction of the Na- "tional Debt would be an evil amounting "almost to a national bankruptcy. It was "not merely that the stock-holders would "only find themselves *materially distressed* "*by having all their capital returned to* "*them at once*, at a time when no employ- "ment could be found for such an immense "capital, but all those who are employed "in trade would find the mischief of it. "Their *fair and reasonable profits would be* "*destroyed*, and all their advantages of no "avail, if such an immense capital were "all at once thrown upon the market, and "they were exposed to *such competition* "that would not allow them either to buy "their goods at the same price, nor to en- "joy the same profits; for the stock-hold- "ers, in such case, not knowing how to "employ their capital to advantage, would "be most formidable competitors. It was "for these reasons that he stated that the "extinction of the National Debt, "would not only be a most serious injury "to the stock-holders, but to the trading "part of the community; and that it would "produce the greatest and most extensive "mischief and calamity." Unquestionably, they must be very ignorant, indeed, of the effects of competition and capital, who can doubt the extent of the mischief and calamity that must result from the competition of a capital of 600 millions, with a capital of only 100 millions; even admitting, to justify my conclusions, that Lord Sidmouth, in taking the national income, or circulating capital, at 80 millions, undervalued it to the amount of 20 millions. This is the very best principle on which the subject can be placed. Talk to a nation of shopkeepers about competition and the consequent advanced price at which they are obliged to buy their goods, and the low profits at which they are compelled to sell them, and they will understand you; but go to principle and fact, and say that it is not the goods that advanced in price, but money that is depreciated in value, owing, as they well understand, with respect to goods, to the great influx of its quantity, and, if they do not laugh at your folly, they will be as wise as owls, or as civil as a Billingsgate in their reply. Money depreciated, jacobin? is not a shilling a shilling, and was it ever more? In name, Solomon, it was not, but in substance and use, it was; for the time has been when the pound weight of silver was only coined into 20s., but now there is 62s. taken out of it; and about a century ago it would buy you about four quartern loaves, but till lately, and for many years back, it could not furnish you with one. Now then, you that will set the Thames on fire, and let you, money has not only lost two-thirds of its intrinsic worth, since the reign of Edward I., but also three-fourths of its exchangeable value since that of William III., when a paper-money manufactory was established to support the speculations of merchants, and to supply the demands of the National Debt and Sinking Fund. And you cannot deny it, but by proving that with an increasing population their means of subsistence have decreased in the proportion of three-fourths; and that you cannot prove, were you to set the Thames on fire a thousand times over. But to return. As Mr. Pitt rests the calamities of the Sinking Fund on its ability to discharge the National Debt all at once, and, by so doing, leaving no time or opportunity to the stock-holders to employ their capital without "serious injury to themselves, and "to the trading part of the community,"

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the inuendo falls upon the progressive dribling manner in which his consummate knowledge of finance, allows the Sinking Fund to extinguish the debt, and so to furnish the time and opportunity to the stock-holders of which the sudden extinction of the debt would deprive them. This negative assertion, like all his positions, proceeds either from intentional imposition, or a crude and indigested knowledge of his subject, and is equally unsupported by either principle or argument. He has left us to guess how *time* is to give the stock-holders an opportunity to employ their capital, however small the driblets in which they may receive it, without "a serious injury to themselves and the trading part of the community," which is the whole of it in one way or other. And as he has so left us, I deny the conclusion which he draws from time; but not like him without the shadow of an argument or principle. It is by an extention of national trade, I assume that the stock-holders can employ their capital without "a serious injury to themselves and "the trading part of the community." I deny the possibility of this extension; and I deny it upon the clear and comprehensive ground, that if, as Pitt usually gulled his vacant admirers with, we are in possession of the commerce of the world, or, if we are not, that the determination of Europe and America to prevent our having more of it than we have, or to put us to an expense in securing it that will amount to more than its profits, there is no room left in the world for the stock-holders to employ a shilling of their capital without "injuring themselves "and the trading part of the community," in the proportion in which that shilling must depreciate the exchangeable value of the circulating capital. On the proof of the falsehood of this ground, or, that the stock-holders, by having time allowed them to look about, may find, within the limits of our own dominions, the means of employing their capital "without injury to themselves "and the trading part of the community," turns every thing that can be said in favour of the Sinking Fund, now that the extensive calamities of a sudden extinction of the debt is admitted on all hands. And to whom can we look for this proof but to men of learning, figures, and character. Let me ask, then, will John M'Arthur, Esq, who has arrived at the honour of doctor of laws, as the reward of his financial labours, prove the falsehood of this ground? Will the editor of the Edinburgh Review, who accused you with uttering trash upon this subject, prove it? Will Sir Francis Baring and Henry Thornton, Esq. who have written *so ably* on the subject of paper currency, prove it? Will the Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan, who, at your expense, Sir, displayed his tender regard for public faith and public credit, prove it, and shew how it can be said that faith is kept with the public when the depreciation of the money, issued by town and country banks, rubs the stock-holder of the bread which he promised to himself from the interest of his capital? And finally will the doctors who made doctor M'Arthur a doctor, and who would make you a doctor too if you would but write what you do not understand yourself, and what no body else can understand; and who will allow you to have no learning at all, because you will, perversely, have it that useful learning consists of living ideas and not of dead words,—join talents with their infant doctor and his veteran colleagues in the dry and thorny field of finance, and shew by clear, distinct, and unsophisticated proofs, if, even, we could command every shilling's worth of the commerce of the world, that the capital of the national debt, added to the circulating capital of the world would not ruin the world itself, in the proportion in which the addition of the one capital must depreciate the value of the other. These are the points on which the merits of the Sinking Fund turn themselves, now that it is admitted that the sudden extinction of the National Debt would depreciate the value of the circulating capital. For my own part, therefore, my mind is made up to take no other notice whatever of what may be hereafter said, by ignorance or design, to conceal, from its victims, the insurmountable, by human power, calamities of the Sinking Fund, than to move these previous questions. With this expression of my determination, I might, as a man and a fellow subject, thank you for the patriotic exertions you have made use of, and not unsuccessfully time will prove, to expose this impostor, not only to your tortured country but a tormented world and bid you for ever adieu on its subject. But as Osgur may labour under a mistake, and as I have promised him all the information in my power, I will, with your permission, quote him, and endeavour upon his own plausible principle, I will grant, to remove the grounds of his "repeated "doubts." "If," says he, "one million "be drawn out of the circulating capital of "100 millions, that capital is thereby re-"duced to 99; and if the sinking fund "applies the said one million in discharge "of so much of the debt of 600 millions, "then is the debt reduced to 599, and the

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"one million is returned into the circulating capital which had been reduced by "the tax to 99 millions. Of course the "circulating capital is restored to its previous total of 100 millions; but I doubt if "it be thereby increased or depreciated." —I. Sir, as he has not explained himself I presume that he means a real increase; and, presuming this, I must infer, that he is not aware that money may be nominally as well as really increased; and therefore that a nominal increase or diminution of its quantity has the same effect upon the exchangeable value of the real money, that a real increase or decrease of its quantity would have. Being aware of this indisputable fact, it never made a question with me, any more than with Mr. Pitt, what real increase the liquidation of the debt might make in the circulating capital. All we contend for is, that it must nominally increase to the amount of the capital of the debt; and, therefore, that the depreciation must be in the proportion which the capital of the debt bears to the circulating capital. And we contend for the nominal increase on the well ascertained ground, that if we send the same identical ten pounds for instance ten times to market and back again in one day, we have nominally sent £100 to it in that day and therefore depreciated the value of the money as much in the market as if we had sent and brought back again £100 at one time. On this principle, and for the sake of argument, I grant that the national debt may be discharged without making any real increase in the circulating capital, but, then, I must insist upon the equality of the depreciation in both cases, or deny the principle itself; and that I cannot do while reason enough is left me not to deny the evidence of my senses. II. By the manner in which he expresses himself it would appear that while the circulating capital is in the act of discharging the national debt in the money market, there is a proportional scarcity of it in the corn market, for instance, and, therefore, that whatever proportion of value money may lose on the stock exchange owing to its influx, it gains it in Mark Lane owing to its reflux; and so makes no change in the value of money, because, like every thing else, in demand, it will find its own level. This is plausible, but it is false; it may be admitted, it must be admitted, in millions of instances, that those from whom the money is taken to redeem the debt, cannot go to the corn market to buy bread, at least to buy but very little; but, then it cannot be denied that those who sell the debt and receive the money for it do go; and, therefore, it is ignorance to conceive or assert that the capital is ever out of one market and in the other. Like the blood in our veins, it is perpetually on the round; and as that blood, when agitated by exertion swells and produces a fever, so does the velocity of the motion given to the circulating capital by the combined force of the funding system, sinking fund, and the wants of the community swell its amounts and depreciate its exchangeable value, and throw the social body into a fever. III. If I understand his notion at all, it is but the old notion revived, namely, that the national debt, either in its accumulation or liquidation is but taking the money out of the one pocket and putting it into the other. To remove in whole or in part, the consummate ignorance which so generally and fatally prevails on this subject, the argument cannot be placed upon a better principle than this. It is exactly what vulgar minds want, it is just what is required by the absence of mind of those who have no disposition to cultivate knowledge upon this subject, and who ignorantly look forward to the principles of government as a remedy to the evils which result from ignorance of political œconomy. Laying it down as a position, as on principles it must be done, that the tax-gatherer's pocket forms one of the pockets of every man who has two, and every man must have two before he can turn money from the one to the other, I grant that the transactions amount to no more: but will they admit the paradoxical ground on which I grant it? Never mind that, they say, it is so. Well, then, but does not the wear and tear of our pockets proportion itself to the friction occasioned by our hands in turning over the money from the one to the other? This will be granted, but this is not all; in wearing and tearing our pockets, do we not lose time, which, if otherwise employed might furnish us with something to eat and drink? (for money is neither an eatable or drinkable, nor yet the means of furnishing them; nothing but labour can do that.) Woeful experience answers yes—that millions find, that while they are gathering money into their pockets, and turning it over from this one to the other, (for though our wiseacres take no notice of that lost labour, money must be gathered before it can be put in pockets) themselves and families are literally suffering all that life can bear for want of common necessaries: of pockets or any thing to put in them. Now, Sir, if they do not deny the "test of experience and the "evidence of facts," what have they gathered from the admission of their pocketing principle but naked backs and empty bellies? and if this be all they have gathered, what must

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their gatherings be when they consider the time lost by the industrious, for none else gathers any thing, in gathering the 600 millions, which, in rents, profits upon trade, and interest upon money, the stockholders snatched from them, and lent to government, having no use for it themselves? and what will be the amount of their gatherings when 600 millions more is gathered in taxes to enable our *able* financiers to convert the stockholders again into tradesmen? The amount must be great, and cannot be stated at less, whatever be the principle on which the argument is placed, than the sevenfold ruin which Osgur doubts, but which I assert to be in full march to massacre thousands, ruin millions, if not to expel us from the rank of nations, should not power and courage enough be found to annihilate both the funding system and the sinking fund.—Convinced of these facts, Sir, with as much certainty of mind as that I am stating of them; as it is a rule with me, not to represent things as evils to which I see no remedy; and, when I propose my own, to point out the inefficiency, and reason thereof, of what others may consider as remedies; I flatter myself it is not ill-timed to ask, what are the means by which this ruin is to be averted? And to state my objections to the means proposed. Will that great hobby-horse of the Whig party, parliamentary reform, avert it? No; for though parliamentary men are incapable of being bribed from their duty by either place, pension, or title, or of professing the *filial* doctrine "That "things will last our time, and let our chil-"dren look to themselves," they never studied, apparently, the bearings of these funds upon the vitals of their country; and, therefore they know no more of the remedy than their reforming constituents do of the sinking fund, and who, as already observed, look to the principles of government, and not to the information, virtue, and talents of its administrators, as a remedy to every remediable evil of the state. Will another march to Paris avert it? No; for we made a rampart of Europe to defend Paris by our first march. Will the plunder of Copenhagen avert it? No; for from that meritorious instance of energy, promptness, and decision, we have gained but a trifling negative power, and against it we have to place a strong degree of general indignation and revenge, which time cannot eradicate from the mind of the civilised world, while history records the cold blooded and cowardly manner in which the booty was seized, and the people murdered; and which, therefore, will certainly diminish more than increase our means of averting it. Will the blockade of the world avert it? No; for that will accustom the world, and happily, too, to content themselves with their own productions, and as they so accustom themselves, so our commerce, the great pillar of our power, will wither and decay. Will the dominion of the seas avert it? No; for, to secure that dominion, would require another national debt as large as the present, and in the bargain, the 8 millions of the national income, which, by lord Sidmouth's statement of it, only remains unabsorbed in taxes, tythes, and poor's rates; and, after all, it would be lost, if all or none we must have. Will the commerce of the world avert it? No; for if we cannot maintain the dominion of the seas, we cannot secure the commerce of the world. In short, will the laws and the institutions which our forefathers handed down to us, and which, therefore, we are determined to hand down to the latest posterity, avert it? No; for our forefathers knew nothing of the evils of a national debt and a sinking fund; and, therefore, they can tell us nothing of their remedies; they knew no more what was hidden in the womb of futurity than the forefathers of the late aristocracy of France did, and they knew nothing; and therefore, like their posterity, we may be fool-hardy; but, like them, too, we must become exiles and beggars, if the funding system and sinking fund are left to themselves; I mean, pursued. Since, then, on the best evidence of circumstance, were all these great hobby-horses of little-minded great men, run, even to death, they could not avert this sevenfold ruin, by what other means is its progress to be arrested? Do not smile at my folly, Sir, for fear that necessity may compel what reason enjoins. I answer, prove your attachment to social order and religion, and give up your determination to become pirates, if you cannot force your neighbours to trade with you. Take peace with all its consequences. Ask only for your share of the dominion of the seas. Content yourselves with your share of the commerce of the world. Grant no public annuities, places, pensions, or sinecures to any but such as, from natural inabilities, would become a burthen to the parish if you did not support them. Go back to where your forefathers left you, and teach your population the use of arms. Employ your soldiers and sailors in agriculture, for of tradesmen and mechanics you have more than can live. Suffer the industrious classes to invest their mites of capital in general funds, and so to defend themselves against the overwhelming

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power and avarice of corporate bodies and over-wealthy individuals. Prohibit the use of rag money; for it is a dangerous weapon in the hands of ignorant or unprincipled men. Lower your rents, tythes, and taxes. Mend the quality and substance of your manufactures, and undersell the world; and then, your commerce, the object of your domineering and blockading systems, will flourish and grow, while it continues to be human nature to prefer the cheapest and best articles. Convinced with the poet, Sir, that "in pride, in reasoning pride, our error lies;" and therefore doubtful that the object will sooner be sacrificed, than give up the particular means adopted to attain it, *the sinking fund and the dominion of the seas*, I am afraid I have asked you in vain not to smile at my folly. But remember, Sir, that those only have a right to do so, who can shew distinctly, that of two evils I chuse the greatest; that the calamities which our modern pursuits and habits of life inseperably connect with this scheme of redemption, sink by comparison those of the sevenfold depreciation of the circulating capital, or, in more familiar terms, sevenfold advanced price of every thing; sevenfold advance of rents, tythes, and taxes; sevenfold increase of paupers, and therefore forty-nine-fold increase of poor's rates, which, from the nature of things, and the confession of Mr. Pitt, it must be admitted, will inevitably result from the sinking fund, if the means cannot be clearly and distinctly pointed out, by which the stockholders are to be enabled to employ their capital without "injuring "themselves and the trading part of the "community." A sevenfold increase of paupers, and therefore a forty-nine-fold increase of poors' rates must appear incredible to those children only of a larger growth who have the management of our finances, but have not observed, or do not chuse to confess the mathematical exactness with which the increase of paupers proportions itself to the depreciation of the circulating capital; and who, therefore, have no idea of the unerring truth, that when money is reduced to a seventh of its present value, then seven times the present rate must go to support the present 1,200,000 paupers, and therefore, that to maintain seven times this number (8,400,000) the present rate must be multiplied by forty-nine. To this ignorant and mischievous description of infants we have only to say, shew us, either that no real or nominal increase will take place in the circulating capital, as or when the national debt is extinguished; or, if you cannot, that the stockholders will be enabled to furnish themselves with the means of employing their capital, "without injury to "themselves or the trading part of the "community," and then we shall confess our error, and give up the point. But, till then, we will maintain it, that in buying up a million of the debt, the commissioners, who are well paid for so doing, purchase a seventh part of a million of wretchedness, and add it to the present calamities of the nation.——C. S.——*Nov. 28, 1807.*

POOR LAWS.

Sir;——It is incumbent upon me, for the sake of my native country, to return you my respectful, and most sincere thanks for the insertion of my imperfect letter, regarding the "Poor Laws," at p. 496 of this volume; and also to make my acknowledgments for the obliging manner in which you have informed me [p. 754] of the non-arrival of a second letter, on the subject. Your candour and generosity, of which I now experimentally know your real possession, will excuse me for again sending you a copy of nearly what I then wrote; and I hope, by paginal references, sufficiently to obviate the inconvenience which this miscarriage has caused.——The trouble you have taken in our question, shews your wisdom in judging of its consequence. It is a question superlatively fundamental, and important: and both on this account, and in order to rectify some reciprocal misconstructions, which are the unavoidable annoyances of epistolary disquisitions; I again presume to intrude this upon your valuable time. The trouble which I am very sorry you say I caused you, by inverting the order, in my last letter, was caused by my being insensibly, and, as I said, reluctantly led to animadvert upon your reasonings regarding Mr. Whitbread's bill, after giving you an idea of Scotland, which was the main object of my letter. In this, however, I shall strictly follow your order [p. 482.]—I. You deny, Sir, that you have admitted that "vice is the cause of poverty" in the way that I represent it. If you look at my letter, you will see that I meant that you admitted it, in the abstract: and you certainly do so; for [p. 330] you write, "poverty and misery arise from vice. "They are, indeed, the natural, and just "punishments of vice, in the lower, as "well as the higher order of society. "Dishonesty, hypocrisy, laziness, and "insolence are followed by a loss of con-"fidence, and regard; these by a loss of

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"employment and profit; and these by "poverty and misery." Well, then, after these expressions, it cannot be denied, that you admit it, in the abstract. What you deny is, that the poverty *of the people of England* has proceeded from their vice. "To me [said I, p. 499] it would appear "that the peasantry" [meaning English, Scotch, and Irish] "are the only order "which the taxes do not affect." In support of this opinion, I stated, in the first place, that Scotland and England are equally severely taxed; and yet that the former is flourishing, and prosperous. You endeavour to sap this argument, by saying that it depends on "my own observation, which, "in this instance, is confined to a small "part of Scotland." But you know, now, Sir, that I am not confined by "the care "of a school!" and although my age be what it is, yet I have had opportunities of surveying a great part of Scotland; and, therefore, this my argument of experience stands firm and uninjured. You are warranted, you say, indeed, to discredit the foundation of my argument, "when you "are able to shew that the Scotch labourers "are, in part, fed from the fruit of the la-"bour of England." It is truely "*in* "*part*," Sir. This feeding, or rather all that is said about it, arises entirely from the grant of a little money to a few labourers, in the north of Scotland, to make a canal; which, I may say, is, entirely, a mercenary speculation of the English labourers: for they will do here, as they have done in all other cases, impose crushing dues, and customs upon the canal, *to obtain a usurious return of cent. per cent.* In the next place, I stated, in support of my opinion, that "the establishment, and income of the pea-"santry is so small, that it does not come "within the range of the taxing-system." You, on the contrary, have always maintained that the poverty of the English peasantry proceeds from this system. I could never conceive the grounds on which this opinion rested. But you have, now, clearly pointed out these. You say [p. 483] that, since the people of England do not "dis-"pense with the use of shoes, shirts, hats, "&c; since they do not go naked by day, "nor lay upon the ground by night, nor "dig up their food with their snouts, nor "catch it after the manner of the fox or the "hawk," they are, therefore, beggared by the taxing-system. This is quite plain. You mean, that, because the articles which the labourer uses are highly taxed, he is forced to pay a higher price for them than he otherwise would do. Very true: but this does not affect my argument at all. It is the same whether a man pay a penny, a shilling, or a pound for a thing, if his own income, and the relative value of things enables him to do so. Are the wages of every British labourer not proportioned to the price of necessaries, enhanced as it may be by the present circumstances of things? It is an undeniable fact, that they not only are so, but, in many cases, far above the fair proportion. My argument, therefore, must acquire, with you, additional weight; for since no person, who can be called a labourer, is actually, and directly taxed, and since his wages are always fully proportioned to the price of his provisions, it follows as a necessary conclusion that he does not come within the range of the taxing-system. If you will allow me, "school-master" as I was falsely taken for, to be not, altogether, "incapable of reflecting with advantage on "the nature and effect of the taxing-sys-"tem," I will say, that none are oppressed [i. e. "whose fruits are drained away to "keep others without labour"] but land-holders, who have, a number of years ago, given long, and, of course, low leases of their estates, and some other individuals, such as annuitants whose incomes do not rise in proportion to the enhancement of the value of things.—II. Your second article [p. 484] requires little reply. In the end of this article, you ask, "if vice has increased "with the increase of reading, how are we "to hope that vice will be diminished by a "further increase of reading?" It is by no means an indubitable fact, that vice has increased with the increase of reading. But admitting, for argument's sake, that it is so, I say, that vice has increased *altogether independent of the increase of reading*, because the number of readers has far from increased in proportion to the vice. There are undoubtedly more readers than there were; but these additional are not to be attended to, because they have by no means increased in proportion to the quantity of reading. A great quantity of the additional vice, has, undoubtedly, arisen from some of those who could read imposing upon those who are ignorant, and who, had they been themselves able to read, would, readily, and effectually, have detected, and stigmatized the sophistry of their vicious deceivers.—III. In the beginning of your third article, [p. 484] you say, "if the peasantry were "taught to read the bible, they would, go-"ing farther, read publications well calcu-"lated to add to the stock of vice:" then you add, that I have made no reply to this. I did make a reply to it. I said that "read-

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"ing may corrupt a man's principles; but, "rely upon it, his want of education will "lead him farther astray." This opinion I supported by reasonings founded on common experience, giving it greatly the superiority of yours, which, unsupported by reasoning as it is, independently, has less verisimilitude in itself. But, in addition to what I have said, I can support my side by the case of Scotland, where every one can read, and where none of those evils have taken place which you so fearfully prognosticate.—You say that the Newspapers which every ale-house keeps, will attract readers to that nursery of vice. I grant it will; and does. But I am, by no means, of opinion that the capacity of reading inspires a man with a desire of knowing the news of the day. My own observation [and I have had many instances] informs me that those who read least, or who cannot read at all, are the fondest of talking about the news of the day. Fewer, therefore, I am inclined to think, would resort to the ale-house, for the sake of reading, than who, presently, go for the sake of *hearing* and *talking*.—"The "appointment" say you, [p. 486] "of "Scotch schoolmasters is perfectly a *politi-* "*cal* affair, as it would, in all likelihood, "very soon become in England." You very candidly declare that you have never been in Scotland, and that your acquaintance with it is entirely from hearsay. If you have been informed that the appointment of the schoolmasters is political, you have been completely misinformed: and, as I am no "schoolmaster" myself, it is not "from "interest" that I declare that there are no appointments in the British empire *less political*. As a proof of this, I shall insert an advertisement for a schoolmaster, some of which our newspapers almost constantly contain. "Wanted for the parish-school "of Locus a person who can teach writing, "reading, and the mathematics. None "need apply but who can stand the strict "examination which will be made into his "moral character, and personal abilities." The examination, which universally takes place, is make by the presbytery, that is, by the clergymen of the district; and the preferred, i. e. the most accomplished candidate, whether Whig, or Tory, is impartially appointed.—You cannot "perceive how the "capacity of reading would tend to make "the peasant either more attentive, or more "docile." He would be more docile, in my apprehension; as, undoubtedly, understanding better, supposing him at church, the language of the preacher. All our public speakers use an oratorical style, a style above the comprehension of the mere colloquist which can be understood by the person only who can read, and consult a dictionary. He would be more attentive; because his curiosity would incite him to attend more closely to "expositions and applications of the con-"tents of the Bible," which, in his private reading, he might not be able to understand. I may take notice here, by the by, of your anticipation that "great numbers would "read the Bible, solely because they thought "it their duty, running over the words with-"out prying into the meaning." These numbers would consist of the dullest and most useless part of the community; of those, who, although they could not add any thing to the brilliancy of literature, might be *vicious* in the extreme; and, consequently, I must think, and "perceive," that were this part, who, notwithstanding, with sobriety and virtue might be excellent mechanics, persuaded that it was their duty to read the Bible, they would harmlessly, and therefore advantageously, employ their leisure hours in "going over the words," instead of wallowing in sottishness and ignorance.——"You are quite certain [p. 487] "that, generally speaking, writing and read-"ing are worse than useless in the army and "navy." I cannot speak to this point from actual experience, as you can, Mr. Cobbett; but I can speak pretty firmly upon the evidence of testimony. I am pretty certain, that this disadvantage, which you have seen attending a soldier's being able to write and read, resulted from the imperfection of the English plan of education; from *all* the soldiers and sailors not being equally cultivated. The scholars would naturally be exposed to the envy and odium of their inferiors, and to the jealousy and neglect of their superiors. This treatment naturally produces those characteristics which you mention of the *educated warriors*. These, like all other the most valuable things, if properly situated, would be transcendently useful and glorious; and, if displaced, become the most dangerous and unmanageable. The French soldiers, I understand, can mostly all read and write; and we see what excellence the military tactics of France have attained to. A very experienced military acquaintance of mine, who has had opportunities of knowing the national characters of most of the soldiers of Europe, declares, that he thinks the Germans, who are all well educated, the best soldiers. They have not the short-lived fire of the Frenchman, nor the audacious bravery of the Englishman. Their cultivated minds render them sober and virtuous,

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and enabling them to understand what they are about, they are more tractable and docile.——You ask (p. 487), "is it not evi-"dent that all men cannot rise, that all sol-"diers and sailors cannot become officers, "either commissioned or non-commission-"ed: and, this being the case, would not "the education of them tend to create dis-"content, rather than cheerful obedience?" Not at all, Mr. Cobbett, in my humble opinion. One might as well say, that there would be continually tumults in Scotland, arising from the "discontent" of the peasants, because they do not *all* rise to be proprietors of land, and governors of the state. Discontent, as well as honour, does not proceed from absolute, but relative merit; and, therefore, it is impossible to conceive how there could be more discontent in the army, when the soldiers are all educated, than when they are all ignorant. The only predicament in which discontent can exist is in such a state as that of our army, where some are educated, and some ignorant. It is impossible to be even a non-commissioned officer, in a qualified manner, without writing and reading. Rolls are to be kept, returns to be made, and letters to be read and written. Now, suppose all the common soldiers to be completely illiterate; there will, in this case, be comparatively no emulation and laudable ambition for promotion, which are main springs of activity, enterprise, and virtue. There will be no desire that the laurel of victory and valour should confer the sword of authority and command. The common soldier would say to himself, "Why need I contend for an "office, which, whatever be my bravery "and military expertness, I am unqualified "to hold? I must grovel for life where I "am, and since it is so, I will do it with "as much ease and as little danger as possi-"ble." But what innumerable advantages rush upon the mind on the supposition of the other case! All the men being, and nearly equally, educated, each individual feeling his intrinsic accomplishments, and at the same time his relative equality, would modestly and strenuously emulate that superiority in valour and expertness, which would necessarily decide the superiority in authority and command. What an inconceivable benefit might not our British army derive from such a method! *That unjustifiable, impolitic, and abominable practice of purchasing commands in the army*, which is a grand disgrace and defect in our military system, would gradually take its departure. Ignorance, cowardice, and inexperience, could not have the effrontery to dictate to learned bravery, and military practice. Our Home Pophams, our Whitelockes, and our Duckworths, would then soon vanish. Instead of those stupid, effeminate, white-washed monkies, who idly and proudly strut about our streets, dressed in red coats, we would see a set of brave, tried, martial, commanders, whose degrees of rank might be ascertained from the number of their honourable scars, and who are always actuated by the Flaccian sentiment: "dulce et decorum est pro patriâ "mori." I do not mean, that all our officers should be drawn from the lower ranks. Contingent superiority of birth and fortune, as it brings superiority in the world, must also, in some cases, confer higher original rank in te army. But, were the common soldiery qualified to rise to the different stages of commanders, a general system of emulation, from the lowest soldier to the highest general, would beneficially take place; and, if any purchases occurred, they would be made only by worthy persons. Such a plan would better organize and invigorate our army; and, unless some such reform takes place, I will venture to augur the gradual failure of our forces both naval and military. Indeed, Mr. Cobbett, you are forced to agree with me in this point. You say, [p. 486] "The soldier of reading and "writing is to be preferred, if he be equally "good with his comrade in other respects." Certainly: and why not "equally good with his comrade in other respects?" An enlightened mind was never known, and cannot in the nature of things prevent a man from being "sober, cleanly, punctual, early rising, vigilant, and honest." On the contrary, it has been found, almost always, to invest him with these admirable qualities. The contradictory instances to this which you mention are merely insulated and contingent, and are not to be taken into account as characterising the great run. An enlightened mind makes a man see the propriety of subordination and compliance, and makes him fight with the firmness and caution of the brave soldier, and not with the temerity and fury of the ignorant fanatic. Since you have admitted conditionally, you must, therefore, Sir, now admit unlimitedly, that "the man of reading and writing" (to use your own language) "is to be pre-"ferred;" and this concession being made, it is impossible to resist my argument, that *a general system of education ought to be adopted in England, for the advantage of the army and navy.*—IV. You see now, that it is not through the "deceitful medium "of self-interest" that I view my acceptation of the words *ignorance* and *learning*;

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and what you have said on this point (p. 488, and now with regard to Buonaparté, p. 751) carries not the least inducement to my mind (seriously speaking) to alter my opinion. Your story about the "*judge and painter*" (p. 488) is certainly more a sophistical attempt to distract the attention than to persuade the reason. I do not say that a person who has made himself an adept in all the mechanical professions, and has seen all the quarters of the globe, would be justly termed *ignorant*; but I would simply ask, how many are there of such persons, and how much more productive the crop is, when the soil is pulverized and manured before the seed is sown?—Why, Mr. Cobbett, is "your reader to bear in mind, that the labourers of Scotland had been, in the preamble to an act of parliament, represented as better members of society than the "labourers of England; and that herein "was contained a challenge on the part of "*Mr. Whitbread's instructors!* against the "people of England?" No, Sir, it was not the case. Without saying any thing about the relative superiority or inferiority of the Scots to the English, the preamble to Mr. Whitbread's bill meant only, that "the most convincing proof" (to quote its own words) "of the beneficial effects of "instructing youth arose from the experience of that part of the united kingdom "called Scotland." It did not say, that Scotland was, relatively, superior to England in morality and virtue. Not at all. These beneficial effects might have been fully felt in Scotland, and yet the Scots be inferior to the English in these excellencies. What was said by Mr. Whitbread, probably, your "provocation," and perhaps, national jealousy, amplified into "a challenge," although no "challenge" was either really meant or given. It is a maxim with every wise man and every wise nation, to borrow improvements, and to imitate superior excellence, in any object, however inferior, that may be as a whole. This was a maxim of the ancient Romans, whose bravery and wisdom made them masters of the world. As expressive of it, allow me to employ the elegant language, which Sallust puts into the mouth of Cæsar, when defending Cataline:—"Majores nostri, P. C., neque consilii, neque audaciæ, unquam eguere: *neque superbia obstabat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur.* Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnilibus, insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis, pleraque sumserunt: postremo quod ubique *apud socios*, aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur: imitari, quam invidere bonis malebant."——My description of Scotland [p. 496] I still adhere to: and when I tell you that I am not a "schoolmaster," and that I have travelled over great part of my native country, you may be the more inclined to credit it. The description which you have received and published [p. 490] is expressive of more wretchedness, than ever afflicted the lowest cottage, hundreds of years ago. Edinburgh, of which you have got so miserable an idea, is well worth your seeing, and would stand your severest criticism. It is allowed, by the most impartial travellers, to be unequalled for the grandeur of its surrounding scenery, the strength and beauty of its buildings, and for the regularity and symmetry of its streets. I earnestly wish your occupations could allow you to make a jaunt to see it; when I would be extremely happy to go along with you to point out its curiosities, and would prevail on my father to make you welcome to lodge in our family, which resides during winter in that city. Then, I would have an opportunity of *shewing* you that "the lower classes of the inhabitants "of Edinburgh" *do not* "throw, from "their windows, into the street, all that "you send away without offending your "senses;" and that there is no solid reason for making the distinction between the recruits brought up to Chatham barracks, on account of "that disorder of the skin which "for my sake is kept nameless." Then *shewing* you the happy state of Scotland, and explaining my mind fully to you, with oral accuracy, I have little doubt of being able to make you at least, approve more than you do, of adopting a plan for educating the English peasantry.—But if the state of Scotland be really as I have described it, "how happens it," you ask, "that we "hear of no emigration to that country?" There is actually some degree of resort to that country; for there are a number of *English* families at present in Edinburgh and daily coming to it, on account of the quietness, and cheapness of living, and convenience of educating their children. But your question is rather inconsiderate, as being, in my opinion, hostile to your argument. For, I think, that *no* ingress of foreigners, into, and an emigration of natives from a country, often, indicates its prosperity. It shews that its lands are occupied, and cultivated, and its productions used and manufactured to the full extent. So that foreigners are not enticed to resort to the country, from the prospect of gaining wealth thro' the neglect, ignorance, and laziness of the na-

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tives. It shews, undoubtedly, that population is increasing, and equal to the productions of the soil. My reason, therefore, leads me to think that we are rather to infer the prosperity than the poverty of Scotland from the circumstance of the Scotch emigrating in great numbers to England, and, also, that I, Scoto-Britannus, and Mr. Whitbread may pay you visits, from motives less praise-worthy, than, "from pure philanthropy, to teach you how to obtain "plenty, and banish poverty, and vice!" —I have had some effect, already, I see, in persuading you to approve of my way of thinking on this subject. In your Register you [p. 337] have these words:—"The "Scots emigrated for want of work; a "certain proof of a want of industry, "ingenuity or of enterprize." In my last letter I argued [p. 501] that, on the contrary, the emigration of the Scots proved "more ingenuity, industry, and enterprize, "than to remain, at home, deprived of "agricultural concerns, of both convenien-"cy, and materials for practicing a mecha-"nical profession." In reply to this, [p. 491] you say "*I admit it all*, without the "least reserve." And you add:—"in "order to convince me that a similar plan "is desirable for England, he has only to "prove that England would derive strength "from the emigration of her most able-"bodied sons." Yes, Mr. Cobbett, I will do more. I will shew that no emigration of her able-bodied sons will take place, but what is advantageous.—It was not the system of education that exclusively caused the emigration from Scotland. That system, *in the existing circumstances*, might perhaps increase it; but, by itself, had not, nor can have that tendency. On the contrary, education as it makes men more acquainted with their native country, in enabling them to read its history, and acquire associations of ideas connected with it, it makes them more averse to quit it. What made the Scotch Highlanders emigrate, was their being deprived of their farms, by the new plan of husbandry. Not being accommodated with manufactories, or fisheries, as they ought to have been, they were necessarily forced either to starve, or to leave their native shores. Had they [who you allow have all a great deal of nationality,] got work, and consequently subsistence, you may depend upon it, they would not have forsaken the beloved habitations of their forefathers. But the English labourers are not so situated. Had *these* been so, uncultivated as they are, and in fact, the more on that account, you may be sure we should have heard of their emigrations also. The English labourer seeks less for employment, than he is himself sought after. Manufactories are too numerous and extensive, and agriculture too universal and improved. From this fact, and from another very strong one, viz. the experience arising from the observation of the miseries and disasters which have befallen the Scotch emigrants, and the resulting dread of similar speculations, it may, with nearly absolute certainty, be anticipated that the introduction of the education of the poor into England, would not make the tendency to emigration greater than it presently is; and, therefore, you must admit that *you are "convinced that a plan of education similar "to the Scotch is desirable for England."*— With regard to your "first instance of un-"deniable facts," I still deny that your criterion, founded upon the relative amount of the taxes, is a fair one. I still maintain that a great part of what you call English taxes *are paid by Scotch labour.* For since the enterprize of Scotsmen leads them up to London, that they may, *there*, more advantageously exercise their "great talents;" and since when settled, there, their ingenuity suggests, and industry realizes the most extensive, profitable, and, at the same time time, tax-affording speculations, how can it be denied, I say, that part, at least, of what comes under the denomination of English taxes is paid by Scotch labour? Your criterion, consequently is not fair.—But there is another consideration of your criterion which I have not yet noticed, and which still more clearly points out its impropriety. You say [p. 336] "where there are two countries "under one and the same government, lying "adjoining to each other, having both a due "proportion of the offices and emoluments "of the state, then the amount of the taxes is a fair criterion of the respective "industry of each." But I am not at all of opinion, Mr. Cobbett, that Scotland, at present, has her "due proportion of the "offices and emoluments" of the British Empire. It is notorious that, I may say all, our nobility, spending their time and their money in London, at the Court, drain away the produce of the industry of the tenants, from Scotland, and from the amount of the Scotch taxes, to squander it in England, and swell the amount of the English taxes.—We have no Lord Lieutenant to draw a croud of wealthy satellites after him. We have no Stamp-office; and, comparatively, no Custom-house. We have very few appointed officers of government drawing a share of the public money. After this account, I think it can be hardly said that Scotland has

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her due proportion of offices and emoluments :" and, therefore, from the conjunct force of this, and my former objection, I must protest against the fairness of your celebrated criterion.—These objections may serve besides as a sufficient answer to that observation of yours, which you consider as your most important, viz. " that large sums " are annually granted out of the fruit of " the labourers of England, expressly to " prevent the Scotch from emigrating, by " making work for them at home."—I have moreover demonstrated, upon different unobjectionable data, that from the relation of Scotland to England a great part of the English taxes are paid by Scotch labour. These sums, therefore, which you so particularly mark, as paid by the English, to support the Scotch labour, are really altogether, *mediately*, paid by Scotland herself; and, at any rate, she ostensively, and immediately pays her proportional part of them It ought always to be recollected, too, that at the time of the union, exactly 100 years ago, Scotland laboured under no national debts. Immediately after that event she drank port at 2 shillings a bottle, instead of having her cups overflowing with claret at 8 pence. Every other article, in consequence of the uncommon duties imposed, was raised in the same ratio, and being taxed in every respect similar to England, Scotland might well enough receive these sums in consideration of her own relative poverty, and in consideration for being obliged to pay taxes to discharge debts, which she had not been the means of contracting.—I have now, Sir, successively, replied to all your objections to my former reasonings, as fully as I have room. If you think that I have not done so, satisfactorily, believe me it is not for want of argument, but of opportunity. There are several hints in my former letter which you have quite overlooked, and one, in particular, on which I lay a good deal of stress. " Were the peasantry," I observed [p. 499] " obliged, as is the case in Scot- " land, to educate their children, the " school-fees would employ the surplus-part " of their income, which would otherwise " have been squandered in idleness debau- " chery, and vice." Upon the whole, I think your arguments [if so powerful] do no more than maintain the equilibrium with mine. To decide the question, then, in my mind, at least, I shall adduce two other arguments which after Lord Bacon I call its " *experimentum crucis*.—1. The education of youth affords the best means of employing that period of life. Youth is a time of life when the power of acquirement is strongest, and when the habits of life are fixed,—The virtue or the vice of the man depends almost entirely upon the conduct of the youth,—a sentiment expressed by men of all ages.—

Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem
Testa diu :—

says Horace; and Pope, with the same idea,

'Tis Education forms the human mind;
Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclin'd.

Were your English peasants able to read the Bible, they would see in the Proverbs, besides many other golden maxims, " train " up a child in the way he should go, and " when he is old he will not depart from it." How are your peasants children to be employed unless at school? Being allowed to spend their boyhood according to their own inclinations, if they do not acquire the habits of thieves, and robbers, they will learn a laziness, fickleness, and ungovernable stiffness which will necessarily prevent them from being such useful members of society, as they, otherwise, might have been.—2. The system of education would tend to establish, and maintain the purity of Parliament. This argument applies peculiarly to England, where every 40 shilling freeholder being entitled to a vote, immense concourses of people necessarily assemble on occasions of elections. It has been universally experienced that the declaimer has never so much effect, as when speaking to such assemblies, as surround the English hustings. Draughts of sophistry are swallowed, which pervade the mob with the rapidity of electricity, and which, unless guarded against by the enlightened minds of the audience, intoxicate the people, and make them run regardless, like a stream, after the will of the speaker. How, for instance, unless the Electors of Westminster could read; could they be saved by your salutary *written*, or *printed* counsels, from the delusion of the mellifer- rous tongue of a Sheridan, or the naval roar of a Lord Cochrane? I must, now, conclude, with begging your excuse for so long a letter: because it is written to justify me, when I, with the greatest deference, still affirm that your arguments, regarding the Poor's education-bill, have not, in the slightest degree, altered the disinterested opinion of your benevolent, and obliged correspondent, J. B—TH—K, (SCOTO-BRITANNUS).—*Edinburgh, 18th Nov.* 1807.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"Acquiescence, on our part, has been followed, at every step, by some new demand on theirs; and the "consequence has been such as always will result from a yielding disposition incessantly besieged by greedy "importunity."——SWIFT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN STATES (continued from p. 921.)——Enough has, I think, been said to convince the reader, if, indeed, he wanted conviction upon the subject, that, in case of a war with the American States, no injury would arise to England; because, it has been shewn, in the article above referred to, and in others which have recently been published in this work, 1st, That it is impossible for America (let us get rid of the long compound name) to dispense with most of the goods which she can receive from no other country than England, or through English permission. 2nd, That, as to navigation, supposing our mercantile marine to be conducive to our naval strength, we derive no benefit from our commercial connection with America, seeing that all the goods which go either from England or from her colonies to America are carried in American ships; and, under the present system, must be so carried, because those which should be carried in our ships would be more heavily taxed there, where there exists a law for the purpose; so that, upon the supposition that a mercantile marine tends to give naval power to a state, our commercial connection with America tends to create unto ourselves a formidable rival upon that element, where it is, on all hands, agreed, that we ought to endeavour, at the expense of almost any sacrifice, to maintain an unrivalled superiority. 3rd, That, as to manufactures, made here for America, the hands employed therein, if not so employed, would, in a short time, find other employment, and, that, in the meanwhile, there would be, in our country, the same food for them to subsist upon, whereon they now subsist. 4th, That it is, however, within the compass of no earthly power, except ourselves, to put a stop to the supplying of America with English goods; that, if prohibited, they would be smuggled, as they were during the rebellion; that the sea coast, in case of war, would be in the quiet possession of our cruizers; that the mouths of the rivers and the rivers themselves to a considerable distance up, would be under our controul, and that while we thus kept open an inlet for goods, we should keep open an outlet for provisions for our ships. 5th, That a hundred thousand men, constantly kept in arms, would not be able to prevent this intercourse. 6th, That nineteen-twentieths of the amount of the American revenues are levied upon goods imported; that, in case of a war with us, the taxes (which would require to be augmented five-fold, at least) must be laid upon the land and upon the few manufactures of the country, and this, too, at a time, that the price of Woollens, Rum, and Coffee, would, from the prohibitions against the former, and the obstacles thrown by us in the way of the latter, be doubled. 7th, That, in such a state of things the union of the States could not be preserved, except through our folly, as, to effect a separation, we should only have to issue a proclamation, permitting any particular State or States to trade with the West-Indies, with England, and, indeed, with all the world, upon the conditions proposed by us to the Federal Government; this being all that would be necessary to confine the authority of that government to the States Southward from the Delaware, and to less than one half of the population of the country, it being evident, that the States upon the Mississippi, which have only that single outlet to the sea, only that one channel through which to receive their salt, their cloathing and their rum, *must* have that channel open, or must lose its inhabitants.——All this has, I think, been fully proved, in the several articles, recently published and referred to by me; but, because it be proved, that England would sustain little or no injury from a war with America, and that America herself would be speedily reduced thereby to a state that would compel her to submit to our terms, it does not hence follow, that those terms ought to be exorbitant; that they ought to contain any new or unjust demand; that they ought to exhibit any thing insulting to America, any thing to submit to which would degrade her in the eyes of the world: it does not follow, in short, that we ought

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to make choice for the purpose of seeking a war with her; but, it does clearly follow, from the above propositions, the truth of which I take to have been proved, that we ought not to submit to any terms injurious to ourselves for the purpose of avoiding such war. What the terms are, which she aims at imposing upon us, we cannot, from the President's late speech, precisely ascertain; but, besides the point, relative to the searching of merchant ships for English deserters, and to concede which would be openly to encourage desertion from our ships of war; besides this point, which is vitally interesting to us, it would seem that Mr. Thomas Jefferson has some very large views respecting the exercise of our naval power; and that, in short, it is his wish to co-operate with Napoleon, in the great undertaking of securing "*the freedom of the seas*," or, in other words, the annihilation of that part of our power, which is the only means of preserving our independence as a nation; an undertaking in which, I trust, they will find themselves frustrated and put to confusion.

——But, it may be, that America may consent to stop short, in the first instance, of the full extent of her demands. If, however, we yield, in whatever degree our yielding may be, her demands will, in that same degree, increase. Observe the curs, that pour out upon the passing mastiff. If he stop and only look them hard in the face, they stop too, casting an eye back to the doors whence they have issued, to see if their retreat be open. He moves on his way; they advance again; and, if, from their numbers, he discovers any symptoms of fear, they are upon him, have him down, worry him and tear him half to death. By boldly seizing upon the first aggressor (if that be the course he pursues), and sending him back howling to his retreat, he stops and silences the malignant confederation, is enabled to go on his way with safety and with honour, and that, too, not only for the present, but upon all future occasions. —— The fear, which for reasons presently to be stated, we have discovered of America, has led to our present quarrel with her; and, it has led also, in a great degree, to the partiality existing in that country for France. When the question is "to whom shall we bow?" men never determine to bow to those whom they know to be afraid of them; and they seldom refuse to do it to those whom they fear. —— The conduct of America towards England presents a series of aggressions of fifteen years, with scarcely a month's interruption. No sooner had the war broken out, between England and France, in 1792, than the Americans openly avowed their wishes for the success of the latter. I do not mean, in their newspapers, I mean in the speeches of the members of the Congress, where, the utmost extent of the arguments on the other side, was, that it was not for the *benefit* of America to join France in the war. These wishes, accompanied with the most outrageous abuse of the king of England and of the English navy and of the English nation, were openly professed; and, at public meetings, proclaimed, in the most authoritative and solemn manner, by magistrates, judges, and governors; and, this, too, observe, without any reproof on the part of the general government, some of whose officers actually joined in these injurious invectives. From words they proceeded to deeds. Individuals not only violated the laws of neutrality; but, when they had so done, boasted of their success, and incurred, at no time, the displeasure of that government, who stood upon the professed ground of strict and impartial neutrality. Nay, that government itself scrupled not to imitate, in this respect, its malignant citizens. A large fleet of American merchant ships, laden with provisions on account of the government of France, being collected at Norfolk, in Virginia, and being nearly ready to sail, at the time when it was thought proper to lay an embargo upon all merchant ships whatever; this large fleet, under convoy of a French force, was suffered to proceed on its destination, while the law of embargo was rigorously enforced (both before and after the sailing of that fleet) with respect to all the ships bound to the ports of England or her colonies. Say, for argument's sake, that it was not in the power of the government to prevent the sailing of this fleet, so useful to France at that critical moment; but, not to observe, that its power, if not efficient for all cases, should not have been exercised against us any more than against France; not to mention this, it is a fact not to be denied, that, though the law of embargo provided a penalty for all those who should violate it, yet, that not one of those who were guilty of an open violation thereof, by sending or taking out their ships in this fleet, ever underwent the penalty; and that, so well were they satisfied, that they had nothing to fear upon this account, they openly boasted of the violation they had committed, and which to have committed became, in some sort, a title to public esteem. —— At a later period of the war, (to pass over the endless list of minor acts of partiality), the people and public authorities of New York, openly and boastingly gave aid and

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assistance to the French frigate, the Ambuscade, in a battle, fought by her, against the English frigate, the Boston. It will be remembered, that the former, which was lying under the forts of New York, received a challenge from the latter, lying then out at the mouth of the harbour; that the battle ended in the death of the gallant Captain Courtenay, who had given the challenge, and in the defeat of the Ambuscade, which, though of 44 guns against her enemy's 36 (I believe), saved herself from capture by a flight, which she effected, while the Boston was obliged to lye-to, having a mast gone by the board. Previous to the combat, which the French delayed for the purpose, assistance of all sorts was sent to the French frigate from the shore; several port pilots agreed, by lot, to serve on board of her; men were taken from the American ships in the harbour to add to her crew; additional surgeons from the shore were provided; and, at last, out she went under the French and American flags entwined, while the people on shore, under banners entwined in a similar manner, shouted an anticipated triumph. When she returned, without the prize; beaten and shattered, and stained with the blood of many of the malignant wretches, who had volunteered to give England a stab, a public contribution was made to provide wine, linen, and other things for those who had been wounded in the combat; and, while, from public meetings, consisting in part of men in authority, revenge for the failure and disgrace was sought in abuse the most infamous against the English nation and name, the general government, which, in the observance of its solemn promise of impartial neutrality, was bound to animadvert upon these proceedings, suffered all to pass in a silence which indicated that its secret wishes but too well corresponded with those of the open violators of that neutrality, and that, in short, the line of neutrality had been adopted merely for the purpose of tying the hands of England.——The laws of neutrality demand, a perfect impartiality, not only in *granting* and *refusing*, but also in resenting injuries. It is notorious, and I have hundreds of proofs to produce of the fact, that, while remonstrance upon remonstrance was made by the American government against what it called the agressions of England, the well known and outrageous aggressions of France produced no complaint or remonstrance at all; that the sufferers were referred to the great and sovereign balm of hurt minds, patience; and that, finally, when, under the Presidentship of Mr. Adams, a show of obtaining redress for the thousands of injuries received from France, was made, no redress was obtained, but that, in the accommodation, the government submitted to new injuries to America, and that, too, for the obvious purpose, of producing injury to England.——During the nine years beginning in 1792 and ending 1800, there were many flagrant outrages committed in America against the English envoys, not one of which was noticed by the government. During the same period, publications against the king and people of England, such as never were conceived unless in an American mind, teemed in the newspapers, in pamphlets, and in books. The abuse contained in these publications it is impossible to describe. Never did the government notice one of them; but, the moment a publication appeared against their *allies*, (for so they called France, and, afterwards, Spain), it armed itself with all its powers; the general government and the under government fastened upon the offender both at once, for one and the same publication; in their bills of indictment, their attorney general shared the paragraphs of the same publication between them, so that if one failed the other might succeed! And, yet, did this people, all that very time, carry on its commerce, to all parts of the world, under the guise of neutrality; and of all this, too, were our ministers at home duly informed, though they never resented it, a forbearance, an acquiescence under injustice, for which we have since dearly paid, and shall continue dearly to pay.——Let us now come to the treaty of 1794, and see how it was fulfilled by this nation, to whom we are now called upon, by the Morning Chronicle and its Whig writers, to make further concessions of our maritime rights, for the sake of preserving that harmony, which they assert (and I have proved, assert falsely) to be absolutely necessary to the prosperity of England.——The principal stipulation in that treaty related to reciprocal *pecuniary claims*. Upon the bare mention of this the reader will think that he anticipates the sequel; but, unless he be already well informed upon the subject, I defy his imagination to arm him against the astonishment that will arise from the hearing of what I am going to relate.——The stipulation, here mentioned, arose out of the following circumstances. At the breaking out of the rebellion (for, I love to call things by their right names), there were large sums of money, as there necessarily must be, due from merchants and others in America, to merchants and manufacturers in England. There was money due to others; but this may serve as a general description. The sum

as Franklin, the arch-rebel, had felt the pulse of France, sufficiently to ascertain that that country would take part with America, the Congress passed a law, according to which the debtors above-mentioned, were, upon the payment of the amount of the debts into their state treasury in paper money, to be for ever released from the claim of their English creditors. This paper money was not, at the time, worth more, perhaps, than sixpence in the pound; so that here was a most powerful and extensively operating motive for adhering to the Congress, for, if England triumphed, these claims of the English creditor resumed all their former vigour. Indeed, thus to get rid of their just debts was the principal motive of the rebellion itself; and this is a fact that no honest man in America will deny. It suited those debtors to feign other motives; to persuade other people that a stamp-duty was the most burdensome and disgraceful of badges; but, if their eyes had not before been open, they would have been in the reign of Mr. Adams, when a stamp duty, a thousand times heavier than that proposed by England, was imposed by the Congress, and quietly paid.——When peace came to be made, the English minister, Lord Shelburne, in consequence of a promise solemnly, but very foolishly, made to the above-mentioned creditors, obtained a stipulation, that the Congress (or general government of America) should cause to be adopted, in the several States, such laws, or regulations, as would open the way for those creditors to recover their due. It was unjust towards this nation to obtain any such stipulation, because it must have cost something to its general interests, or honour, at the expence of which these creditors had no better claim to be indemnified than any other description of persons had to be indemnified for any losses, in taxes, or otherwise, that they might have sustained from the war. It was to lay down a precedent for indemnifying speculators against risks, than which nothing could be more unjust in itself, or more pernicious in its consequences, though, I would fain hope, that those consequences will not extend to an indemnification of the merchants trading to Buenos Ayres and to Denmark. It was, however, more foolish, if possible, than unjust; because, any man, with one grain of sense in his head, might have perceived, that it was morally impossible that the stipulation should ever be fulfilled.——When the treaty of 1794 came to be negociated, these debts remained in the same state that they were found in at the peace. It was agreed, therefore (and now we come to the interesting point), that a board of commissioners should be formed, which board (to sit in America) was to ascertain, and, finally, decide upon, the amount due to each creditor; that their decision should be final and without appeal; and, that, according to such decision, the general government of America was to cause the sums due to be fully paid.——But, there had arisen, in 1794, claims of certain American merchants and others upon England for the amount of ships and goods, which, as they alledged, had been unjustly taken from them by our navy during the war then going on (that is, the last war with France); and, therefore we agreed, that another board of commissioners should be formed to ascertain those claims; this board was to sit in London; was to decide in the last resort, like the other board; and our government agreed to pay the sums due agreeably to such decision.——The manner of forming the boards was this; each government was to name two commissioners for the first board. These four commissioners, when met, were to name another on each side, and then, by ballot, they were to determine, which of these two should be the fifth commissioner. The second board was to be formed in the same manner; and, it happened, that, for the board to sit in America, the ballot was in favour of the fifth commissioner named by us; while, for the board to sit in England, the ballot was on the contrary side. Thus, then, both the boards were formed, we having named three out of the five for one board, and the Americans having named three out of five for the other. Nothing could be more fair; nothing could promise a fairer termination, especially as the decision was, in all cases, to be by a majority of voices of the commissioners present, three of whom, to provide against cases of sickness, were to form a quorum for the transaction of business.——But, in the tail of this stipulation, there was a little member of a sentence worked in, that, no award for any payment should be made, without one, at least, of the commissioners, nominated by each government respectively, being *present*; and, as the reader will see, this little bit of a sentence was turned to such excellent account by the Americans, that, by the help of it, they made shift to render the whole of the stipulation, as far as it operated against themselves, perfectly nugatory.——The boards met, and that which assembled in America, was, after a year, or more (I believe more than two years), spent upon preliminary matter, just coming to a decision upon one out of perhaps, five

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thousand cases; but, it should be observed, that the decision upon that case would have applied to, perhaps, two thirds of the whole, and therefore the remainder of the work would have been short. The board was just coming to this decision; just going to make an award, which would have made the American government liable to be called upon for a sum of money due to an English creditor, when what did the two American commissioners, FITZSIMMONS and SITGREAVES (their names should be remembered); what did they do, but jump up and quit the room instantly; and, as the treaty required that one of them, at least, should be *present*, when an award was made, *no award could, of course, be made!* The board met, and they came to it several times afterwards; but, the moment any question touching an award was made, they seceded. Many attempts were made to bring them to act; but, all in vain, and, except in one or two little insignificant cases which had no community in principle with the great mass of the claims, nothing was decided. The board broke up, and the whole stipulation, attended (as in some future article I shall take an opportunity of exposing) with an immense present expense, and even with a permanent future charge, on our part. ——Not so the board assembled in London for the awarding of money to be paid by us to American claimants. The commissioners of that board made dispatch; there was no *secession* there. There the American commissioners composed a *majority*; and awards went on at a swimming rate, John Bull being, as all the world has experienced, no niggard of his money, earning it like a horse and spending it like an ass. When Pitt and his comrades found, however, how things were going on in America, they seemed to think that it was too scandalous to suffer awards to be going on here; and, accordingly, the board in London was stayed in its operations. In this state the famous Richmond Park minister found the affair. He began, or took up the thread of, a new negociation, and delightful work did he turn off his hand; for, either he found it so hampered, or he found himself hampered with so many other things, that he cut the matter short thus: he made a new convention, in which it was agreed, that, as a full and final satisfaction for all debts, due from the American debtors above spoken of to English creditors, the American government should pay, by yearly instalments, the sum of *six hundred thousand pounds*, when the calculation, at the out-set of the business was, that those debts amounted to *twenty millions of dollars*, that is to say, between *four and five millions of pounds*.—— "Well!" the reader will say, "but this "economical minister, this conscientious "gentleman, took care to compound in "like manner for the debts alledged to be "due from us to the Americans? He surely, put an end to the board in London, "where the Americans had a *majority* of "commissioners?" No: he did no such thing; he suffered that board to go on, as if nothing amiss had taken place, and, we have, out of the taxes of this kingdom, already actually paid, on account of the awards of that board, more, I believe, than *three millions of pounds*, not having yet arrived at nearly the end of the reckoning; though, at the time when the treaty was made, the utmost extent of these demands was estimated at less than *one million and a half!* ——Well may you, reader, throw down the Register and bite your lips. I curse as I write; and you must be something "more or less than man," if you do not curse as you read.——After this, can any one be surprized, that the Americans should expect to bully us out of our maritime rights? Really, when they consider our past tame, cowardly, base and fool-like acquiescence, one is rather surprized at their modesty (a quality, albeit, with which they are not, in general, overcharged) in confining their demands to the "*freedom of the seas.*" This demand, unreasonable on the part of any nation, and unsupportably insolent on the part of a nation like them, I have here traced to its source, that disposition to recede and to yield on the part of our ministers, and which disposition is to be attributed to the at once selfish and silly motive of preserving harmony, for the sake, not of the tranquillity and ease of the nation, but for the sake of commerce and consequent revenue, thinking, if they ever do think rationally upon such matters, that the duty paid upon American goods the people will not perceive to come out of their own pockets. They have, too, been worried and tormented by the merchants and great exporting manufacturers and American fund-holders, who, together with a faction, everlastingly fighting for place, have made them glad to get off their hands, at any rate, a dispute with America. But, why are these merchants and fund-holders *alarmed*? I can speak comfort to their hearts. In the ever-famous treaty of 1794, there is a permanent stipulation, that, if war should at any future time, unhappily take place between the two nations, there shall be no confiscation of debts,

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funds, or property of any sort on *either* side (just as if we did not know to whom it applied!); but, that all shall remain safe. "Aye," say they, "but the *war puts an* "*end to the treaty*; and it was pure folly "in Lord Grenville to insert such an unmeaning stipulation." Yes, but, observe, the stipulation is preceded by a most *important* declaration, namely, *that it is unjust and base* (I forget the precise words) *to have recourse to such confiscations*; and, do you think, that the Americans, after having, in so solemn a manner, made that declaration; do you think, I say, that after that, they will attempt to confiscate? What do you shake your heads for, and shrug up your shoulders? Have you no faith? Are you Jews there too?——This is the bane, this is the curse of England, as relating to her foreign connections. Blessed with all sorts of resources necessary to the happiness and greatness of a nation, those resources, instead of remaining within herself, assume, through the intervention of commerce, a shape that deposits a considerable part of her wealth, and, along with it, the affections of no small number of the most opulent, active and intriguing of her people, in foreign countries; and, therefore it is, that her interests are made to give way to the interests of those countries, the case of nations being, in this respect, precisely the opposite of that of individuals, for, in the latter case, the debtor is in a great degree the slave of the creditor, whereas, in the former, the creditor is the slave of the debtor; and that, too, observe, exactly in proportion to the amount of the debt and the badness of character of the debtor. I should like to hear MR. SPENCE, who can see *no evil*, though he can see no good, in commerce, give his reasons for believing, that that which I have here stated is not an evil.——Here I should take my leave of this subject for the present; but, another letter from A. B., the writer, who, through the pages of the Morning Chronicle, under the garb of an Englishman, has been, like Satan at the ear of Eve, insinuating his advice into the public mind, demands some notice, especially as the wiseman of the Morning Chronicle has thought proper to insinuate, that the *great demand for the letters of that writer has induced him to reprint them in a pamphlet*. This is a mere catch-penny trick on his part, and a little effusion of vanity on the part of the writer, who, I venture to engage, is to pay all the expenses of the reprint. As far as all this goes, the thing is contemptible; but, it becomes serious when we consider, that the Morning Chronicle would not have commended these letters, *had they not expressed the sentiments of his faction*, against which faction, therefore, let us be upon our guard. ——I shall insert the *whole* of this letter. Don't be alarmed, reader; for, being the last of the litter it is appropriately short.—— "Sir,—In *sending* these few lines to you, "it is not my intention to renew my correspondence; but it appears proper that I "should ask of you to take notice, that "when I wrote the last letter, and, indeed, "when it appeared in your paper, I had "not seen the speech of the President to "the Congress of the United States, although it had been published in London. "If I had read it, there are parts of it to "which I should have adverted, but with "great reserve, and not at all in the style "of several animadversions on it, which are "in circulation, the justice or injustice of "which it is not my intention to consider. "The simple forms of a republican government would not have made me forget, "that the paper signed "Thomas Jefferson" "was the public speech of a sovereign, and "of a sovereign still in amity with Great "Britain; of a sovereign, besides, addressing the representatives of his people, who "thought their independence questioned, "and who were in impatient expectation of "receiving the answer of Great Britain on "the subject. It is not only injurious to "the country, but even unfair to ministers, "who are engaged in a most important and "critical negociation, to run, before their "ambassador and their dispatches, with the "language of intemperance and reproach. "It would, no doubt, be very desirable, "that the councils of other states should "view all the transactions of England with "English eyes and English feelings; but "that is not to be expected at any time; "least of all in the present moment, when "there remains but one nation to complete "the confederacy of the world.——I do "not mean that the English press should be "silent, or should hold back the language "of truth: but there is a measure to be observed on such occasions, which, in many instances, has been overstepped.——I "think it should be left to the administration of our own government, in the dignified language of state representations, "to question the acts of another government "where they appear to be unfriendly or unjust, instead of harsh and violent invectives, written without due information, "and written in a style, which, in a manner, identifies the authors with the administration which they profess to serve and "to support.——It may be asked, how any-

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" nymous publications can affect the temper " of a foreign government or people? The " best answer is, to recollect how we our- " selves are affected by the tirades in the " Moniteur. We think ourselves at liberty, " and, in my opinion, rightly, to impute " them to the French government; and " the inhabitants of other countries, who " know the present state of the British " press, will draw the same conclusion.—— " All I mean by these observations is, to re- " commend some forbearance in the man- " ner of some of these compositions, and " to explain why I myself forbear from add- " ing any thing to what is contained in my " former correspondence.—— I have not " sufficient materials before me for any pub- " lic criticism upon the important state pa- " per of America. If peace is happily pre- " served, and harmony restored, it will be " pleasant to those who have no intemperate " language to regret, or to retract; and if " the peace is unjustly broken, it will then " be patriotism to expose that injustice, to " support the councils, and to assist the " arms of *our* country.—A. B."——As it matters little at which end we begin, let us, for once, proceed in a regular course from the top to the bottom.—Mr. A. B. "*sends*" this letter to the editor, keeping up the character, assumed in the first letter, of a person "retired from the busy scenes of " life, and living, in the country, a calm " observer of what passes in the great " world." This is an instance of American cunning over-reaching itself. What occasion was there for A. B. to say any thing at all about *who* or *what* he was? He might be sure, that his facts and his arguments would pass for what they were intrinsically worth. For the purposes of *truth*, it was impossible that an assumption of character should be necessary; and, therefore, we have pretty good reason for suspecting, that it was assumed for the purposes of falsehood. In romances, and in certain moral essays, an asumption of character is proper and useful; but, then, it is understood to be an assumption; whereas, in a case like this, we are left to doubt, at the least, whether the character be real or assumed. My opinion is, that this writer is either an American, or a person deeply interested in American debts, or property of some sort or other; and, this opinion, expressed before, receives confirmation from the letter now before us.—— A. B. tells us, that, when he wrote his last letter (the main object of which was to prevail on us not to stick at small sacrifices, for the sake of restoring harmony between us and America) he had not seen the President's speech: True, perhaps, but, he had anticipated its contents; he had anticipated the insolent demands of America, and, so had I, without seeing that speech.—He censures the manner in which some of the English prints have commented upon that speech; says, that, if he had thereunto adverted, it would have been with *great reserve*: that, as to the *justice*, or *injustice*, of our comments, it is not his intention to enter into any consideration; but, that he would have us beware, that, though the simple forms of a republican government, caused the speech to be signed "THOMAS JEFFERSON," it is the speech of a *sovereign*.—How neatly the vanity of the American peeps out here through the *simplicity* of the republican. "Simple forms," indeed! Just as if this miserable affectation would any longer impose upon the world, when it is the subject of ridicule amongst the Americans themselves!—But, why, if this man were an Englishman, and had an English heart in his breast, should he refrain from commenting freely upon the speech? Why should he recommend such "*great reserve*" in doing it? Why, he tells us, below, that he himself "has not sufficient *materials* before him for " any public criticism upon the *important* " state paper of America." Now, leaving the vanity here again to the contempt of the reader, let me ask this gentleman, what *materials* he could possibly want for such a criticism, other than the speech itself and facts which are matter of notoriety? We hear the president, for instance, complaining of the attack upon the Chesapeake, and mentioning that seamen were taken out of her by force; but, we hear him say nothing at all about the nation to which the men belonged, though, in his proclamation, he had declared them to be natives of the American States; nor does he advert, in the slightest manner, to the facts relating to the way in which the men came on board of the Chesapeake. There are falsfoods of omission as well as falshoods of commission. I inveigle away a dozen of my neighbours sheep and huddle them into my flock; he comes and takes them away, giving me, who attempt to resist him, a good, decent well-merited drubbing. I go to the parson and tell him, that my neighbour has come into my field and fetched away by force a dozen sheep; " and," say I, " because " I attempted to resist him, he has drubbed " me in the manner that you see." The parson, who has heard the whole of the story before, naturally answers me thus: " Soft- " ly; you have told the truth, but not " the *whole* truth; and, when by such

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"suppressions, it necessarily follows, "that a false impression will be produced upon the minds of those who "require information upon the subject, the "statement of part of the truth is, in fact, "a lie; therefore, you have told me a lie; "and, as lying lips are an abomination to "the Lord, I hope you will lose no time in "seeking pardon by the way of sincere re-"pentance."—Leaving the application of this to A. B. and his admirer of the Morning Chronicle, let us take one other instance. The President tells the Congress, that England has adopted a regulation with respect to neutral trade, which regulation is greatly injurious to America; and, by-and-by, he says, that he has nothing to complain of in the conduct of any other nation of Europe, or words to that effect. But, he omits to tell the Congress and the *poor deceived people*, that the regulation he complains of was forced upon us by a previous regulation of France, the latter far surpassing ours, both in severity and extent, and that, to this, America had submitted for many months before our regulation was put in practice. This he omitted to say; and, therefore, this case is precisely upon a level with the former in point of morality, but, with the addition, that, here, there is an instance of partiality for our enemy, quite sufficient to deprive America of all pretensions to the *neutral* character. Now, then, without troubling ourselves with any more particulars, what "*materials*," I again ask, could A. B. want to enable him to make a public criticism upon these most important parts of the speech? Evidently none but what every man was in possession of; and, therefore, we must conclude, that his unwearied pen was stopped, only because he found that a *defence* of the speech would not do; for, as to any dread of exposing himself to further defeat and ridicule, thoughts of that sort never enter the mind of a conceited sot, such as he appears to be, and such as his country abounds in.——But, it is the *manner* of our criticism, the *harshness* of our language (pretty well in an American!) that he finds fault with; and, he begs us to consider, that the speech was addressed to the representatives of a people, "who "thought their *independence* questioned." What an impudent falshood! Coolly to state this in an English news-paper, required nothing short of the impenetrable skin of an American. Thought their *independence* questioned, because we would not suffer them to keep English sailors that they had inveigled away from our ships! If he had said, indeed, that they felt sore at the reflection, that their ship had been so shamefully beaten, there would have been some sense in his words; but, to talk of their feeling alarm upon the score of their *independence* surpasses the impudence of our own corrupt hirelings, who, when an attack is made upon a notorious public plunderer, or a not less notorious cowardly general, call it an attack upon *the constitution*, and accuse the assailant of a settled design to undermine the throne, to bring about revolution, anarchy, a destruction of all property and universal carnage," leaving darkness to be the bu-"rier of the dead." It is seldom that knaves are at a loss for a catch word, wherewith to entrap honest credulity: here the word is *constitution*; in America it is *independence*; but, for mercy's sake, let us not be duped on both sides; let us not be persuaded to believe, that, if we insist upon recovering our sailors out of the American ships, we thereby aim a blow at the *independence* of America!——It is, however, the manner that he complains of. "I do not mean," says he, "that the English press should be "*silent*" (gramercy, kind Sir!) "or should "hold back the language of truth; but, "there is a *measure* to be observed upon "such occasions, which, in many instances, "has been overstepped." I understand you, Sir; our papers should not speak *so much truth*, a caution, which, from their established character, I should have thought quite unnecessary. As truth is a valuable thing, you wish them, I perceive, to dispense it, in imitation of your "*economical*," Thomas Jefferson, with an economical hand. ——Come, then, supposing you to mean to confine your complaint solely to the *language*, that is to say, to the mere words, used by the writers, to whom you allude, you tell us, that the language of our public prints is, and you think ought to be, considered to be the language of our government, and that they are, in fact, in this respect, identified. Agreed; and, you will of course, agree, that the American prints are identified with the American government, and, then, pray do tell us, what ought, in this country, to be the feelings with respect to that government? How we ought to resent all the atrocious abuse which the American press from its three hundred throats; has vomited out against our navy, our nation, and our name? In return for the appellations of "swindlers, cowards, ruf-"fians, murderers, assassins," with which that press has so profusely decorated us, are we to return, "honest Americans, "gallant republicans, gentle citizens, com-"passionate souls, sweet sirs?" However

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this might agree with your ideas of justice, we shall not do it. I have seen nothing in the articles, to which you allude (for until now, I have made no commentary upon the speech myself), but what was perfectly proper, as far as related to America; nor did I observe, in those articles, one expression that could justly be called harsh. But, this tenderness for *yourselves* is, to me, no new thing. I know that you claim, in virtue of the praises, which many honest Europeans, have, from the want of knowing the truth, bestowed upon your national character, a right to abuse all the world, and, at the same time, to be exempt even from fair criticism yourselves, a right of which you might have lived in the fancied enjoyment, had not your vanity urged you on to attempt to bully us out of our maritime rights, and, with your dung-hill chicken crow to bid the eagle defiance.——You ground your recommendation of forbearance upon the circumstance, that we have now such a host of foes to contend with: and, most significantly bid us reflect, that "there remains but *one nation* to complete the confederacy of the world against us;" a hint that you find, I dare say, to agree wonderfully well with what you said in your former letter, to wit, that "England stood upon the *vantage ground*, and that nothing conceded by her *could possibly be imputed to fear*." Your tone is now changed, and like your honest predecessor, Nic Frog, you have a mind to try what bullying will do, since, to all appearance, wheedling has failed. But, Sir, I hope, you and your country will find that the days both of wheedling and of bullying are passed; we see this confederacy now formed, and you do not perceive that we are scared out of our wits. The scaring days are gone by; and though we have manifold political sins to get rid of, you will not easily scare us again. We begin to discover, that though America and her commerce were both annihilated, and all other commerce along with them, the corn and the grass and the trees would still continue to grow in England; that our mines would still teem with ore and with fuel; that our women would still be the fairest and the most virtuous in the world, our men the most industrious, honest and sincere, while they yielded to none upon earth in strength or in bravery. This is a discovery which merchants and merchant-like ministers can no longer prevent us from completing; and, once completed, away go all the false alarms, all the mental chains, which have so long held us in disgraceful bondage to nations like Holland and America.——To return again, for a moment, to your caution about forbearance in our language, the fact is, that you are afraid of *the truth*. You have humbugged the world so long with your impudent assumption of exclusive *virtue* and *liberty*, that your vanity falls into fits at the prospect of seeing the English press let loose upon you. Your situation is like that of Joseph Surface, just when Sir Peter is going behind the screen; and, in that situation I leave you, not however, without a faithful promise to return to you again, as often as occasion shall require.——And, now, what will our ministers do? Will they make further concessions? Will they drawl out a negociation, ending in a disgraceful compromise, invented by some little knot of merchants and manufacturers, and just leaving a hole to creep out of in point of form, while, as to the substance, they close us up air-tight in debasement? Will they do this? I do not know how to answer. I should, at once, answer *no*; but, there is so much depending upon connections and intrigues and votings and the other wheels and works of faction, that I know not what to think or to say. And yet, the policy as well as the justice of the case are so obvious; they must all be so well convinced, that to recoil one inch further, is to invite a trampling to death; they must so clearly see, that their country's fate, and, indeed, their own political fate too, depends upon their resolute resistance of further demands on the part of America; they must be so well satisfied, that America is now merely the mouth-piece of France, demanding that which, if granted, will be a precedent for every future treaty that we shall make, relating to maritime affairs: of all this they must be so thoroughly convinced, that one would think it impossible for them to hesitate. Yet, I will not vouch for their firmness; and, I see, that the Morning Chronicle, taking up the ragged thread of A. B. and working it into a substance somewhat more solid, is endeavouring to connect it with the meshes of faction. "We yesterday," says he, in a tone perfectly puritanical, "received American papers down to "the 12th of last month. That part of "the President's speech, which relates to "the differences subsisting between Great "Britain and America, has been referred "to a committee of the House of Repre"sentatives; but it was not likely, that "any decisive measure would be adopted "till the sentiments and intentions of this "Government were better known. The "discussion which took place upon the

" resolutions seem to have been conducted " with great moderation, and we would " fain hope that the wisdom of the respec- " tive legislatures of the two countries " will awe into silence the clamour of the " few intemperate and unthinking indivi- " duals, who for the sake of gratifying a " blind and inconsiderate passion, would " hurry them into a war equally injurious " to the interests of both. It is no small " consolation, especially in the days in " which we live, to reflect that there still " exist two countries in the globe, the " pacific relations of which are not subject " to the arbitrary controul of an individual, " or of twelve individuals, and where the " happiness and prosperity of the people " cannot be sacrificed either to misplaced " partialities or to ill-conceived opinions. " Such is the wisdom and benignity of our " institutions, that it is impossible for us to " envy those of any other nation; but it " surely is matter of regret that at a mo- " ment so critical and important the Bri- " tish Parliament should not, like the Ame- " rican Congress, be advising and directing " the measures of the Executive Govern- " ment. Whatever may be the issue of " the discussions now pending, it would be " desirable, even in a political point of " view, that it should be the result, not " merely of the deliberations of a Council, " but that the people themselves should " decide upon their own destinies. In this " way the greatest evil which can befal " humanity (for we are not yet converts " to the new theory which holds out war as " desirable on its own account), would be " most likely to be avoided, and, if found " to be unavoidable, would be encountered " with a spirit proportionate to its necessi- " ty."——No, they will certainly come to no decisive measure upon the subject, in the Congress, until the intentions of our government are known; and, that alone is a strong presumptive proof, that if we remain firm, they will cease their demands. They are happily gifted in the art of prolonging a discussion. The debates upon the treaty of 1794 took up *fourteen days*, and, even at the end of that time, several members complained that they had had no opportunity of delivering their sentiments, though, after the first day, there was not one new idea brought forth. What head-ache-giving speeches! Some of them spoke *seven hours*, without so much as sucking an orange.——We are to fret, according to this writer, because the parliament of England, in imitation of the American Congress, is not assembled to " *advise* and " *direct the measures of the executive* " *government.*" In the first place, it is not true, that the Congress is called for that purpose; it is called, that the speech may be made, and the speech is made for *our* use, and not for the use of the Congress or the people of America. And, in the next place, what has our parliament (where the ministry has a majority too), to do, either in *theory*, or in *practice*, with negociations with foreign powers? But, it is " desirable that the *people*" should have a hand in the discussions. Well, and will they have any more hand in them, when the parliament is met, than they have now? They can petition the parliament, and publish their petitions. And, cannot they petition the king now, in the very same sentiments, publishing their petitions in like manner? Yes, but " our friends can *make speeches*." Oh, their tongues itch to be at it again, do they? " The *people themselves* " decide upon their own destinies!" What an impudent, what an insolent, and, at the same time, foolish expression! What have the people to do in deciding? And what difference is it to them, whether the measures be first decided upon in the Council, or in the House of Commons, seeing that the ministers have a majority, and seeing that the measures will be such as they shall propose? For my part, I think parliament will meet full soon enough in February, or March; and, I was going to say . . . . . but I won't. No: I hope, we shall have no parliament sitting until after the Epiphany, old style, that we may have a quiet, if not a merry Christmas, and a happy beginning, at least, of the New Year. I am not, however, so divested of feeling as not to compassionate the case of those, who have itching tongues; nor should I be unwilling to indulge them, could I obtain a security, that they have not also itching fingers.——The conclusion of this article from the Morning Chronicle is in the true strain of the conventicle, nor should I wonder if the writer had heard the very same words at Moorfields or in Glass-house Yard; that is to say, it is made up of cant and false insinuations. When did this hypocritical writer hear any one say, that " war was *desirable on its own account?*" Where has he seen any thing of this " new theory," of which he talks, and which, he leaves to be inferred, is held by all those, who wish to refuse the demands of the Americans? And, if he cannot point out this *when* and *where*, with what face can he object to own himself to be a hypocrite?——No, Sir, we do not hold, that war is desirable on its own account. We will tell

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you what we hold, and we will not be put off with any of your shuffling. We will bring you to the point. And, if you refuse to answer, your silence shall be presumed to be a proof of your guilt.——America demands, that we should, 1st, *give up the right of taking our seamen out of her merchant ships*; and, 2nd, *permit her to carry on her commerce, as a neutral, upon terms more advantageous than those, which she quietly suffers France to prescribe to her?*——We are for war, rather than yield to these demands. Now, are you with us, or are you against us? Give us a direct answer to this, and think not to get off with shuffling and insinuation. Answer, Sir. If your cause be good, why need you be afraid of trying your strength with us? Your faction is considerable, and you yourself have some resources in point of talent. Face us, then; and put up your quibbling and canting and insinuating, until your beloved meeting of parliament arrives.

An article respecting *the appointment of officers in the army*; another respecting the *Russian manifesto*; another respecting the *state of Spain*; and many letters, are postponed for want of room, which I had not to spare without dividing Mr. Worthington's letter, which I could not prevail upon myself to do.——The next Number, which will conclude this Volume, will contain all the *public papers* up to Tuesday or Wednesday next.

Errata in the last Register.—Page 904, l. 28 from the bottom, read *owe* instead of *have*.——Page 913, l. 27 from the top, read *it* instead of *they*.

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EDINBURGH REVIEWERS.

[*Being Mr. Worthington's third and last Letter*]

"Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
"Tempus eget.——"

SIR;——I have reserved for my last letter, an examination of the Observations of the Reviewers, "upon the true nature and "operations of our famous constitution," (p. 411, Edinburgh Review). This is the most elaborate part of their essay; and very judiciously so. For, if they are able to shew, that the three estates of our legislature, preserving their separate independent functions, cannot act *beneficially*, their critique is so far triumphant, and the argument for the constitution becomes an old woman! It will be my endeavour to winnow every party consideration out of this discussion, which has been obviously undertaken by the Reviewers to serve the purposes of party. Their object, clearly disclosed by their concluding page, is to support the credit of the late ministry, in order to turn out the present. The scheme was adroit. For if they can demonstrate, that what we call abuses, are real improvements, reforms were out of the question; Mr. Fox was no apostate, and the Whig ministry is justified in respect of every thing, but its *former professions*.—— They begin (for the purpose, I believe, of perplexing the reader and the subject) with an analytical dissection of "every commu-"nity with a relation to its political rights. "and interests into three great natural classes "es and orders:" in none of which, by the way, is the division necessary or *natural*; and which, whether 3, or 300 divisions had been assumed, would have proved nothing at all in the argument. What will the reader think, for example, of the *sovereign* permanent, and the father of his people; from whom, his interests cannot be separated, being classed with the whole pack of *times serving* placemen!—Dignified by the appellation of "*public functionaries!*" I will only notice one more matter in this classification; it is a clause in the 3d, which identifies with, or includes in the great mass of the people, a set of political personages, "who are striving to acquire office or in-"fluence" by the dispossessal (as ought not

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to have been omitted) of another set! This is felicitous and apt—very *pat* to the times, though not to the purpose; for either of which, as well as on account of its greater truth and simplicity, I rather, on the whole, prefer Sinclair's division of mankind into two orders—the HAVES and the HAVE NOTS! A division, which not only comprehends in it all the politicians in the world, and their *objects*, but also the rest of the human family; to whom, it is distressing to witness, that politicians have the inclination to do so little good, and the power of doing so much mischief! A rivalry, in the political views of these three orders, is next assumed by the Reviewers, as having *necessarily* terminated in a compromise, (observe, a *compromise*, on the part of the people, of *their rights and interests!*) which still preserves the balance in effect, (the explanation of which effect the reader shall shortly see) although with a change in its original mode of operation; which they thus account for (pages 411 and 412). "In the early stage of our government, when "the business of legislation for the "whole kingdom did not occupy three or "four weeks in the year, this absolute par-"tition of the business and privileges of the "three orders was in some measure practi-"cable, the constitution was in reality very "near what it has ever since been repre-"sented in theory. In process of time, "however, when the business of govern-"ment became more complicated and "operose, the greatest inconvenience "must have been experienced from this en-"tire separation of the three estates of "which it was composed, and some expe-"dients must have been devised for giving "them a greater sympathy and mutual con-"tact in their proceedings." Now, nothing is more undeniable, than that increased business will require augmented attention. And, really, if the members of one House of Parliament, were also members of the other, and were required to discuss the same measures in different places (as happens when JUDGES are PEERS, which never ought to happen, the spirit of APPELLANT judicature being extremely impaired by it) a good deal of wasted time might, doubtless, be saved by adopting any mode of confederating them, which would make one discussion do for all. But, since this cannot be the case, since each House must, first or last, separately and exclusively, agitate and legislate by itself; since all proceedings, which are common to both, may be simultaneous in both Houses, so that the members of the one may, at the same instant, agitate the same question with the other, if they think proper, (and, as, if they do not, there is no reason to suppose they will be better employed) I protest, I see not only no inconvenience resulting from encreased business, obviated, and no political good saved; but, on the contrary, a great deal lost, and a great deal of inconvenience produced by any device, which tends to give the houses "a "greater sympathy and mutual contact in "their proceedings." And, as the purpose for which this sympathy is desired, is stated (p. 415) to be that of obtaining for the support of *government* (which words mean, *for the support of the measures of any ministry* *) a decided and "PERMANENT MAJO-"RITY" (p. 417) in the House of Commons, by throwing into it all the influence of the Aristocracy and the Crown, (by which means, the sense of the real representatives of the people can never be ascertained at all) I think the recommended "sympathy" is not only the bane of all public spirit, but I assert it to be the very antipathy of our popular constitution. It is to protect the representatives of the people from such recommended "sympathy," and from every influence of every kind, that their privileges have been secured to them; (privileges, in *some respects*, not likely to be very useful to *honest* men), and it is to secure our peerage from every factious contact, either with the people, (whose legislators and judges they are born) or with the crown (of which they are the hereditary advisers) that their independent permanent dignities, and exclusive privileges have been confirmed to them, *after two revolutions*; dignities and privileges, in any other view of their operation, absurd and injurious in many respects to a nation. Next, say the Reviewers, (p. 412) "it ne-"ver could have been but *most injurious* to "the state and country at large, that the "House of Lords, for example, should "throw out by a great majority an impor-"tant bill, which the House of Commons "had passed by a great majority, or that "the King should reject *with indignation*" (these very terms are a palpable *hyperbole*, and in the highest degree ridiculous; for, "*le Roi s'avisera*" being the constitutional

* I am aware it may be said, that a part of these echoes of the peers do vote in opposition to the ministry for the time being. The reader must judge, whether the people gain any thing by this deduction from the strength of government. In other words, is the opposition factious, (and only excited by the hope of attaining the reins of government; which it would guide in the same manner) or is it *principled*?

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language of rejection, why reject "*with indignation*?") "a law, which had received "the decided approbation of both Houses "of Parliament." These assumptions of great and diametrically opposite majorities are extreme cases, which could not occur in the ordinary course of legislation betwixt two concurring assemblies, *possessing good intentions*, whose powers and privileges are defined. That I may meet any supposition, I however accept them. But, I am so far from admitting the truth of this hypothesis of fanciful "*injury*," that I am clear of a contrary opinion, which I thus maintain.—The measure "*passed in the Commons by a* "*great majority*," to be so thrown out "*by a great majority in the House of* "*Lords*," (agreeably to the vigorous spirit of our constitution,) or to be "*sympathetically*" suppressed by the Lords in the House of Commons, (according to the *new* constitution of the Reviewers) must be admitted to be, in itself, either a good measure or a bad one. If a good one, such conduct in the Lords must necessarily be factious or unprincipled in the grossest degree; and as a good measure, in which ever way they act, whether by clandestine emissaries in the Commons, or openly in their own House, is, by the assumption, to be lost to the nation by their opposition, (the only question being between loss by "sympathy," or notoriety,) I contend it to be clearly beyond doubt, better for the country, that such a good measure, if to be lost by the Lords at all, should be openly rejected by them in their own House, and thus ostensibly miscarry, (because the Commons uninfluenced and independent (by this supposition,) have an obvious remedy for such factious behaviour of the Lords, quite adequate to allay any commotion in the country) than that such a good measure should be got rid of, be strangled and suppressed by the clandestine, "*sympathizing*" interference of the Lords by their representatives in the House of Commons. The country in the former case has the advantage over what it would have in the latter, that a man has who is exposed to the attack of an open enemy, in lieu of that of a secret assassin. Not to mention, that "a "*permanent majority*" once obtained by corruption, or by any influence whatever in the House of their representatives, leaves the people without hope or resource, but in rebellion. For, if the clandestine influence of the Lords by their representatives in the House of Commons, be (as by the assumption) considerable enough to cause a popular good measure to miscarry in *that* assembly, the people can have no hope of its being afterwards successfully revived by the Lords in *their own*. Their chance, therefore, of obtaining the good measure in question, is utterly, in this case, foreclosed. But, in the other alternative of my proposition, if the measure be a *bad* one, which is so carried by a great majority of the Commons, (and which cannot be assumed, without an included admission, that members are factious or corrupt), I contend that such *bad* measure, so voted, by a factious or corrupt House of Commons, could not be rejected by too great a majority in the Lords—the greater the better—the more satisfactory to, and the safer for the country. It would, I readily acknowledge, be a great national misfortune, to have one or other branch of the legislature so perverse, so corrupt, or so badly constituted, as to make it possible for a good measure to be lost, or a bad one to be carried in either House, by a great majority; but, if (as by the assumption of the Reviewers) so much faction, or corruption in the legislature, as to make this possible, is to exist, it cannot with a reference both to the good, and to the ultimate tranquillity (which is its good) of the country, manifest itself too openly. An evil so palpably such, that no one pretends to defend it, is half cured. And it may be observed, that did the Commons really speak the sense of the people, (which, on most occasions, would be the equivalent, and synonim of consulting their interests,) and did the peers maintain their constitutional independence, the very supposition of such cases, as those put by the Reviewers, would be ridiculous. But if the legislature become so corrupt, as to make the cases put by the Reviewers those of probable contemplation, as of possible contingency, are we to connive at, or, what is worse, are we to hear such a system defended, on the ground of the unanimity or "*sympathy*," which so vile a dependance on the part of the Commons is to produce in the government? If fair and *above-board* "contact" be all that is contended for between the two Houses, the practice of conferences has provided for that already. Let that practice continue, which is quite adequate to produce all the "sympathy" that ought to be produced.—The extent of injury, which can accrue from want of unanimity in two branches of the legislature, *may be assigned*, but the extent is incalculable, which may result from the *change*, which the Reviewers allege to have silently happened in the constitution, (and in my opinion profligately defend)—*a translation from the hands of the people of England to the crown and the aristocracy*, (by means of

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their dependant emissaries in the House of Commons) *of the chief legislative authority!* Let us view this in another light. The members of the House of Peers, for example, either have, or have not the virtue, independence, wisdom and moderation ascribed to that illustrious body. I give no opinion as to the fact. But this in the very teeth of the Reviewers, I will affirm, and challenge them to disprove; that if these attributes *do belong* to the Lords, they can no where be so creditably, so honourably, and therefore so *efficiently* exercised and applied, as in their own exclusive assembly, where their virtues, &c. &c. &c. would have full play without allay or counteraction. On the other hand, if the ascription of these attributes to them be gratuitous, and that in fact, they do not belong to them, I must contend, that the introducing the representatives of an *aristocracy, without virtue, independence, wisdom, or moderation,* into the House of Commons, is by no means calculated to *improve* that assembly! There is indeed one case, and only one, in which such an amalgamation might be supposed likely to improve the Commons; but the supposition is obviously too fanciful to proceed upon, without better authority, though I do not think it can be disproved; being, that the Commons might have even *less* of all these qualities than themselves. It is just worth observing, that in this commerce "of contact and sympa-"thy" the emissaries of the peers, and the crown are only to *impart* virtue, not to *receive* any. They are to constitute the "permanent majority," by whom the business of government is to be carried "*smooth-*"*ly on*," without "*jerks*," &c.—They are not sent to be influenced by the Commons to consent to popular measures; but they are sent that the Commons may be influenced by them to forego such measures. There is to be action, but no reaction; in short, they are to outvote the Commons; which is the plain English of "the sympathy and the con-"tact," and of all that involution of verbose sophistry.—The last case put by the Reviewers, that of "the King resisting with indig-"nation a law, which had received the de-"cided approbation of both Houses of Par-"liament," I think it not worth considering; as being a case which, if both, or either of the Houses possessed the confidence of the country, never could happen; or, if *in such circumstances*, it did; the injury though it might be very serious to the King himself, would be of very slight importance to the nation. And I cannot avoid observing, that it would be a much more patriotic employment in such a juncture as the present, to endeavour to point out some practicable means for restoring the legislature to this confidence, (which the Reviewers allege it to have lost) than to be making nugatory hypotheses for countenancing a system of corruption, whose necessary operation it is, to make the government odious, and the people contemptible.——The grand error in all this argument, in which the Reviewers have demonstrated their *inclination* at least to defend a base cause, consists in their having confounded (I fear *wilfully*) the object with the instrument—the *means* of government with its *end*. With this intention they trifle through several pages upon the dangers and inconveniences which would result from the *independent operation* of the three estates, as if their lethargic harmony had been the *summum* of our constitutional polity, whose very *existence* is founded upon *their strife*; and its *end*, the security of the rights and liberties of the people; or, as if their sleep had been the equivalent of good government—whilst the fact is, that the harmony of the orders is very indifferent to the people; to whose interests, it is only essential, that they should not conscientiously and right! A scope of acting, in which mankind is too corrupt ever to be *unanimous*; though a great mind, in *its contention* with the baser passions, may cause it, in the main and upshot, to prevail. As for the "har-"mony and sympathy" recommended by the Reviewers, too much of them savour strongly of collusion, and connivance; and will always be so suspected by the sensible part of mankind. It was to secure the rights and liberties of the people from any combination for their destruction, that the constitutional *checks* upon the several orders, nay, the very orders themselves, were preserved: For the accomplishment of this grand object, our ancestors on behalf of the *people* considered *their* having a *substantive* voice in the legislature to be essential; and never dreamed, that a system could have been pretended to be for their good, which, in its very germ, would stain, *with dishonour* (pages 407 and 197) both the constituent, and the representative.—For it appears assumed, quite *to their own satisfaction*, (though, doubtless, falsely) by the Reviewers, that by this operative *principle of dishonour*, the government now acts in the House of Commons.—Nay, they go so far as to declare, that without this "per-"manent" (that is, according to them, *influenced*, that is, *corrupted*, that is, *degraded*) "majority, the government could nei-"ther be *stable nor respectable!*" To talk of checks upon power, by the assumption,

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that "every separate interest has its organ "in the House of Commons" (p. 413) is the prattle of children. The plain question lies in a nut-shell—DO THE FREE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS CONSTITUTE ITS MAJORITY? The answer to this, resolves the argument. On its own account, it is not worth remarking, that in the whole of their copious theory, not an individual allusion is made, in support of their opinions, to any celebrated epoch in our history, from which, civil liberty dates an existence, or derives a confirmation; nor to any constitutional writer whatsoever. The only authority appealed to is, that of another Scotch metaphysician (Hume); a name, whatever its merited reputation in other matters, of, at least, *suspicious* authority in this. The essay, they refer to, begins with the very ominous and *credible* assumption of the maxim (in so many words):—THAT EVERY POLITICIAN IS TO BE CONSIDERED A KNAVE. In which, I concur with that philosopher, and to oppugn which, I have discovered nothing (after the most attentive perusal) in the Edinburgh Reviewers. But to refer to him, in order to quote the following, from the same Essay; which the Reviewers, perhaps, satisfied with a *general* unpiercing recollection, have not lately read:—"Every court or senate is de"termined by the greater number of voices; "so that if selfish views influence only the "*majority* (as they will always do) the "whole senate follows the allurement of "this separate interest, *and acts as if it* "*contained not one member who had any* "*regard to public interest and liberty!!*" (Essay on Independence of Parliament.)—I proceed to p. 414. "The great object to "be accomplished was not so much to save "the House of Commons from the morti"fication of having their bills stopped by "the lords, or rejected by the sovereign, "as to protect these two estates from the "direct exercise of this privilege. By the "vast and rapid increase of *wealth* and *in*"*telligence* in the country at large, the "consideration and relative authority of that "branch of the government which stands "most in connection with it, was sudden"ly and prodigiously enlarged, &c. &c." Here their argument, not unworthy of its predecessors, obviously amounts to this: that whereas, when the Commons of England were comparatively mean, and contemptible, they had an efficient voice in the legislature by their representatives; and, whereas, they are now become considerable, "*rich* and *intelligent*," it is, *therefore*, fit, that this wisdom, wealth and respectability should be counteracted; and that instead of possessing the weight, and exercising the controul, which they *actually* exercised over the legislature; (p. 411) whilst they were mean and contemptible, they should now have none at all! In their justification (p. 416) of "the interference of peers in elec"tions" and of "the sitting of placemen in "the House of Commons," by their alledged impossibility of preventing either, I wholly differ with the Reviewers; for I think nothing more easy, although I as certainly think, that where half a dozen *scoundrels*, in a rotten borough, are empowered by law to return two persons to represent *them* in parliament, public honour, and liberty, in such a case, suffer no more from the interference of a peer, than of a commoner patron. But as to *placemen* in parliament, and its being in their power, notwithstanding any regulations, which could be made, to sit in the House of Commons, *until they got their* PLACES, (p. 418) although they might be prevented from sitting there afterwards, I beg to suggest to the Reviewers, and their friends, a receipt for curing even this desperate evil—a cure simple and radical—and which, on these accounts, will never be applied, viz: the prohibiting for 10, or 20 years, or for life, every representative of the people from accepting any *office of emolument* under the crown; and any office whatever (though merely honorary) during the time of representation. And in this prohibition, I especially include all OFFICES OF STATE. For, it is by no means necessary, but on the contrary very unnecessary, and preposterous, that SECRETARIES OF STATE, CHANCELLORS OF THE EXCHEQUER, LORDS OF THE TREASURY, ADMIRALTY, *&c. and heads of other departments* holding offices during pleasure under the crown, should be trustees at all for the interests of the people. The very profits of some of these places (the exchequer for instance, and many more) depending on the amount of the sums voted by these very persons themselves in parliament. The famous DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, (not the MARQUIS) in one of his speeches, describes a farce, where an actor holds a dialogue with himself, speaking first in one voice, and then answering himself in another; and declares, that this is not more unnatural, than for a member of parliament to ask first in the king's name for such a sort of supply, deliver an account from him of how much is needful, and then give by his ready vote, what he had before asked by his master's order. He afterwards adds, "all we "would prevent, is, that a good rich cor-

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"poration should not chuse to entrust with "their liberties a plain honest country "neighbour, and find him within 6 months "changed to a profound cunning courtier." —So say I, and as to the *great officers*, place them in the House of Commons, in the same predicament, in which the constitution formerly placed them, and still contemplates them, in the House of Lords; where the secretaries of state, attorney and solicitor generals, have, to this day, their regular writs of summons, "*ad tractandum et consilium impendendum*," though not "*ad consentiendum*." The dispensing with their attendance in the House of Peers, and the making them members of the House of Commons, is a "*sympathetic*" improvement only of modern times. The *votes* of these great personages being found possibly more valuable to the country in the "concoctious of measures" in the House of Commons, than their *counsel* in the House of Peers!—"*They* are not much afraid of "the influence of noble families," next say the Reviewers, (p. 417) which I believe. But, when they add, in allusion to peers being parliamentary patrons, that it is not "a debasing or ungenerous influence," I must decidedly differ with them. To the Reviewers, indeed, who have written an express treatise in defence of political corruption, parliamentary, or any other sort of sycophancy, may possibly seem no debasement. But in this respect every man will judge *of them*, and feel *for himself*. For me, I can consider nothing more debasing, than the acceptance of an aweful public trust, requiring the best, and *freest* exercise of my capacity, the right of conscientiously discharging which, I previously agree to surrender! And whether this surrender be made to a peer, or an upstart nabob, does not in my opinion, (though it does in the Reviewers',) in any respect alter its baseness—which regards the surrenderer only, not the surrenderee. It appears, without any blush, that the Reviewers (p. 418) treat "sinecure places or pensions" as "*mere* "*trifles*;" adding, that the most rigorous reformer would not state the sum total at a *million* annually. To the Reviewers, possibly, whose ideas march in a parallel with our extravagant national expenditure, the sum of a million may seem "a mere trifle." To me, it seems a scale of very princely corruption! but the despair is not wholly in its amount, immense though it be—the *damnable* consideration is the way in which, and *the purposes*, for which, it is applied.—The *particular* arguments of the Reviewers, as far as I can discover them, are now exhausted, and my first letter gave the *general* view. I will subjoin two resulting remarks. 1st, That the histories of all governments shew, that the gradation from a state of general political corruption to a state of political slavery is insensible, and *certain*; and although the latter is the *sharper* evil, the former condition is the most hopeless, and the most base; whilst the familiarizing the country to a corrupt, and degenerate constitutional theory, seems the natural preparative for reconciling it to its practice. 2d, The great instigators to *total* revolution, are those, who endeavour to shew, that the beautiful theory of our constitution is delusion; that the carrying it back to its principles would do no good, because those principles are not better than our actual abuses; consequently, that there is but one option—the resulting inconveniences, such as we feel them, are to be submitted to, or the *irreparable* building pulled down to its foundations! The Reviewers, who prefer the former, appear to have adopted the ingenious torment of Procrustes; and as they found it would have been impossible to reconcile the abuses to the constitution, have fitted the constitution to its abuses.—I am now to take my leave of the political misprisions of the Edinburgh Reviewers—in doing which, justice urges me to give them, in other respects, their well earned praise. In clearing modern literature of its Augean rubbish, they enjoined themselves a labour for Hercules, and they have performed it with his strength; the canons of taste and criticism have had no abler expositors; and in the bold censures which they have pronounced on bad and careless productions, they have not only become the incitements to fine writing, but like their illustrious Grecian predecessor have exhibited its example.—"*Si sic* "*omnia!*" With such impressions, I cannot but have felt the fearful odds of this contention; which nothing but the fullest conviction, that I had all the truth on my side of the argument, could have made me encounter. I hope I have in some instances vindicated the spirit of the constitution from their aspersions; in others, I believe I have detected their sophistries; and, I *know*, I have had no object but truth. My style, with many other faults, of which I am conscious, but have not leisure to correct, I offer with much good humour a victim to their critical severity.—Let that, and those, fall! Happy—if the illustrious fate of Ntsus be mine: "*Moriens animam abstulit hosti.*"

——J. C. WORTHINGTON. —*Southampton, Dec.* 1, 1807.

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"The poor country is situated as a gentleman would be, who should employ two stewards alt
"chief business of one of whom being to discover the flaws in every bargain or contract made,
"without the least consideration as to the injury which such discovery might produce to their l
"ployer. Even in the discussions respecting the misfortunes, as they are called, of the C
"predominant motive evidently is, the working out of praise or of censure of the two Factions
"Every thing turns upon this pivot. Place and profit are the objects, before which all others
"shadow."——POLITICAL REGISTER, vol. 12, p. 199.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

RUSSIA.——In the present Number will be found the King's Declaration in answer to that of the Emperor of Russia, which was inserted in this volume at page 894. There has also been issued an Order of Council (contained in this Number), for general reprisals against Russia. Thus are we, after a long while spent in hesitation; after having played as many awkward tricks as a choused gully to win back an inconstant harlot, come to an open rupture, and, I dare say, that, to keep up the character, we shall not be sparing in reproaches.——The declaration fully refutes, and very properly resents, the falsehoods and insolence of the Russian declaration, except in one instance, where party-spirit has, as usual, prevailed over truth and duty. I allude to the passage, which is an answer, or, rather, which should have been an answer, to that part of the Russian declaration which complains of our not having sent troops to the assistance of the allies during the last campaigns in the North of Europe. The Emperor had said, that while he was engaged in a war, in which England had a more immediate interest than he, England herself remained inactive and neglected to second and support his military operations. What is the answer to this? Why, that, though the king cannot perceive that his interests in the war were more direct than those of Russia, yet, that he acknowledges them to have been very great; that a public declaration is not the place wherein to discuss the policy of having effected, or omitted to effect, disembarkations of troops; that, if, however, the peace of Tilsit is to be considered as a punishment of England for her imputed inactivity, the Emperor of Russia should recollect, that, before that treaty was entered on, the Emperor had received distinct assurances, that England was making the most strenuous exertions, and that, in fact, the troops sent to Copenhagen, would, if the peace of Tilsit had not been made, have been sent to the assistance of Russia.—— This, in plain English, would have been expressed as follows: "We allow that we "had a deep interest in the continental war, "and, as to the late ministry no "you, we will not attempt to jus "but, when you made the peace "punish England for their crimin "you should have considered, th "sent ministry (just then come i "had given you assurances of spe "ance; but, that, at any rate, th "have fallen upon Europe in co "of the treaty of Tilsit, are wh "ascribed to the late ministers." the plain English of the passage r This is the true meaning of wha been issued to the world in the kin without any appearance of recolle it was the same king who gave h to the proceedings of both mini From this declaration, in which g taken to refute the Emperor of what he alledges respecting Den may anticipate what will be the the discussions, upon this subject, parliament meets; nor would it difficult for any one, who has o heard them, to sit down and wri hand, every word that the sever will utter upon the subject. T every idea, I should say; for, as to that they may make use of, and t sions and ramblings that they may to anticipate them would be imp being by no means unlikely, speeches may resemble that sp English oratory, which, as trans one of our famous debates, is pre shown in the Della Cruscan libra faction will blame the other for venting the treaty of Tilsit by sendi aid to the Emperor, "our mag "ally;" while the other faction v minute in blaming their opponent ducing the war with Russia by t upon Denmark. Indeed, their wr who have, respectively, furnished peror of Russia with the materia declaration; with the grounds of h against their country; and we ha pretty good proof, that the patrioti principals does by no means yield of fervency, to that of the underlin

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convinced, that, with respect to Russia, neither of the factions has acted wrong, except in what they have done towards a co-operation with her. After he refused to ratify his former treaty with France, he should have been left to himself. We had no concern in his new quarrel; England had no more real interest in the fate of his armies or his country than she now has in that of the armies or the countries of the American Savages or of the East India Company; to have sent troops to his succour would have been sending them to almost certain death, and would have been certain to add to the miseries of the people of England; and, not to have taken the Danish fleet would, after the peace of Tilsit, have been voluntarily to enable the two Emperors to put our safety in danger, or, at the least, to give us great annoyance. But, for the two factions to commend the conduct of each other, and especially upon points of great national importance, would never do. It would be contrary to all rule. There would be no matter for debate; no grounds whereon to contend, that one faction ought to come in and enjoy the good things which the other faction now enjoys.—As to the consequences, to us, the people of England, of a war with Russia, they are good, and, as time proceeds, they must be better and better. The merchants are, indeed, in some danger of suffering; but, that suffering will not be great, and what they cease to gain the rest of the nation will gain, which, in my view of things is very desirable. I am aware, that this doctrine will not be very palatable either at Batson's Coffee house or the New York Coffee house, where I perceive that the Russian and American merchants are, like wasps whose nests have been destroyed, assembling in angry council; but, the bees, from whose cells they have heretofore drawn the means of their riotous luxury, must be fools indeed to feel much sorrow at their confusion—"The custom-house duties will "fall off, while there will be no falling off "in the public expenditure." I know it. But, it is no difference to me, for instance, whether I pay a duty upon the Russian leather, in which the books for my library are bound, or whether I pay that duty upon English leather, or, if it should strike the fancy of the people of Whitehall to put the duty, now collected upon Russian leather, upon horses, what difference is it to me? To me, and to every man, it is as well to pay a duty upon horses as upon books.—There is no getting over this truth. Taxes are still taxes, in whatever shape they may assail us; and, as far as I know, the more direct the tax the better, because it is more clearly perceived, and more easily traced upwards to its source, and downwards to its consequences. If, for instance, all the present taxes were abolished, and in lieu of them two thirds of the whole of every man's income were taken from him, weekly or yearly, in money, how much better we should all understand the thing.—The commercial system is a system of deception and fraud. It is artfully contrived to make the mass of the people believe, that a great part, and even the greatest part, of the taxes come not out of their labour and property, but out of manufactures and commerce; that, somehow or other (for nobody ever pretends to say how), taxes are brought into the country; that bankers, too, make the means of paying taxes; and that, in short, it is but a very little part of the taxes that the people of England really pay. It is this notion, this absurd and ridiculous notion, this notion so unworthy of creatures endowed with reason, that has been made to uphold the corruptions and abominations which have so long prevailed. If there were a man standing at every public-house bar, and, when you paid the landlord twopence for a pot of beer, were to demand fourpence of you in tax, convincing you, at the same time, that he had power to put you in jail if you refused to give it him, the thing would be too clear to admit of dispute about it; the most blind would open their eyes, and, amongst the rest, I hope, my honest, though somewhat long-winded friend, Scoto-Britannus, who, at present, cannot, for the life of him, perceive how it is, that the labourer contributes towards the support of sinecure placemen and pensioners.—If is because I wish the people of England to see clearly to the very bottom of the source of taxation; it is for this, and for other reasons before stated by me, that I am desirous of seeing commerce greatly abridged, and, it is because I am desirous of seeing this, that I hail with satisfaction a war with Russia; not, as the Morning Chronicle falsely insinuates, for the love of war itself; not for the love of battle and murder and sudden death; but, for the sake of the great and permanent good that it will produce. Besides, in a war with Russia, what battles have we to fight? It is a country situated at such a distance, and possessed of so little of that sort of power which can possibly be brought to bear upon us, that a war with it is matter of much less consequence to us than a heavy fall of snow to lie a fortnight, or a rot amongst the sheep. Either of these is of great importance; seriously affects us; diminishes our real wealth;

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subtracts from our means of strength and of comfort; adds to the national misery. Yet, though it frequently happens, not the least alarm does it ever excite. While, on the other hand, though it would be impossible to shew how our means of strength or of comfort could be diminished by a war with Russia, no sooner is such a war talked of, than the press sets up an out-cry so fearful, that one would think it was persuaded that the end of the world was approaching.—Forgive me, therefore, my good friend "Prudentius," of Cornwall, that, while I am obliged, for a week, to put off the insertion of your letter, I still preserve "the extraordinary "temper," which you "admire" in me "at a crisis, which, to almost every other "person, is a subject of alarm and regret." I cannot help being pleased at what (for reasons given by me) I think to be for our good. You say, that, though we may be satisfied, that the most tremendous thunder will finally produce good, it becomes none of us to laugh while the storm is raging. Very true. But, you forget, that I deny that there is a storm; and that what I laugh at, is, to hear the wasps, upon being disturbed in the enjoyment of the honey collected by the bees, endeavouring to persuade the latter, that the noise of sticks and brooms and old hats is thunder, and that, as sure as can be, their hives will be involved in the destructive consequences.——With respect to the "con-"federacy of the world," there are some persons, who must be strangely puzzled how to form their wishes. For the confederacy to succeed to its full extent, that is to say, to the conquest and subjugation of the country, would certainly, for reasons too evident to mention, not suit their purpose, unless in a case, which, though not quite impossible, it may be as well not to state. Yet, the consequences on the other side are not much less serious; for, if the confederacy fail; if we should be convinced by that excellent teacher, experience, that we have within ourselves the means of defending our country against the world combined; that with all the nations of Europe united under one head against us and America taking their part, we are still as safe and sound as ever: if this should happen, shall we, in future, be likely so clearly to perceive, that our independence is supported by the "ba-"lance of power" in Europe, and that we ought to send great armies of contractors and quartermasters and commissaries and paymasters and soldiers, to fight there in order to support such or such a king or prince, to the end that we ourselves may not be subjugated by France? Shall we be likely so clearly to perceive the sound policy of sending our earnings to pay a Prince of Hesse Cassel or Hesse Darmstadt or Saxe Waimar or Saxe Coburg, or any of the numerous others whose names I have forgotten, to fight for the defence of their own respective dominions? Shall we not, in answer to any enemy (for none but our worst, our very worst, enemies would think of it) who should propose to us to spend our incomes in such a way, say: "why? for what reason should we "work to raise or make things in England "to be so employed, when, but only the "other day, all the world was combined "against us, and here we are, safe and "sound. We wish the king of Hesse Darm-"stadt, or Prince, or what you will, all man-"ner of success, because you seem to take an "interest in his affairs. But, the quarrel "is none of ours; and, as to the remote "consequences of it, we know, that "we have done very well when all "the world were confederated against "us, and as we know that Darmstadt, how-"ever large and potent it may be, must be "in the world, the transfer of Darmstadt, "from one hand to another, can be of no "consequence to us"——We might, too, take a retrospective view of things, and inquire into the causes of the nearly six hundred millions of debt that now oppresses us; and, if we should find, that this debt has arisen from wars, not one of which was necessary to the safety and honour of England, we should be at once confirmed in the opinion, that we ought no longer to listen to the advice of the insidious enemies before spoken of.——For those enemies, therefore, and a villainous crew they are, it would be a serious thing for England to have the experimental proof of her being able to withstand a confederacy of the world. They would no longer have the power of frightening us. They would threaten and bully and wheedle alternately in vain. We should laugh alike at their curses and their prayers. Having discovered, that it is our own country and our labour that give us all we enjoy; having discovered that our happiness or misery, our honour or our disgrace, depends upon ourselves; having discovered, that, if we are right here, we need care very little what is doing any where else: having made these discoveries, we should begin to look a little into our own concerns, like a man, who having been three fourths ruined by speculating and projecting, has enough of reason left to induce him to return to the care of his shop or the cultivation of his land. Such a man, while his head was filled with wild schemes of immense gain,

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would naturally have his substance wasted at home, be contracting debts, and mortgaging his estate; but, when he returned to his sober reason, his expenses would be curtailed, and the rogues that had fattened upon him, his squandering servants and their rapacious Jew friends, would be shaken off like half-dead caterpillars when pinched by the frost. ——This is the light, in which I view the famous "confederacy of the world." And will not my friend "Prudentius" allow me to be chearful? Nay, will he not allow me to laugh at the tears of those, who weep only because they think they see a state of things coming, which will oblige them to work or to starve? The out-cry against me used to be, that I "created despondency;" and now, when I am doing my best to "keep up the "spirit of the people," as the Doctor's folks used to say, the out-cry against me is louder than ever; so that, there really is no knowing how to avoid censure, and, accordingly, I have, at last, given the thing up.

AMERICAN STATES (continued from page 981).——After what has been said in the articles, contained in the two last Numbers, upon the nature and probable consequences of our dispute with the American States, much need not be added, until new facts arise. There are, however, a few additional observations to make to render the information of my readers complete.——But, before I make these observations, I must notice a letter, which has appeared in the London newspapers, under the name of a Mr. Floger, who is, it appears, one of that worthy brotherhood, called American Captains.——The French official paper, the Moniteur, had published an account of a feast, given on board a frigate, or ship of some sort, in a French port, to Capt. Reid, the commander of the American ship, Revenge, which brought to Falmouth the person who was sent to demand satisfaction in the case of the Chesapeake. How the Revenge (a name that serves to give us an idea of Mr. Jefferson's taste) came to go to France is of little consequence, but there she was; and, according to the account of the Moniteur, the toasts given by Capt. Reid, at the feast before-mentioned were full of hostility to England, such as "may the navies of "America and France united humble Eng-"land, that universal pirate," or words to that effect; and that, while these toasts were going on in the cabin, the flags of America and of France entwined were hoisted upon the masts.——Now, Capt. Floger, aforementioned, assures us, that he was present at the feast; that no sentiment hostile to England was [illegible] and that, as to the flags, there were the flags of several other nations hoisted upon the French ship as well as that of America. The editor of the Times, seeing Capt. Floger's letter in the Morning Chronicle, observes upon it, and, concludes by saying, that, of the two, the Moniteur ought to be believed, not only because it could have no temptation to misstate the facts, but because American Captains are so notorious for falsehood, that no credit whatever ought to be given to any thing that they may say. To which I add, nor to any thing that they may swear. I have recorded numerous instances, wherein persons of this description have actually perjured themselves for the mere purpose of exciting feelings hostile to England. The records of our courts of vice-admiralty contain hundreds of proofs of their profligate disregard of truth. Indeed, I must do their country the justice to say, that the people in general, know, acknowledge, and many of them detest the general want of veracity in their captains of ships, whose talent at lying is proverbial through the country. There was not one battle gained by England, during the last war, which these worthies did not represent as a battle gained by the enemy of England, and which was not to be believed for many days, and sometimes for weeks, though, in the interim several ships arrived from Europe; so well, so naturally, so as it were by compact, did they agree in their disposition to promulgate lies. If an American ship was stopped at sea and searched by any one of our cruizers, the affair was sure to be made a serious one: a long string of lies were immediately put upon the log-book, intended for publication in America, and was always sure to be published, verified upon the oaths of the captain, the mate, and another or two. In numerous instances these lies were proved to be such; till at last, to "lie like a log-book" is become a proverb in their country.——But, not to lay any stress upon this ground of presumption against Capt. Floger's veracity, let us ask whether it be at all likely, that the Moniteur should have mistated the circumstances in question? What motive should it have? To excite hatred between England and America? Did it not know, that what a foolish Captain might say at a feast would have no other effect here than to excite contempt of him? And, besides, was it not certain, that the statement, if false, would be contradicted, and would produce an effect the contrary of that which was intended? Besides, how should the Moniteur come in possession of an account of the feast at all? The account must have been sent to it;

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and, it is quite improbable, that the editor should deliberately sit down and alter, or add to, the several toasts, by which he would be sure to expose himself to the charge of base falsehood from all those, at least, who assisted at the festival; and, though the Moniteur is a slave, its editor must necessarily be a person of some consequence, and, in all likelihood, of some regard for character. Did the alteration or addition take place previous to the sending of the toasts to the Moniteur? Then the falsehood originated with the French Captain; and, is it likely, that he would have been guilty of a falsehood, which he must know that a few days would make known to the American captain, who was still in the same port with himself? Then, the sentiments and the manner of the toasts are so precisely those of America; they are so exactly correspondent with what captain Reid has so long been used to, that, without any other evidence of their authenticity, this would be nearly sufficient.——Opposed to all this we have the word of captain Floger; let us see, then, what his motives might be. He says he can have none, but merely that of a love of truth, which is quite good, as coming from an American captain: but, I think, I can suggest another or two. First, he was at the feast; he had a hand in the thing; he joined in the cheers, at least; in short, he was a party. This fact, though not known to the public in general here, would be well known to the merchants to whom he was consigned, and to whom he was to look for freight home. These merchants, who dread nothing so much as a war between the two countries, would naturally express their displeasure; and, captain Floger is not to be told, how much his profits depend upon the good will of the merchant, who, for the time being, has an absolute command over him; nor, need he be reminded of the fate of scores of his comrades, who, during the last war, were dismissed, upon their return home, for having exposed the property of their owners by volunteering, in French ports, in abuse of England. Here are motives for the statement of captain Floger full as strong, at least, as that of an American captain's love of truth. The progress is likely to have been this. The merchant would reprove him for the part he had taken in the inflammatory toasts; he would deny, and make out a story such as he has published. "Well, then, says the "merchant, it would do a great deal of "good, publickly to give the contradiction." This he could not object to; and, as the letter is pretty evidently not of his own writing, the merchant would draw it up for him; and thus would the thing come before the public.——I should not be surprized, however, if the captain had been schooled by higher authority. I should not wonder, if he had been told, from that authority: "John Bull is no longer to be "gulled or bullied. We are got into a "scrape here; and the toasts of that fool "Reid will afford us no help in getting out "of it." The consequence would be what we have seen; and my opinion inclines towards this higher authority; for, the letters of the captain are certainly above the level of Finsbury Square.——This affair of the toasts would have been of no earthly importance, had it not drawn forth captain Floger; nor would his letters have been worthy of a moment's notice, had they not evidently been written by somebody else, and did they not tend to show, that that somebody else has conceived reasons for not wishing to irritate England.——I now turn to A. B. of the Morning Chronicle, who, as the Morning Post has observed (it having escaped me), when speaking of the Americans, inadvertantly applied the pronoun *us*, thereby verifying the old proverb, that hypocrites should have their cloaks sewed on. From the drawling flimsiness of his style; from his manifest wish to wheedle the ministers into further concessions to America; from his cant about the "highly republican" nature of the American government; from his talk about the "virtues of her revolution;" and, above all, from the insufferable vanity that broke forth at every other sentence: from all these, I was nearly certain that he was an American. It appeared to me, that many a man had been hanged upon evidence less clear. But, the little instance of forgetfulness, pointed out by the Morning Post, puts the matter beyond dispute; and here, then, is the Morning Chronicle engaged in the laudable undertaking of sending forth to the public, essays written by one of our enemies, as written by one of ourselves.——Mr. A. B. in answer to what some one had said about our capturing all the American ships in case of war, asks, "what would you do with all the ships and cargoes; to whom would you sell them?" Why, Sir, to whom do we sell captured ships and cargoes now? If we take her ships, they will save us materials and labour for ship-building; for, they are, in general, very good ships. Supposing them not to suit us in their present shape; still the timber, the cordage, and the sails of them are things of real value, articles of real national wealth, and they will, of course, add to our wealth in the same pro-

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portion, that they take from the wealth of America, besides the consideration of putting off, to a great distance, the day when America can possibly become powerful upon the sea. —— And, as to the cargoes, suppose we capture ten ships laden with Indian corn for Spain or any other of the ports in the Mediterranean; will it be of no use to us to acquire, thus, two or three thousand quarters of the best stuff in the world to fat hogs with? Will not the millers and farmers buy it? and will not an addition be thus made to the national wealth? This is the real way of making an addition to the national wealth; because we send none of the fruit of our labour away in exchange for what is brought in. We should take tobacco, rice, lumber, salt-meat, flour, and butter; and, does A. B. really mean to make us believe, that we shall not know what to do with all these? We should take wine and brandy upon their way from France and Portugal; and will there be no call for them in England? Or, shall we find them the worse, because we have them without giving cloth and hardware in exchange? Verily, if A. B. could persuade us to believe this, his country might well laugh at us. —— The Congress are not, it seems, to come to any decision respecting England, till they know the determination of our government. That they do know by this time, unless the determination, expressed in the King's proclamation, be given up. If it be adhered to firmly, the Congress will postpone the discussion, resume it, postpone it again, and so on. There will be a great deal of talk about dignity and honour and independence, but it will all end in smoke. —— They may, at last, have recourse to a partial prohibition of export, with the hope of distressing our West India Islands, in which case we have only to issue an order for capturing all their ships trading with other West-India Islands. This would reduce them to reason in two months; for, we might, at the same time, give orders to let pass all ships which should unlade at any of our West India ports, whither numbers would then go, in spite of all the prohibitions of their government. In short, whatever measure of prohibition they may adopt, we should answer by a retaliatory prohibition, exempting therefore the ships of any of the States that chose to set the President's decree at defiance. Our language should be this to the New Englanders, for instance: "We want salt meat "and lumber from you, and you want rum and "coffee from us, but your President will not "suffer us to carry on this exchange, unless "we will permit his Southern friends (for you "want none of them) to inveigle our sailors "into their ships and keep them there in spite "of us, and unless we will recede from a rule "of neutral commerce which he willingly "submits to at the hands of France. Now, "if you have a mind to trade with us still, "and not suffer yourselves to be sacrificed "to his partialities and passions, why, we "will go on together as usual." There would need nothing more. This the Congress know very well; and, therefore, they will proceed no further than that very common preliminary, which is aptly enough called, shewing the teeth. But, this I say only upon the presumption, that the ministers will not further give way; for, if they do, the Congress will never cease their demands, while we have any thing to surrender.

PORTUGAL.——The Royal Family of Portugal has, to my great surprise, been prevailed upon to embark, with many of its nobles and officers of state, with a view of setling amongst the slaves and serpents of Brasil; but, I must confess, that my surprise proceeds rather from the Prince Regent having had the courage to encounter the difficulties of the undertaking, than from his having been desirous of quitting a country, where, if he had continued to live at all, he must have lived in disgrace.——It is officially stated, that, on the 24th of November, the whole of the Royal Family, consisting of fifteen persons, embarked on board the Portuguese fleet, consisting of 7 line of battle ships; 5 frigates; 3 armed brigs; and 30 merchant vessels; escorted by 4 English line of battle ships, under the command of Capt. Moore. It is further stated, but not officially, that this fleet sailed out unmolested by the Russian ships, now in the Tagus; that the French were fast approaching to Lisbon, and were expected to enter it the day after the fleet sailed; that a considerable number of the nobility, officers of state, heads of the church, royal body-guards, and law-officers (what a loss to Portugal!) accompanied the royal family, as also a considerable number of wealthy individuals, and a large military force; that the whole number of persons embarked, (including the "large military "force,") was seventeen thousand; that all the treasures, jewels, archives and records were taken away; that the people beheld the mournful spectacle, with the liveliest emotions of sorrow, but without any attempt to impede the departure of their beloved rulers; that, when the court was preparing to embark, the Queen's confessor was missing, but that our ambassador, Lord Strangford, sent his horses to Mafra to fetch him, and thus was this valuable person sent off amongst the

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rest; that a remarkable circumstance, is, "that the Queen, whose mental ailments "are well known, experienced a very great "improvement in health, after having been a "few days at sea," a proof that the salt water agrees with persons, or, at least, with crowned heads, when in the state alluded to, which is a discovery that may, one would fain hope, be, in other cases as well as this, turned to good account.——Such is the intelligence, which I have obtained upon this subject, through my ministerial oracle, the Courier Newspaper. But, I want some of the supernatural light of the editor of that print to enable me to perceive, how the day, on which this intelligence was received, could be considered a "proud day for this "country;" because, it appears to me, that Portugal will be as much, though, I confess, not more, in the power of Napoleon now, as it would have been if the embarkation of the royal family had not taken place; that Portugal is as completely subjugated by him as it would have been without the embarkation; and, that any resources, whether local or others, which Portugal is capable of affording him in the furtherance of his designs against us, he will now have the command of as fully as he would have had, if the royal family and law officers had remained. Why, then, was Saturday last, of all the days in the year, a proud day for us? "The emigration of the royal family "cuts off the Brazils from Portugal." But, the Brazils would have been cut off from Portugal without the emigration. The Courier may say, indeed, that it is better that they should be cut off in this manner, than by conquest on our part, with all its consequent train of fleets, troops, governors, commissaries, and "law officers," to the enormous increase of the patronage of the ministers and the burdens of the people; but, I much question, whether he will say this; and yet, it appears to me, that the only possible good of the emigration to us is, the preventing of the Brazils from being a colony of England. Yet, on the other hand, we are not without evils; for, in the first place, we have 4 ships gone now. We shall soon have others to follow. Perhaps troops besides; and, who will venture to insure us against parliamentary grants or loans (which is all one) for the service of New Portugal, as, I suppose, it will be called? So that, as far as I am able to judge, the degree of our joy upon this occasion must be regulated solely by the degree of injury that we shall sustain by the expences attending the emigration of the Portuguese government, less than we should have sustained by the conquest of the Brazils for ourselves. And this is the mighty good, the "auspi- "cious event," the "new and memorable "æra," in the affairs of nations, which was to make Saturday last a proud day for England. Really, Mr. Courier, I do think that a trip to sea might be as serviceable to you as to the Queen of Portugal.——As to the situation of the Prince Regent and his family and friends, it will, if he, instead of listening to flatterers and sycophants, resolve to act for himself and act wisley, certainly be preferable to a miserable dependance upon Napoleon or one of his vice-roys; but, to hold a language, as some of our news-paper people do, that he is going to be at the head of a great kingdom is ridiculous. The whole of the civilized population of the Brazils does not exceed that of Hampshire, and, as to the natives of the country, they are his enemies to a man. It is, if I recollect rightly, nearly, if not quite, two hundred years, since the Brazils were settled; and, if such has been the progress of their population, how is it to be expected that the country should ever be able to defend itself against a powerful invader, if any one chose to invade it? All those who work in that country are slaves; aye, Mr. Wilberforce, negro slaves, twenty or thirty thousand of whom are imported annually from the African coast. This is a fine people whereof for an European king to become sovereign.—— As every country that we, no matter how, get hold of, is the "finest in the whole world," it was quite in rule that the Courier gave that quality to the Brazils; but, compared with the very worst country in Europe, it is a villainous country, abounding in tormenting and venomous reptiles, both in the air and upon the earth, and possessing no one quality which can place it, for a moment, in competition with the country, from which the Portuguese government has been driven. When, therefore, I view the Prince Regent in his new situation, when I consider the difficulties that he must necessarily have to encounter; when I anticipate the longing looks that he will, in a very short time, cast back towards that country, which in all likelihood, he is doomed never to see again; and, when I behold that really fine country, with all its corn-fields and orange groves and vineyards, in the hands of a conqueror who will not fail to turn them to account, that conqueror being the mortal enemy of England: when I thus contemplate and consider, I cannot help despising the man, who tells me, that the day when the intelligence thereof was communicated to us, was a "proud day in the annals of England."——It is,

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from what has been said, pretty evident, that, if Napoleon should choose, at any future time, to destroy the Portuguese government in the Brazils, he may do it (especially in time of peace), before we can be aware of his intentions; for it is impossible for that government to keep up a military force able to resist ten thousand Frenchmen, because there are in the whole country no persons to mould into soldiers. The masters will not be soldiers; and the negro slaves cannot be trusted. Whence, then, are the troops, now there, to be recruited? There is now no mother country to drain, remember, as we drain England for India! From England, then, the recruits must go, or there will be no army in a very short time; and, an army will be necessary to enable the king to raise taxes for the support of the "law-officers" and others. In short, look at the event which way I will, I see it full of miseries for the prince and the people of Brazil, and full of mischiefs towards ourselves. Nor is there any ground for the sons of commerce to chuckle. They can have no more trade with Brazil now than they had before; and, as far as they pay a share of the taxes, they will pay more dearly for it.——I understand you, Sir Baalam; you mean to say, that the Island of Madeira will be an ample compensation for all those expences; and, if we had completely abandoned the continent, resolving in future to maintain the dominion of the sea, making that the sole theatre of our warlike undertakings, I should have no objection to the Island of Madeira, which lies in a very convenient part of the ocean, which would require but little expence, and which is abundant in excellent produce. But, you forget, Baalam, that Napoleon, who has now conquered Portugal, will make peace for Portugal as well as for France; that he is very likely to remember, that Madeira is a Portuguese colony; and, that he is also very likely to make us give it up too, yea, after we have paid, as we in all probability shall do, the amount of its supposed worth to the Portuguese government.——And yet last Saturday was "a proud day in the annals of "England," and Lord Mulgrave tells the Lord Mayor that he "has great satisfaction" in giving him information that the Portuguese fleet and government are got safe off; but, I have had the honour to hear his lordship *speak*, and after that it would ill become me to attempt to criticise his letters.

"Perish Commerce."——At the late Smithfield meeting of cattle showers, the following proceedings are said to have taken place:——"The Duke of Bedford, rose, "and said, that we had heard much of a "late pamphlet, entitled "*Britain independent of Commerce*;" while "*Perish* "*Commerce*" had been the language of "others: *happily*, the present company "were not called upon to decide between "the different branches of our national in-"dustry; but while they knew agriculture "to be the fountain of plenty and virtuous "industry, they were so fully impressed "with the importance of commerce and "manufactures, as heartily to concur in—"*The union of agriculture, commerce and* "*manufactures*. —— Lord Somerville "then rose, and, after acknowledging the "propriety of confining the business of the "present meeting, as much as possible, "within its original objects, begged to call "the attention of the land owners present "to the great importance *of supplying our* "*navy with hemp*, the importation of "which, from the Baltic, is now unhappily "interdicted; and that, although an excel-"lent substitute is known in the Bengal "sun hemp, should this fail of hereafter "fully supplying the want of our navy, he "trusted, that as hemp is proved to be an "excellent preparation for a wheat crop, "and to interfere little with the established "system of husbandry upon strong soils, "except in the growth of bears, for which "it must be substituted, that the land own-"ers would be found ready in forwarding "the views of government, in raising this "most essential article upon our own soils, "by relinquishing the restrictions in their "laws, against the growth of a vegetable, "which is now proved by experience not to "exhaust the soil, more than other crops, "when not left to ripen its seed."—After this, there was read, it seems, for the benefit of the company, an essay upon the buying and selling of *Scotch Cattle*, though I should have thought, that most of the persons present knew pretty well the nature of that traffic, of which England has now felt the blessed effects for somewhat better than a century.——As to "*perish commerce*," his Grace, the Duke of Bedford is, I should think, better skilled in *Scotch Cattle*, old and young, than he is in matters relating to commerce, as connected with politics; he may have experience for his guide in the former; but, he has not, in all probability, had much experience in the latter. At any rate, if his grace means to controvert our doctrines; if he means to honour us by entering the lists of controversy with us, he should be apprized, that we shall hope to be met by something more and better than a *toast*.——What Lord Somerville said is worthy of notice, though the meaning in the

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conclusion is not very clear. No reliance should be placed upon India. We have plenty of land in England to grow *hemp* upon. *Low* land is best; but, his Lordship says, and I dare say he is well informed upon the subject, that it will grow very well as a preparation for wheat. Only let the hemp importation be stopped, and we shall grow enough; and, as Mr. Spence says, until we do grow enough, it is absurd to call ourselves *independent*.

Botley, Thursday, 24th Dec. 1807

NECESSITY OF ECONOMY.

SIR,——The nation is much indebted to you for the pains you have taken to enforce the necessity of economy and reform, and I am fully convinced, that without those of the higher ranks follow your advice, a few years only will be requisite to complete the destruction of our national prosperity. I have sometimes been mistaken in my conjectures on that event, but it is of that nature, which though a man cannot calculate to a certainty, yet he certainly cannot be far mistaken. Perhaps, as you seem to suggest, the æra of our strength and glory is already past, and yet so insensibly that we do not perceive our decline; I am not of that opinion, for I think it will be sudden, rapid, and perceptible, if not speedily averted by a system of reform which shall put a stop to the rapid and devouring progress of taxation, and restore to the lower and middle ranks those comforts which were once the proud distinction of Britons. Comforts and liberties of which the people in no other nation could boast, and gave them that noble ardour in defence of their country, which was unknown even in the proud republics of Athens, Rome, and Sparta. Luxury, Mr. Cobbett, blasting, consuming luxury, will be our ruin; and if we do not soon give an example, which has never before, I believe, been given in the world, luxury will make us fall under the overwhelming power of France, and blot us out of the list of nations. The great must set an example of heroic self denial, they must give up their splendid, extravagant, and senseless pomp, or the whole nation must suffer for their obstinate blindness; if taxes must be raised for the continuance of the war, they must be raised either by the total abolition of all useless places and pensions, or they must be raised from the fortunes of the great exclusively, for the poor and middle ranks are already ground to powder; and if the rich have not prudence, or foresight, or virtue enough to make great sacrifices of luxury to safety, we must all suffer together, but woe be to them who might have saved us and would not. It will be to no purpose then that they raise the cry of "jacobins and levellers," for it will avail them nothing. It is to that senseless cry that we shall owe much of our misery, for if they had not deceived and imposed upon the middle ranks, with such a miserable bugbear, they would sooner have seen their true interest, and been more unanimous in their demand of reform.—Among a certain rank it is now deemed impossible for a dozen people to meet together in friendly social converse; nothing under two, three, four, or five hundred, nay, sometimes a thousand people can be seen in what is called a fashionable party; and what is the consequence of this? Two or three of these parties in a year, with other proportionable expences, consume the most princely incomes in a few weeks; and to support this extravagance, they who aim at it, and many do aim at it, who have very small pretensions, they must eke out a moderate income by selling themselves to a minister, who provides for them and their families out of the public purse, and thus helps forward the work of taxation and corruption, which is consuming the very vitals of the state, and undermining a constitution which was once the envy and admiration of Europe. It is a difficult thing to renovate a worn out constitution. But, thank heaven, the body politic is not altogether like the natural body, and what in one case is impossible, in the other is only improbable; as to the means of accomplishing this great undertaking, perhaps at some future period I will endeavour to give my humble opinion, for the present, I remain, &c ——W. BURDON,——*Hartford near Morpeth, June 23, 1807.*

LORD KINGSTON AND CAPTAIN HAY.

(Extracted from the Courier Newspaper.)

On the 17th Nov. 1807, in the Court of King's Bench, the Attorney General moved to make the rule absolute for a criminal information against Capt. Philip Hay, of the 18th light dragoons, for giving a challenge to Lord Kingston.—Mr. Park, this day, shewed cause against making the rule absolute. The charge made against the defendant was that of giving a challenge to the prosecutor. The affidavits upon which the application was made stated, that in the year 1798, Lord Kingston was colonel of the North Cork Militia, and was proceeding to Wexford to oppose the rebels, when he was taken. He there saw the defendant, who appeared to him to act as a commander of the insurgents, and in this opinion he was confirmed by their leader, Gen. Keogh, who said he had deserted

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from his Majesty's service. When the commotion had subsided, Capt. Hay demanded of the commissioners compensation as a suffering loyalist. In consequence of this request, lord Kingston wrote to the earl of Hardwicke, representing that the defendant could support no such claim, since he had co-operated with the rebels. The result was, the meeting between lord Kingston and the defendant, on the 8th of Oct. last in Devonshire-place, where the challenge complained of was given. In reply to the charge, the learned counsel had the affidavit of the defendant himself, who stated, that in 1790, when he was only 13 years old, he went aboard in his majesty's service; and after his return, at the age of 18, received a lieutenancy, and accompanied Gen. Abercrombie to the West Indies. From that time until 1798, he never returned to his Majesty's dominions, excepting for the space of 8 days; and on the 30th April, in the same year, he went to Ireland, to take possession of his patrimonial estate in the county of Wexford. Finding that the generality of the people were nearly ripe for insurrection, he engaged himself in an employment gratifying to himself and useful to his country, in recovering the affections of his tenantry to their king; and 250 persons actually took the oath of allegiance, administered to them by a magistrate of the name of Richards at his instigation. In the month of May the rebellion broke out; and although the defendant at that time was an officer of rank in his majesty's army, he notwithstanding, engaged himself in a subordinate capacity in a volunteer corps, and exerted himself with the utmost activity against the Insurgents. When the loyalits were under the necessity of abandoning the town of Wexford to the rebels, capt. Hay was endeavouring to make his escape with some companions, by means of a vessel in the harbour, but he was intercepted by the insurgents, and brought back a prisoner. When he was secured the rebels held a spit to his throat, and girding a sword to his side, compelled him to place the shamrock in his hat. During this period, lord Kingston was also taken, and to him capt. Hay communicated the situation in which he was placed; and the defendant intimated to his lordship his intention to make his escape as soon as possible. The prosecutor then requested that he would represent his (the prosecutor's) confinement to his Majesty's army, that if possible he might be released. Capt. Hay, after much danger did escape, and was the first person who transmitted to government the intelligence respecting the rebels. After the rebellion had ceased, suspicions were entertained by many persons in Dublin, that Capt. Hay had been instrumental in favour of the insurgents; and, at his own request, he was brought to a court martial. The decision was that the defendant had borne arms against his majesty; but it evidently appearing, that his conduct proceeded from compulsion, the court most honourably acquitted him. After this public testimony as to the rectitude of his motives, lord Cornwallis appointed the defendant to the command of a troop in the 25th Light Dragoons, from which he was afterwards removed to the 18th, under the command of col. Stewart, brother to lord Castlereagh. Not withstanding this result of the claim of capt. Hay for compensation, the High Sheriff, and 21 magistrates of the country of Wexford, demanded, that the defendant should appear before their Quarter Sessions, to answer the charge of receiving money improperly as a suffering loyalist. Upon the recommendation of his counsel, Captain Hay resisted this application but consented that the matter should be examined in the Court of Exchequer in Ireland, where the judges quashed the proceedings. These prosecutions having failed, Lord K. sent in a statement of the facts contained in his affidavit to-day, to his R. H. the Duke of York, in consequence of which, an enquiry was instituted, the result of which was, that the commander in chief expressed the fullest conviction that the insinuations against the defendant were completely unfounded, and directed that this opinion should be communicated to Capt. Hay. Since that period to the present time, Lord K. had traduced the character of the defendant in every company he entered, and had declared to Col. Stewart, and other distinguished persons, upon several occasions, that a hangman was the only man fit to deal with Capt. Hay. So much the defendant had thought it right to say with respect to his previous conduct, and the charge made against him by the prosecutor of being a traitor to his country. The fact of giving a challenge, the learned counsel did not mean to deny; but the court would see that the circumstances by which it was attended, were not such as would warrant them in granting the extraordinary interference requested. The interview on the 8th of Oct. had been misrepresented by the prosecutor. What occurred was as follows: After recognizing each other, Capt. Hay said, that he had been informed, that his lordship had traduced his character, and he and his brother officers with him, Mr. Carew and Mr. Hughes, wished to be informed if that were

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the truth. Lord K. replied, that upon hearing, that Capt. Hay had been allowed his claim as a suffering loyalist, he had done every thing in his power to bring the defendant to trial for that swindling transaction. Capt. Hay answered, that he did not wish to know what his lordship had done; but he required an explanation of the language he had so frequently used, and likewise an apology for the expression he had just employed. Lord K. observed, that he should make no apology; that he had been to his R. H. the Duke of York, to state the defendant's conduct, and that the only person fit to deal with him was the hangman. Capt. Hay was much irritated, and told Lord K., that he demanded that satisfaction from him which one gentleman expected from another. His lordship enquired, if the defendant intended it as a challenge? And being answered in the affirmative, he replied, that he would not meet Capt. Hay; that he did not consider him as a gentleman, when he refused to appear before a jury of his country, to answer for the swindling transaction he had been guilty of in receiving compensation as a suffering loyalist. Capt. Hay then told Lord K. that he had done with him; that he found him in infamy and in infamy left him. In this statement Capt. Hay was confirmed by the affidavits of the Hon. Col. Stewart, Lieutenants Carew and Hughes; to the latter of whom Lord K. had declared, that he would not meet Capt. Hay, but would fight any person whom he might send; and that if the defendant should openly insult him, his lordship thought he was as strong or a stronger man than the defendant, and would be able to throw him over a bridge, or otherwise dispose of him. Under these circumstances the defendant appealed to their lordships, not merely as judges, but as men, trusting that they would respect the feelings of an injured individual, and would not interfere in a case upon grounds like those stated on the part of the prosecution. ——The Attorney General replied, and contended that it was quite impossible for the court to consider the conduct of Capt. Hay otherwise than as that of a man endeavouring to force the noble lord into a duel. The question was, whether it was altogether such as called for the interference of their lordships; this, he believed would not be denied, and he therefore trusted that the rule would be made absolute.——Lord Ellenborough observed, that the language used certainly could bear no other construction, but that of provoking a challenge, at the same time that the court could not overlook those provocations that gave rise to it. Here the learned lord recapitulated many of the remarks made upon the case by the counsel for Capt. Hay; he particularly dwelt upon the soreness that Capt. Hay must feel at being branded as a rebel, because inevitable and irresistable necessity had happened to drive him as much in the power of the rebel forces as Lord K. himself was. His Lordship added, that in all cases of applications of this description, the Court had a discretion which he trusted would at all times be wisely applied. In the case of the King *v.* Hankey, where, like the present, there was all that could be called a direct challenge, and, like the present, all that could be also called wanton provocation, the court exercised that discretion. They refused the rule, so they would here. The complainant ought to have come into court with clean hands himself; he did not; his conduct has been that of uniform and reiterated calumny against Capt. Hay, and he had no title here to the rule in question. His lordship said, that it must not be doubted for a moment, that the giving a challenge was an offence which the law would punish, but under certain circumstances, the parties might not be entitled to the speedy and especial interference of the court. Here there did not appear to be any intention on either side of breaking the peace at this time. As for Lord K. his only objection was (as it appeared) to fighting a rebel. He refused to meet Capt. Hay, because he deemed him a rebel, but he was ready to embrue his hands in the blood of any others of his Majesty's loyal subjects.—Rule discharged; but, said his lordship not with costs.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Russia.——*King of England's Declaration, in Answer to that of the Emperor of Russia. Dated at Westminster, Dec. 18, 1807.*

The Declaration issued at St. Petersburgh, by his Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, has excited in his Maj.'s mind the strongest sensations of astonishment and regret.—His Maj. was not unaware of the nature of those secret engagements which had been imposed upon Russia in the conferences of Tilsit. But his Maj. had entertained the hope, that a review of the transactions of that unfortunate negociation, and a just estimate of its effects upon the glory of the Russian name, and upon the interests of the Russian Empire, would have induced his Imperial Majesty to extricate himself from the embarrassment of those new counsels and connections which he had adopted in a moment of despondency and

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alarm, and to return to a policy more congenial to the principles which he has so invariably professed, and more conducive to the honour of his crown, and to the prosperity of his dominions.—This hope has dictated to his Maj. the utmost forbearance and moderation in all his diplomatic intercourse with the Court of St. Petersburgh, since the peace of Tilsit.—His Maj. had much cause for suspicion, and just ground of complaint. But he abstained from the language of reproach. His Maj. deemed it necessary to require specific explanation with respect to those arrangements with France, the concealment of which from his Maj. could not but confirm the impression already received of their character and tendency. But his Maj., nevertheless, directed the demand of that explanation to be made, not only without asperity or the indication of any hostile disposition, but with that considerate regard to the feelings and situation of the Emperor of Russia, which resulted from the recollection of former friendship, and from confidence interrupted, but not destroyed.—The Declaration of the Emperor of Russia proves that the object of his Maj.'s forbearance and moderation has not been attained. It proves, unhappily, that the influence of that power, which is equally and essentially the enemy both of G. Britain and of Russia, has acquired a decided ascendancy in the Counsels of the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh; and has been able to excite a causeless enmity between two nations, whose long established connection, and whose mutual interests prescribed the most intimate union and co-operation.—His Maj. deeply laments the extension of the calamities of war. But called upon as he is, to defend himself against an act of unprovoked hostility, His Maj. is anxious to refute in the face of the world the pretexts by which that act is attempted to be justified.—The Declaration asserts that his Maj. the Emperor of Russia has twice taken up arms in a cause in which, the interest of G. Britain was more direct than his own: and founds upon this assertion the charge against G. Britain of having neglected to second and support the military operations of Russia.—His Maj. willingly does justice to the motives which originally engaged Russia in the great struggle against France. His Maj. avows with equal readiness the interest which G. Britain has uniformly taken in the fates and fortunes of the powers of the Continent. But it would surely be difficult to prove that G. Britain, who was herself in a state of hostility with Prussia, when the war broke out between Prussia and France, had an interest and a duty more direct in espousing the Prussian quarrel than the Emperor of Russia, the ally of his Prussian Maj, the protector of the North of Europe, and the Guarantee of the Germanic Constitution.—It is not in a public Declaration that his Maj. can discuss the policy of having at any particular period of the war effected, or omitted to effect, disembarkations of troops on the coasts of Naples. But the instance of the war with the Porte is still more singularly chosen to illustrate the charge against G. Britain of indifference to the interests of her ally: a war undertaken by G. Britain at the instigation of Russia, and solely for the purpose of maintaining Russian interests against the influence of France.—If, however, the peace of Tilsit is indeed to be considered as the consequence and the punishment of the imputed inactivity of G. Britain, his Maj. cannot but regret that the Emperor of Russia should have resorted to so precipitate and fatal a measure, at the moment when he had received distinct assurances that his Maj. was making the most strenous exertions to fulfil the wishes and expectations of his ally (assurances which his Imperial Maj. received and acknowledged with apparent confidence and satisfaction); and when his Maj. was, in fact, prepared to employ for the advancement of the common objects of the war, those forces which, after the peace of Tilsit, he was under the necessity of employing to disconcert a combination directed against his own immediate interests and security.—The vexation of Russian commerce by G. Britain is, in truth, little more than an imaginary grievance. Upon a diligent examination, made by his Maj.'s command, of the records of the British Court of Admiralty, there has been discovered only a solitary instance in the course of the present war, of the condemnation of a vessel really Russian, a vessel which had carried naval stores to a port of the common enemy. There are but few instances of Russian vessels detained: and none in which justice has been refused to a party regularly complaining of such detention. It is therefore matter of surprise, as well as of concern to his Maj., that the Emperor of Russia should have condescended to bring forward a complaint which, as it cannot be seriously felt by those in whose behalf it is urged, might appear to be intended to countenance those exaggerated declamations, by which France perseveringly endeavours to inflame the jealousy of other countries, and to justify her own inveterate animosity against G. Britain.—The peace of Tilsit was followed by an offer

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of mediation on the part of the Emperor of Russia, for the conclusion of a peace between G. Britain and France; which, it is asserted, that his Maj. refused.—His Maj. did not refuse the mediation of the Emperor of Russia; although the offer of it was accompanied by circumstances of concealment, which might well have justified his refusal. The articles of the treaty of Tilsit were not communicated to his Maj.; and specifically that article of the treaty in virtue of which the mediation was proposed, and which prescribed a limited time for the return of his Maj.'s answer to that proposal. And his Maj. was thus led into an apparent compliance with a limitation so offensive to the dignity of an independent sovereign. But the answer so returned by his Maj. was not a refusal. It was a conditional acceptance. The conditions required by his Maj. were—a statement of the basis upon which the enemy was disposed to treat; and a communication of the articles of the peace of Tilsit. The first of these conditions was precisely the same which the Emperor of Russia had himself annexed not four months before to his own acceptance of the proffered mediation of the Emperor of Austria. The second was one which his Maj. would have had a right to require, even as the ally of his Imperial Maj.: but which it would have been highly improvident to omit, when he was invited to confide to his Imperial Maj. the care of his honour and of his interest.—But even if these conditions (neither of which has been fulfilled, although the fulfilment of them has been repeatedly required by his Maj.'s ambassador at St. Petersburgh), had not been in themselves perfectly natural and necessary; there were not wanting considerations which might have warranted his Maj. in endeavouring, with more than ordinary anxiety, to ascertain the views and intentions of the Emperor of Russia, and the precise nature and effect of the new relations which his Imperial Maj. had contracted.—The complete abandonment of the interests of the King of Prussia (who had twice rejected proposals of separate peace, from a strict adherence to his engagements with his Imperial ally), and the character of those provisions which the Emperor of Russia was contented to make for his own interests in the negociations of Tilsit, presented no encouraging prospect of the result of any exertions which his Imperial Maj. might be disposed to employ in favour of G. Britain.—It is not, while a French army still occupies and lays waste the remaining dominions of the King of Prussia, in spite of the stipulations of the Prussian treaty of Tilsit; while contributions are arbitrarily exacted by France from that remnant of the Prussian monarchy, such as, in its entire and most flourishing state, the Prussian monarchy would have been unable to discharge; while the surrender is demanded, in time of peace, of Prussian fortresses, which had not been reduced during the war; and while the power of France is exercised over Prussia with such shameless tyranny, as to designate and demand for instant death, individuals, subjects of his Prussian Maj. and resident in his dominions, upon a charge of disrespect towards the French government;—it is not while all these things are done and suffered, under the eyes of the Emperor of Russia, and without his interference on behalf of his ally, that his Maj. can feel himself called upon to account to Europe for having hesitated to repose an unconditional confidence in the efficacy of his Imperial Maj.'s mediation:—Nor, even if that mediation had taken full effect, if a peace had been concluded under it, and that peace guaranteed by his Imperial Maj., could his Maj. have placed implicit reliance on the stability of any such arrangement, after having seen the Emperor of Russia openly transfer to France the sovereignty of the Ionian republic, the independence of which his Imperial Maj. had recently and solemnly guaranteed.—But while the alleged rejection of the Emperor of Russia's mediation, between G. Britain and France, is stated as a just ground of his Imperial Maj.'s resentment; his Maj.'s request of that mediation, for the re-establishment of peace between G. Britain and Denmark, is represented as an insult which it was beyond the bounds of his Imperial Maj.'s moderation to endure.—His Maj. feels himself under no obligation to offer any atonement or apology to the Emperor of Russia for the expedition against Copenhagen. It is not for those who were parties to the secret arrangements of Tilsit, to demand satisfaction for a measure to which those arrangements gave rise, and by which one of the objects of them has been happily defeated.—His Maj.'s justification of the expediton against Copenhagen is before the world. The Declaration of the Emperor of Russia would supply whatever was wanting in it, if any thing could be wanting to convince the most incredulous of the urgency of that necessity under which his Maj. acted.—But until the Russian Declaration was published, his Maj. had no reason to suspect that any opinions which the Emperor of Russia might entertain of the transactions at Copenhagen, could be such as to preclude his Imperial Maj. from undertaking at the request of G.

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Britain, that same office of mediator, which he had assumed with so much alacrity on the behalf of France.—Nor can his Maj. forget, that the first symptoms of reviving confidence, since the peace of Tilsit, the only prospect of success in the endeavours of his Maj.'s ambassador to restore the ancient good understanding between G. Britain and Russia, appeared when the intelligence of the siege of Copenhagen had been recently received at St. Petersburgh.—The inviolability of the Baltic Sea, and the reciprocal guarantees of the powers that border upon it, guarantees said to have been contracted with the knowledge of the British government, are stated as aggravations of his Maj.'s proceedings in the Baltic. It cannot be intended to represent his Maj. as having at any time acquiesced in the principles upon which the inviolability of the Baltic is maintained, however his Maj. may, at particular periods, have forborne, for special reasons, influencing his conduct at the time, to act in contradiction of them. Such forbearance never could have applied but to a state of peace and real neutrality in the North; and his Maj. most assuredly could not be expected to recur to it, after France has been suffered to establish herself in undisputed sovereignty along the whole coast of the Baltic Sea, from Dantzig to Lubec.—But the higher the value which the Emperor of Russia places on the engagements respecting the tranquillity of the Baltic, which he describes himself as inheriting from his immediate predecessors, the Empress Catherine and the Emperor Paul, the less justly can his Imperial Maj. resent the appeal made to him by his Maj. as the guarantee of the peace to be concluded between G. Britain and Denmark. In making that appeal, with the utmost confidence and sincerity, his Maj. neither intended, nor can he imagine that he offered, any insult to the Emperor of Russia. Nor can his Maj. conceive that, in proposing to the Prince Royal terms of peace, such as the most successful war on the part of Denmark could hardly have been expected to extort from G. Britain, his Maj. rendered himself liable to the imputation, either of exasperating the resentment, or of outraging the dignity, of Denmark.—His Maj. has thus replied to all the different accusations by which the Russian government labours to justify the rupture of a connection which has subsisted for ages, with reciprocal advantages to G. Britain and Russia; and attempts to disguise the operation of that external influence by which Russia is driven into unjust hostilities for interests not her own.—The Russian Declaration proceeds to announce the several conditions on which alone these hostilities can be terminated, and the intercourse of the two countries renewed.—His Maj. has already had occasion to assert that justice has in no instance been denied to the claims of his Imperial Maj.'s subjects.—The termination of the war with Denmark has been so anxiously sought by his Maj., that it cannot be necessary for his Maj. to renew any professions upon that subject. But his Maj. is at a loss to reconcile the Emperor of Russia's present anxiety for the completion of such an arrangement, with his Imperial Maj.'s recent refusal to contribute his good offices for effecting it.—The requisition of his Imperial Maj. for the immediate conclusion, by his Maj., of a peace with France, is as extraordinary in the substance, as it is offensive in the manner. His Maj. has at no time declined to treat with France, when France has professed a willingness to treat on an admissible basis. And the Emperor of Russia cannot fail to remember that the last negociation between G. Britain and France was broken off, upon points immediately affecting, not his Maj.'s own interests, but those of his Imperial ally. But his Maj. neither understands, nor will he admit, the pretension of the Emperor of Russia to dictate the time, or the mode, of his Maj.'s pacific negociation with other powers. It never will be endured by his Maj. that any government shall indemnify itself for the humiliation of subserviency to France, by the adoption of an insulting and peremptory tone towards G. Britain.—His Maj. proclaims anew those principles of maritime law, against which the armed neutrality, under the auspices of the Empress Catherine, was originally directed, and against which the present hostilities of Russia are denounced. Those principles have been recognized and acted upon in the best periods of the history of Europe; and acted upon by no power with more strictness and severity than by Russia herself in the reign of the Empress Catherine.—Those principles it is the right and the duty of his Maj. to maintain: And against every confederacy, his Maj. is determined, under the blessing of divine Providence, to maintain them. They have at all times contributed essentially to the support of the maritime power of G. Britain; but they are become incalculably more valuable and important at a period when the maritime power of G. Britain constitutes the sole remaining bulwark against the overwhelming usurpations of France, the only refuge to which other nations may yet resort, in happier times, for assistance and protection.—When

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the opportunity for peace between G. Britain and Russia shall arrive, his Maj. will embrace it with eagerness. The arrangements of such a negociation will not be difficult or complicated. His Maj., as he has nothing to concede, so he has nothing to require: satisfied if Russia shall manifest a disposition to return to her ancient feelings of friendship towards G. Britain; to a just consideration of her own true interests; and to a sense of her own dignity as an independent nation.

RUSSIA.——*Order of Council for general Reprisals against Russia.*

At the Court at Windsor, the 18th of December, 1807, present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.——His Majesty having taken into consideration the injurious and hostile proceedings of the Emperor of all the Russias, as set forth in the Declaration of this date, issued by his Majesty's command; and being determined to take such measures as are necessary for vindicating the honour of his crown, and procuring reparation and satisfaction, his Majesty therefore is pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects, of the Emperor of all the Russias (save and except any vessels to which his Majesty's licence has been granted, or which have been directed to be released from the embargo, and have not since arrived at any foreign ports,) so that as well his Majesty's fleets and ships, as also all other ships and vessels that shall be commissionated by letters of marque or general reprisals, or otherwise, by his Majesty's Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the Emperor of all the Russias, or his subjects, or others inhabiting within the territories of the Emperor of all the Russias, and bring the same to judgment in any of the Courts of Admiralty within his Majesty's dominions, &c. &c.—CAMDEN, P. WESTMORLAND, C. P. S. HAWKESBURY, MULGRAVE, ST. HELEN'S, SP. PERCEVAL, G. CANNING.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICA.——*Message of the President of the United States to both Houses of Congress; dated Oct. 27, 1807.*

Circumstances, fellow citizens, which seriously threatened the peace of our country, have made it a duty to convene you at an earlier period than usual. The love of peace, so much cherished in the bosom of our citizens, which has so long guided the proceedings of their public councils, and induced forbearance under so many wrongs, may not insure our continuance in the quiet pursuits of industry. The many injuries and depredations committed on our commerce and navigation on the high seas, for years past; the successive innovations on those principles of public law, which have been established by the reason and usage of nations, as the rule of their intercourse, and the umpire and security of their rights and peace; and all the circumstances which induced the extraordinary mission to London, are already known to you. The instructions given to our ministers were framed in the sincerest spirit of amity and moderation. They accordingly proceeded, in conformity therewith, to propose arrangements which might embrace and settle all the points in difference between us, which might bring us to a mutual understanding on our neutral and national rights, and provide for a commercial intercourse on conditions of some equality. After long and fruitless endeavours to effect the purposes of their mission, and to obtain arrangements within the limits of their instructions, they concluded to sign such as could be obtained, and to send them for consideration, candidly declaring to the other negociators, that they were acting against their instructions, and that their government, therefore, could not be pledged for ratification. Some of the articles proposed might have been admitted on a principle of compromise; but others were too highly disadvantageous; and no sufficient provision was made against the principal source of the irritations and collisions which were constantly endangering the peace of two nations. The question, therefore, whether a treaty should be accepted in that form, could have admitted but of one decision, even had no declaration of the other party impaired our confidence in it. Still anxious not to close the door against friendly adjustment, new modifications were framed, and further concessions authorised, that could before have been supposed necessary, and our ministers were instructed to resume their negociations on those grounds.——On this new reference to amicable discussion, we were reposing in confidence, when, on the 22d day of June last, by a formal order from a British admiral, the frigate Chesapeake, leaving her port for a distant service, was attacked by one of those vessels which had been lying in our harbours under the indulgences of hospitality, was disabled from proceeding, had several of her crew killed,

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and four taken away. On this outrage no commentaries are necessary. Its character has been pronounced, by the indignant voice of our citizens, with an emphasis, an unanimity never exceeded. I. immediately, by proclamation, interdicted our harbours and waters to all British armed vessels, forbade intercourse with them; and uncertain how far hostilities were intended, and the town of Norfolk indeed being threatened with immediate attack, a sufficient force was ordered for the protection of that place, and such other preparations commenced and pursued as the prospect rendered proper. An armed vessel of the U. States was dispatched with instructions to our ministers at London, to call on that government for the satisfaction and security required by the outrage. A very short interval ought now to bring the answer, which shall be communicated to you as soon as received; then also, or as soon after as the public interests shall be found to admit, the unratified treaty, and proceedings relative to it, shall be made known to you. —The aggression, thus begun, has been continued on the part of the British commanders, by remaining within our waters, in defiance of the authority of the country, by habitual violations of its jurisdiction, and at length by putting to death one of the persons whom they had forcibly taken from on board the Chesapeake. These aggravations necessarily lead to the policy either of never admitting an armed vessel into our harbours, or of maintaining in every harbour such an armed force as may constrain obedience to the laws, and protect the lives and property of our citizens against their armed guests; but the expense of such a standing force, and its inconsistence with our principles, dispense with those courtesies which would necessarily call for it, and leave us equally free to exclude the navy, as we are the army of a foreign power, from entering our limits.——To former violations of maritime rights, another is now added of very extensive effect. The government of that nation has issued an order interdicting all trade by neutrals between ports not in amity with them; and being now at war with nearly every nation on the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas, our vessels are required to sacrifice their cargoes at the first port they touch, or to return home without the benefit of going to any other market. Under this new law of the ocean, our trade on the Mediterranean has been swept away by seizures and condemnations, and that on other seas is threatened with the same fate.—Our differences with Spain remain still unsettled, no measures having been taken, on her part, since my last communications to Congress, to bring them to a close. But under a state of things, which may favour re-consideration, they have been recently pressed, and an expectation is entertained they may now soon be brought to an issue of some sort. With their subjects on our borders, no new collisions have taken place, nor seem immediately to be apprehended. To our former ground of complaints has been added a very serious one, as you will see by the decree, a copy of which is now communicated. Whether this decree, which professes to be conformable to that of the French government of Nov. 21, 1806, heretofore communicated to Congress, will also be conformed to that in its construction and application in relation to the United States, had not been ascertained at the date of our last communications. These, however, gave reason to expect such conformity.—With the other nations of Europe our harmony has been uninterrupted, and commerce and friendly intercourse have been maintained on their usual footing.—— Our peace with the several States on the coast of Barbary, appears as firm as at any former period, and as likely to continue as that of any other nation.—Among our Indian neighbours in the North Western quarters, some fermentations were observed soon after the late occurrences, threatening the continuance of our peace. Messages were said to be interchanged, and tokens to be passing, which usually denotes a state of restlessness among them, and the character of the agitators pointed to the sources of excitement. Measures were immediately taken for providing against that danger; instructions were given to require explanations, and with assurances of our continued friendship, to admonish the tribes to remain quiet at home, taking no part in quarrels not belonging to them. As far as we are yet informed, the tribes in our vicinity, who are most advanced in the pursuits of industry, are sincerely disposed to adhere to their friendship with us, and to their peace with all others; while those more remote, do not present appearances sufficiently quiet to justify the intermission of military precaution on our part. ——The great tribes on our South Western quarter, much advanced beyond the others in agriculture and household arts, appear tranquil, and identifying their views with ours in proportion to their advancement. With the whole of these people, in every quarter, I shall continue to inculcate peace and friendship with all their neighbours, and perseverance in those occupations and pursuits which will best promote their own well being.—The appropriations, of the last ses-

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sion, for the expence of our sea-port towns and harbours, were made under expectation that a continuance of our peace would permit us to proceed in that work according to our convenience. It has been thought better to apply the sums then given towards the defence of New York, Charlestown, and New Orleans, chiefly, as most open and most likely first to need protection, and to leave places less immediately in danger to the provisions of the present session.—The gun-boats, too, already provided, have on a like principle been chiefly assigned to New York, New Orleans, and the Chesapeake. Whether our moveable force on the water, so material in aid of the defensive works on the land, should be augmented in this or any other form, is left to the wisdom of the legislature. For the purpose of manning these vessels in sudden attacks on our harbours, it is a matter for consideration whether the seamen of the United States may not justly be formed into a special militia, to be called on for tours of duty in defence of the harbours, where they shall happen to be, the ordinary militia of the place furnishing that portion which may consist of landsmen. —The moment our peace was threatened, I deemed it indispensable to secure a greater provision of those articles of military stores, with which our magazines were not sufficiently furnished; to have awaited a previous and special sanction by law, would have lost occasions which might not be retrieved. I did not hesitate, therefore, to authorise engagements for such supplements to our existing stock, as would render it adequate to the emergencies threatening us; and I trust that the legislature, feeling the same anxiety for the safety of our country, so materially advanced by this precaution, will approve, when done, what they would have seen so important to be done, if then assembled. Expenses, also unprovided for, arose out of the necessity of calling all our gun boats into actual service, for the defence of our harbours, all which accounts will be laid before you.—Whether a regular army is to be raised, and to what extent, must depend on the information so shortly expected. In the mean time I have called on the States for quotas of militia, to be in readiness for present defence; and have, moreover, encouraged the acceptance of volunteers, and I am happy to inform you, that these have offered themselves with great alacrity in every part of the union. They are ordered to be organized, and ready, at a moment's warning, to proceed on any services to which they may be called; and every preparation within the executive powers has been made, to insure us the benefit of early exertions.—I informed Congress, at their last session, of the enterprises against the public peace, which were believed to be in preparation by Aaron Burr and his associates, and of the measures taken to defeat them, and to bring the offenders to justice. Their enterprises were happily defeated by the patriotic exertions of the militia, wherever called into action, by the fidelity of the army, and energy of the commander in chief, in promptly arranging the difficulties presenting themselves on the Sabine, preparing to meet those arising on the Mississippi, and dissipating, before their explosion, plots engendered there. I shall think it my duty to lay before you the proceedings and the evidence publicly exhibited on the arraignment of the principal offenders before the District Court of Virginia: you will be enabled to judge whether the defect was in the testimony, in the law, or in the administration of the law; and wherever it shall be found, the legislature alone can apply or originate the remedy. The framers of our constitution certainly supposed they had guarded, as well their government against destruction by treason, as their citizens against oppression under pretence of it; and if these ends are not attained, it is of importance to inquire by what means more effectually they may be secured. ——The accounts of the receipts of revenue during the year ending on the 30th of Sept. last, being not yet made up, a correct statement will be hereafter transmitted from the Treasury. In the mean time it is ascertained, that the receipts have amounted to near

DIRECTIONS TO THE BOOK-BINDER.

It is to be observed, that this sheet, which is the last of Volume XII, should *not be cut open* by the Reader, but should be left to the Book binder, who will perceive, that the first half sheet, of which this page makes a part, comes at the *end*, and that the other half sheet containing the Title Page, Advertisement, and Table of Contents, is to be cut off, and placed at the *beginning* of the Volume.

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10 millions of dollars, which with the 5 ½ in the Treasury at the beginning of the year, have enabled us, after meeting the current demands and interest incurred, to pay more than 4 millions of the principal of our funded debt. These payments, with those of the preceding 5½ years, have extinguished of the funded debt 25¼ millions of dollars, being the whole which could be paid or purchased within the limits of the law, and of our contracts, and have left us in the Treasury 8¼ millions of dollars. A portion of this sum may be considered as a commencement of accumulation of the surplusses of the revenue, which, after paying the instalments of the debt as they shall become payable, will remain without any specific object. It may partly, indeed, be applied towards completing the defence of the exposed points of our country, on such a scale as shall be adapted to our principles and circumstances. This object is, doubtless, among the first entitled to attention, in such a state of our finances; and it is one which, whether we have peace or war, will provide security where it is due. Whether what shall remain of this, with the future surpluses, may be usefully applied to purposes already authorised, or more usefully to others requiring new authorities, or how otherwise they shall be disposed of, are questions calling for the notice of Congress, unless they shall be superseded by a change in our public relations, now awaiting the determination of others.—Whatever be that determination, it is a great consolation, that it will become known at a moment when the supreme council of the nation is assembled at its post, and ready to give the aids of its wisdom and authority to whatever course the good of our country shall then call us to pursue.—Matters of minor importance will be subjects of future communications; and nothing shall be wanting on my part, which may give information or dispatch to the proceedings of the legislature, in the exercise of their high duties, and at a moment so interesting to the public welfare.——THOMAS JEFFERSON.

AMERICAN STATES.——*Document accompanying the President's Message.*

Note communicated by Lord Howick to Mr. Munroe, dated Jan. 10, 1807.

The undersigned, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs, has received his Majesty's commands to acquaint Mr. Munroe, that the French government having issued certain orders, which to inviolation of the usages of war, purport to prohibit the commerce of all neutral nations with his Majesty's dominions, and also to prevent such nations from trading with any other country in any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of his Majesty's dominions. And the said government having also taken upon itself to declare all his Majesty's dominions to be in a state of blockade, at a time when the fleets of France and her allies are themselves confined within their own ports, by the superior valour and discipline of the British navy.—Such attempts on the part of the enemy give to his Majesty an unquestionable right of retaliation, and warrant his Majesty in enforcing the same prohibition of all commerce with France, which that power vainly hopes to effect against the commerce of his Majesty's subjects, a prohibition which the superiority of his Majesty's naval forces might enable him to support, by actually investing the ports and coasts of the enemy with numerous squadrons and cruisers, so as to make the entrance of approach thereto manifestly dangerous.—His Majesty, though unwilling to follow the example of his enemies, by proceeding to an extremity so distressing to all nations not engaged in the war, and carrying on their accustomed trade; yet he feels himself bound by a due regard to the just defence of the rights and interests of his people, not to suffer such measures to be taken by the enemy, without taking some steps on his part, to restrain this violence, and to retort upon them the evils of their own injustice. Mr Munroe is therefore requested to apprise the American Consuls and merchants residing in England, that his Majesty has therefore judged it expedient to order that no vessel shall be permitted to trade from one port to another, both which ports shall belong to, or be in possession of France or her allies, or shall be so far under their controul, as that British vessels may not freely trade thereat; and that the commanders of his Majesty's ships of war and privateers have been instructed to warn every neutral vessel, coming from any such port, and destined to another such port, to discontinue her voyage, and not to proceed to any such port; and every vessel, after being so warned, or any vessel coming from any such port, after a reasonable time shall have been afforded for receiving information of this his Majesty's order, which shall be found proceeding to another such port, shall be captured and brought in, and, together with her cargo, shall be condemned as lawful prize: and that from this time all the measures authorised by the law of nations, and the respective treaties between his Majesty and the different neutral powers will be adopted, and executed with respect to ves-

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sels attempting to violate the said order after this notice.—(Signed) HOWICK.—*Downing-street, Jan.* 10, 1807.

BRITISH COMMERCE.—*Patent relative to the Punishment of Persons in Slesvick and Holstein, carrying on any Trade or Commerce with the Enemies of the Country.*

We, Christian VII., by God's grace, King of Denmark, Norway, &c. make known hereby, that as all trade and commerce between our enemies and the subjects of this country have already been declared criminal, during the present war, by our decree of the 9th of September last, we have thought proper to enact the following penalties against persons who may be found offending.—I. Any connection or correspondence with the subjects of Great Britain, though carried on by the means of a third person or party, shall be punished with severe imprisonment: but if the said correspondence shall have been carried on immediately between our subjects and the enemies of the country, the former shall be punished with death.—II. Further, the goods, the objects of the said commerce, shall be confiscated, if found; but if not forthcoming, the criminals shall pay the value of them.—III. Any person giving information of any such trade or commerce, shall, upon conviction of the parties accused, receive a reward from our Royal Treasury, of from 50 to 100 rixdollars for each offence, but which shall also be repaid by the party or parties convicted.—IV. Over and above the reward specified in section III., the informer shall be entitled to half the value of the property confiscated.—All persons whom this may concern, are hereby called upon to take notice.—Given officially under our hand and seal, in our town, and fortress of Rendsburg, October 30, 1807.—CHRISTIAN RAN. MOSTING. RANKAU.

HOLLAND.—*Utrecht, Nov.* 29.—The Legislative Body waited on his Majesty, and had a solemn audience in the New Palace. Being conducted into the presence of the King, the President of the Legislative Body addressed his Majesty in the following terms:—Sire;—The Legislative Body, summoned to your Majesty's presence, hastens to fulfil the first, and at the same time the most pleasing of its duties, in presenting to your Majesty their respectful homage, and also the assurances of their attachment, and of the zeal with which its Members hope to co-operate in the beneficial plans of your Majesty for the happiness and prosperity of your people. Sentiments, Sire, which, were it possible, would be still increased by the flattering expressions which your Minister has communicated to us in your name. May Providence prosper all the designs of your Majesty, may it bless your cares and efforts, and also the person and house of your Majesty; may it give us peace, so necessary for the well-being and tranquillity of mankind, and of this country, in particular;—then shall we, under the glorious sway of your Majesty, see those bright days return, which a thick cloud has overcast for so many years.—These, Sire, are the fervent and honest wishes of this Assembly, and of him who has the honour to address you."

To this address his Majesty made the following reply:—"Gentlemen, I meet you again with pleasure: it is with the greatest satisfaction that I see the important posts of Deputies to the Legislative Body filled with men like you, whom I know, whom I esteem, and who unite my approbation with the choice of their fellow-citizens. I shall always account it a satisfaction to make you participators in the little good which can be accomplished, or rather in shunning the evils which may be avoided; for in difficult circumstances, the latter mode of expression is more becoming than the former: I shall also, with pleasure, in all extraordinary cases, place my reliance on your decisions.—My Minister for Domestic Affairs shall appear among you on Thursday next. He will give you an account of the situation of affairs—of what has been already done in accomplishment of the measures adopted in the former year, and of those which must yet be had recourse to. You will see, that notwithstanding the peace upon the Continent, our situation is yet extremely difficult; but still we may finally hope, that by a general peace we may reach the end of our miseries.—I rely upon, and shall always with confident expectation rely upon the sentiments, which you have testified for me."

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Table of the Number of *Christenings* and *Burials* within the Bills of Mortality, from June, 1807, to November, 1807, inclusive.

Epochs.	Christened.		Buried.													
	Male.	Female	Under 2 Years.	2 to 5.	5 to 10.	10 to 20.	20 to 30.	30 to 40.	40 to 50.	50 to 60.	60 to 70.	70 to 80.	80 to 90.	90 to 100, &c.	Total Buried Males.	Total Buried Female
June	839	748	377	126	60	42	83	130	132	113	86	67	22	3	624	627
July	827	829	383	158	70	56	81	112	158	118	112	74	28	2	692	662
August	853	777	506	128	49	55	73	109	105	99	105	74	24	3	680	650
September	619	595	463	107	57	31	71	87	84	86	77	48	22	2	583	552
October	984	1072	663	250	88	57	127	168	168	158	123	89	38	3	967	965
November	724	719	483	236	72	41	80	130	151	124	87	97	43	2	772	767
	4846	4740	2875	1005	396	284	415	736	798	698	590	449	177	15	4318	4225

Total Christenings.. 9586 Total Burials.. 8543

Table of the Prices of *Meat*, *Sugar*, *Salt*, and *Coals*, in London, from June to November, 1807, inclusive.

	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	per Stone of 8lb. to sink the Offal.
Beef ..	5 4	5 0	4 4	4 4	5 0	4 8	
Mutton	5 0	5 0	4 8	4 10	5 6	5 0	
Pork..	5 4	5 4	5 4	5 8	6 0	5 4	
Sugar	31 4	34 0¼	34 7	34 0¼	32 0¾	32 4¾	Cwt.
Salt ..	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	Bushel
Coals..	52 6	50 0	51 6	56 2	52 0	54 9	Chald.

Table of the Prices of the *Quartern Loaf*, in London, from June to November, 1807, inclusive.

June		July		Aug.		Sep.		Oct.		Nov.	
Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.
	s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.
6	11½	4	11½	1	11½	5	11	3	11	7	10½
13	11½	11	11½	8	11½	12	11	10	11	14	10
20	11½	18	11½	15	11½	19	11	17	11	21	10
27	11½	25	11½	22	11½	26	11	24	10½	28	10

Table of the Prices of the English *Three per Cent. Consols*, from June to November, 1807, inclusive.

Day.	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
1	63⅜	63⅝	62¼	62⅝	62⅝	—
2	63⅛	63⅜	—	62⅛	62⅜	63
3	63⅜	63⅝	61⅝	62¼	62⅜	62⅝
4	—	63⅜	62	62¼	—	—
5	64⅛	—	61⅝	62⅝	62⅞	—
6	64⅝	61⅞	61⅝	—	62⅛	62⅛
7	—	62¼	61⅝	62⅜	62⅛	63⅛
8	64⅛	61⅞	61¼	62⅛	61⅞	—
9	64⅝	62⅛	—	62⅜	62⅝	—
10	64⅛	—	61⅝	62¼	62¼	63
11	—	62⅜	63	62⅛	—	63⅛
12	—	—	62¼	62⅛	62⅛	63¼
13	64⅛	62⅛	63	—	62⅛	63¼
14	64⅛	62⅛	62⅛	62¼	62⅛	63¼
15	—	61⅞	62⅛	62⅛	62⅛	63⅛
16	64⅝	61⅛	—	62¼	62⅛	63⅝
17	64⅛	61⅝	63⅛	62⅛	62⅝	62⅝
18	64¼	—	62¼	62⅛	—	63⅛
19	64⅛	61⅝	62⅛	62¼	62¼	63¼
20	64⅛	61⅞	62⅛	—	62¼	63⅛
21	—	61⅞	62¼	—	62⅛	63¼
22	64⅛	—	62⅛	—	62¼	—
23	64⅛	61¼	—	62¼	62¼	63⅝
24	—	61¼	62⅛	62¼	62⅛	63⅛
25	63⅛	62	62¼	62¼	—	63⅛
26	—	—	62¼	62¼	—	63⅛
27	—	61⅝	62⅛	—	62⅛	63⅛
28	—	61⅞	62⅛	62⅛	62¼	63⅛
29	63⅛	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	62¼	—
30	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	62¼	—
31	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	62⅛	—

Table of the Prices of the French *Five per Cent. Consolidé*, from June to November, 1807, inclusive.

Day.	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
1	—	—	80.75	85.40	—	—
2	—	—	83. 0	—	—	—
3	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	74.50	—	—	—	—	—
5	—	—	—	—	—	—
6	—	—	—	—	—	—
7	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	—	—	—	86.10	—	—
9	75.10	—	—	—	—	—
10	—	—	87.50	—	—	—
11	—	—	—	—	—	—
12	—	—	—	—	—	—
13	—	—	—	—	—	—
14	—	—	—	—	—	—
15	—	—	75.50	—	—	—
16	76.25	—	—	86.20	—	—
17	—	—	—	—	—	—
18	—	—	—	—	—	—
19	—	—	—	—	—	—
20	—	—	86.70	—	—	—
21	72.65	—	—	—	—	—
22	—	—	—	—	—	—
23	—	—	—	—	—	—
24	—	—	—	—	—	—
25	—	—	—	—	—	—
26	76.85	—	—	—	—	—
27	—	—	—	—	—	—
28	—	—	—	—	—	—
29	—	80.10	—	—	—	—
30	—	—	—	—	—	—
31	—	79.50	—	—	—	—

Table of the Number of *Bankruptcies* in England, from June to November, 1807, inclusive.

June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
77	38	62	64	77	114

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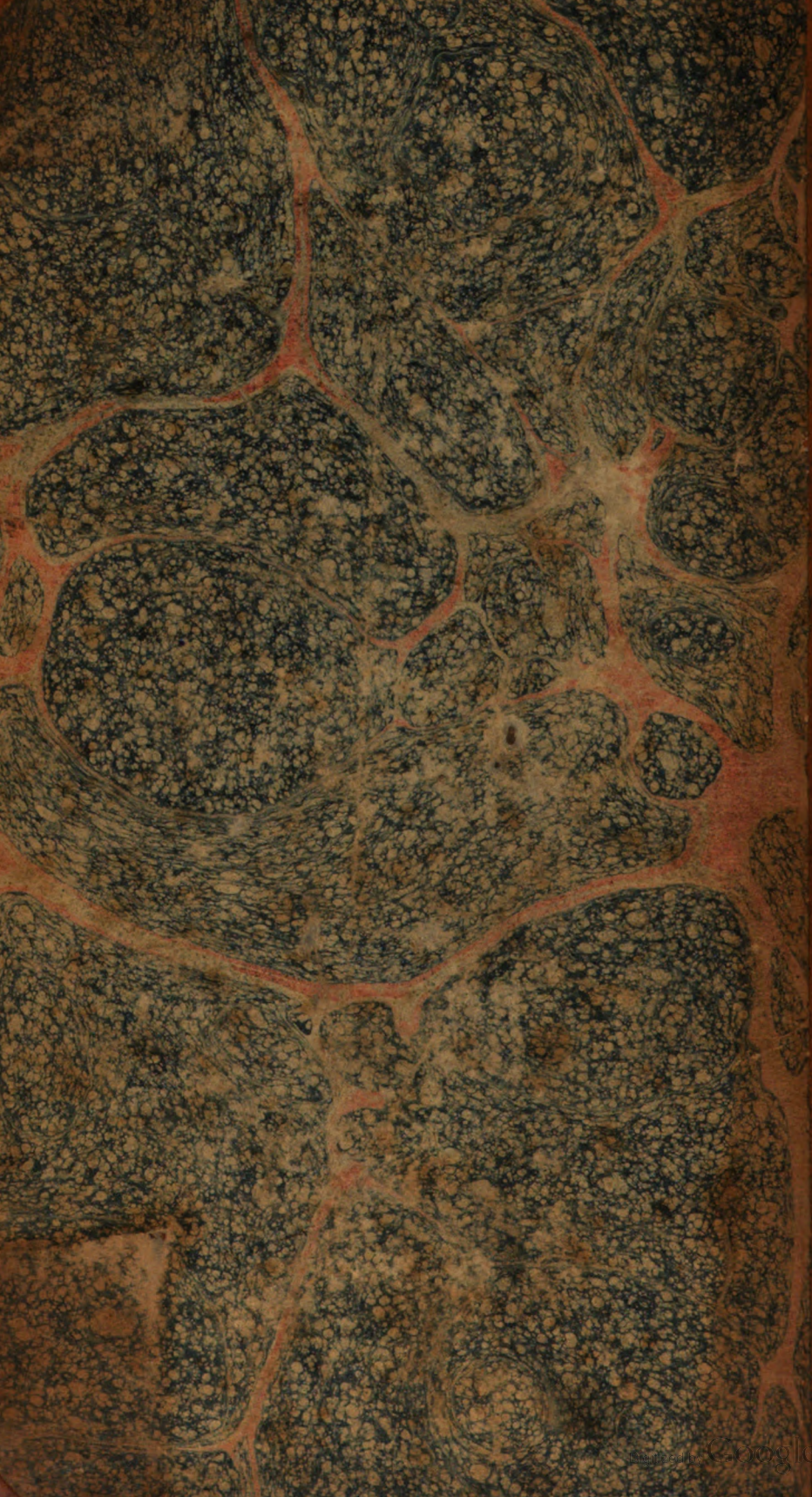
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